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ACCOUNTS AND PAPERS:

TWENTY ONE VOLUMES.

— (11.) —

EAST INDIA.

ANNEXATIONS OF TERRITORY; AFFGHANISTAN;
KING OF DELHI; OUDE; TRAVANCORE.

ASIATIC TURKEY.

BUDRUM AND CNIDUS EXPEDITION.

Session 2,

31 *May* — 13 *August* 1859.

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ACCOUNTS AND PAPERS :

1859—Sess. 2.

TWENTY-ONE VOLUMES:—CONTENTS OF THE ELEVENTH VOLUME.

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dated 21 May 1858:—for,

COPIES “of all PAPERS not already presented to the HOUSE, connected with the various ANNEXATIONS of TERRITORY in *India*, including MINUTES by Individual DIRECTORS, since the Annexation of *Sattarah*.”

India Office, }
12 August 1859. }

J. COSMO MELVILL.

DISSENTS by MEMBERS of the COURT of DIRECTORS of the EAST INDIA COMPANY, from the Court's Despatch to the Governor General of *India*, dated 21st November 1855, regarding the future Government of *Oude*.

Draft, No. 1105.

I DISSENT from the draft “on the affairs of Oude,” which yesterday obtained the sanction of the Court, on the following grounds:—

It is alleged that the misrule of the King's Government has been productive of so much disorder, of so much oppression to the population of the country, and has been of so long continuance, as to render the evils “incurable by any other means than the permanent assumption by the British Government of the entire administration of that country.”

I do not think that sufficient cause has been shown for such extreme measures as the deposition of the dynasty and the annexation of the Oude territory to the British dominions.

It has been said by many who support this draft, that neither deposition nor annexation are intended. These words certainly do not find place in the draft, yet when it is ordained that the authority of a sovereign, now exercising royal powers over a large territory, is to be restricted to the jurisdiction of the precincts of his palace and of its adjoining parks, it must be acknowledged that these measures bear in full the character of deposition and annexation.

I will now examine how far the British Government are justified in proceeding to such harsh measures towards a dynasty who have been uniformly faithful to them for the period of a century.

Not only have the successive sovereigns of Oude resisted all invitations of native powers to intrigue, and to combine in measures of hostility against the British Government, but in times of great State difficulties they have nobly rendered essential aid to our cause in furnishing treasure, means of transport, and supplies, to an extent scarcely credible.

The several Residents bear witness that the police of Oude have been most active and efficient in suppressing Dacoits and Thugs.

That the Oude Government have been vigilant in preventing all aggression of marauders on our adjacent districts.

That they have exerted themselves in giving up fugitives from our frontier, and so far have efficiently discharged important duties to the paramount authority; and if they have not been paternal governors, neither have they been to us offensive neighbours.

Then what are the crimes attributed to the sovereigns of Oude, and to their administration? I do not deny that they are great: they have been immersed in debauchery; they have neglected public business; they have not studied to promote the prosperity of their subjects.

It is singular that so many ruinous causes have not produced corresponding destructive effects. We do not find that the cultivation of the country is much diminished, or that it is in a much worse state than it has been at any time during the last 50 years.

The fact is, that the continual attempts of the native functionaries to extortion have occasioned the organization of a system of self-defence, which enables the ryots to fight for their rights, and to maintain them, and they resist the payment of more revenue than they can conveniently afford to give; and there is reason to suppose that the population are not dissatisfied with their lot.

If they were severely oppressed, would they not fly to the better-governed provinces of the British Government? Do they do so? No. With all its disadvantages they prefer the native rule, and the better chance it affords them of individual preferment. Do they appeal to the paramount authority for protection against tyranny? No. Then why should we sympathise with injuries in a great measure supposititious, which the population are willing to endure. For my own part, I do not think a change of masters would be acceptable to the people of Oude.

A considerable proportion of the families of Oude are indirectly under the protection of the British Government; the armies of India are largely recruited in Oude, and every soldier, as the representative of his family, has the countenance of the British Resident at Lucknow to secure them from injury.

The desire to see so fertile and extensive a country well governed is very natural, but it may fairly be questioned whether it may not be more conducive to the public interests to suffer in Oude a certain irregularity of administration than to confirm the imputation, generally ascribed to us in Asia, of a desire for universal dominion. Certainly, in the annexation of Oude, we shall not obtain credit for disinterested motive. I may here add that, to a certain degree, we derive advantage in the disorder of Oude, as it serves to point out to the public the advantages of security to person and property which are guaranteed to people under our rule.

There is an inconvenience in the annexation of Oude which ought not to be lost sight of; it is this: we shall come more immediately in contact with Nepaul by a long line of contiguous frontier, and shall be involved in collisions with that petulant power. We shall then discover that the Nepaulese are badly governed, and the acquisition of that country may be sought for, under the philanthropic view that we could govern it to the amelioration of the condition of the people.

I am further opposed to the proposed step, because I consider the season as inopportune for carrying out so important a measure. There is considerable excitement in the public mind in India, both amongst the Mahomedans and Hindoos. The notion is very prevalent that we desire to convert the general population of India to Christianity by force, and this must have been a deep and extended impression, or the Governor of Bengal would not have thought it necessary publicly to proclaim that the Government had no such intention. A large mountain population is in arms, and encouraged by the acquisition of plunder, may again disturb the peace of the plains of Bengal. Under these circumstances any public cause for additional excitement cannot fail to be prejudicial.

Lastly, I attach importance to the annexation not being regarded as emanating from Lord Canning, as the adoption of so unpopular a measure would seriously damage the prestige of his Lordship's future administration.

Lord Dalhousie was desirous of receiving his instructions by the 1st of November, but they cannot reach him before the 1st of January. It is difficult to suppose that his Lordship can carry into effect so important and delicate a negotiation by the 1st of March, or give such shape to the measure as may cause it to be regarded by the public as his act.

The promulgation of the new order of government in Oude will take place simultaneously with the arrival of Lord Canning, and to his Lordship will be attached the odium of the proceeding on this account. I think the immediate prosecution of the measure is most objectionable. It appears to me that it should have been left to the discretion of Lord Dalhousie to prosecute or postpone the execution of this important State matter, and that the absence of this licence is to be regretted.

(signed) *Henry Willock.*

East India House, 17 November 1855.

I DESIRE very briefly to place on record the reasons which have induced me to withhold my vote from the resolution of the Court, approving the Despatch on the important question of the future government of Oude.

I admit that the lamentable state of that kingdom, as depicted in the minutes of the Governor General, Members of Council, and the Resident at Lucknow, renders it a matter of duty that the British Government should so far interfere, under the terms of the treaty of 1801, as to take upon itself the administration of the affairs of that country for the benefit of its people, and even of its ruler also. I am desirous, however, that this object should be accomplished with the least possible offence to the feelings and prejudices of the Mussulman population, particularly at a time when there appears to exist throughout India among that numerous class, a general feeling of distrust, if not disaffection, towards our Government.

And having regard to the measure as it may affect the King personally, viewing him as the representative of a family, all the members of which have ever proved the most faithful allies of the East India Company, I desire to see it carried out with every consideration towards him, consistent with the attainment of the great object we have in view, viz. the good government of his country.

I desire, also, to limit our measures to the attainment of a reasonable security, that the objects of the treaty of 1801 shall be carried out in time to come, to use the language of the fourth member of Council, "not to punish but to obtain security for the future."

The Despatch of the Court, I admit, expresses a desire generally that in the mode of effecting the proposed transfer of the government of Oude, regard should be had to the feelings of the King, and that an endeavour should be made, in accordance with the recommendation of the Governor General, to obtain his Majesty's consent.

But the meagre terms laid down as the substance of the new treaty, and more particularly the absence of any decision on most important points, are, in my opinion, far from being calculated to induce the King to accede to the proposal.

The Despatch, while it professes to enumerate the conditions of the treaty, only alludes to three points, viz. : "that the provision for the reigning family should be very liberal; that it is not necessary that the stipend for the King's descendants should be equally so; and that the King and his successors should retain full jurisdiction (except as regards the punishment of death) within the precincts of the palace and his parks."

On one important point there is an ominous silence, viz., as regards the continuance of the title and dynasty of the family after the present King's decease. If I am rightly informed, this is a point in which the feelings of the King and the Mussulman population will be most deeply interested. I think, therefore, that the Despatch ought to have declared that we approve of the Governor General's proposal in that respect, and announce distinctly that we have no desire either to abrogate the present, title or to prohibit its descending to the King's successor.

Another most important point on which no decision is given, is the appropriation of any surplus that may arise from the revenues of Oude. We do not reject the proposal to appropriate a portion of this revenue to the purposes of India generally. If our only object is to regenerate and improve the government of Oude and promote the happiness of its people, we ought not to hesitate to declare our disinterestedness, by announcing our determination of abandoning any intention of applying these revenues to any other purpose than the legitimate expenses attending the administration and protection of that kingdom, the development of its resources, and the promotion of the prosperity of its people. Without such a declaration, the proposed measure will be tantamount to an annexation of Oude to our own territory.

Another objection which I take to the Despatch is, that whilst it quotes, it does not repudiate the arguments put forth in two of the minutes from the members of the Council, viz., that on the ground of being the paramount power in India, we have the right to dictate what terms we please to the sovereigns and chiefs of any portion of the Indian Empire.

The promulgation of such a doctrine in a Despatch that will be read and criticised at every durbar in India, if supposed to be the sentiments of the authorities of

this country, cannot fail to alarm not only the few remaining chiefs of independent states, but may shake the confidence of those dependent upon us. I would have, therefore, either forbore to publish these minutes, or have distinctly declared them not to be in accordance with our sentiments. Hitherto we have publicly professed to respect the national rights of all independent states, and when unavoidable circumstances have brought us into collision with them, and forced upon us an appropriation of territory, our usual system has been to endeavour to gain the attachment of their population through measures of conciliation and forbearance, both towards the people and their chiefs. As the means of extending the principles of just government, we have preferred trusting to the influence of our example in governing our own portion of the country, and to the moral influence of our Residents at foreign courts, to dictating to other states, authoritatively, particular measures or systems of administration; and although the result may have fallen far short of our wishes, no impartial observer, viewing the progress of the East India Company during the short period of time which has elapsed since the establishment of its own regular government in India, will deny that, whilst our extent of territory and jurisdiction have increased quite as fast as our means of securing to our subjects the benefit of good government, yet the amelioration of the condition of the people of India generally has been gradually progressing.

I am desirous of adhering to the same system of moderation in dealing with the sovereigns and chiefs of India. I feel that this system rests upon an intelligible and definite ground, which recognises, in some degree, the principles of justice and the rights of others.

The policy of annexing kingdoms, resuming and absorbing states, whenever opportunity offers, on the plausible plea of benefiting the many at the cost of the few, would require to be carried out by men possessing none of the imperfections or infirmities of human nature. It is a theory that commends itself to the over-zealous, as well as to the most unscrupulous, and having no defined or fixed principle for its action, it is as liable to be used for the destruction of the liberties, as for the promotion of the rights, of a people.

The Despatch of the Court, not being explicit on the several points to which I have adverted, will be very liable to misinterpretation, and the principles I have advocated thereby compromised; for this and the other reasons I have stated, I feel it to be my duty to record this dissent.

East India House, 21 November 1855.

I have, &c.
(signed) *John Shepherd.*

(True copies.)

(signed) *J. Cosmo Melvill.*

EAST INDIA (ANNEXATIONS, &c.).

DISSENTS by MEMBERS of the COURT of
DIRECTORS of the EAST INDIA COMPANY, from
the COURT'S Despatch to the Governor General
of *India*, dated 21 November 1855, regarding
the future Government of *Oude*.

(*Sir Harry Verney.*)

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
13 August 1859.*

225—Sess. 2,

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EAST INDIA (CABUL AND AFFGHANISTAN).

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Note.—The Correspondence only partially given in former Returns is here given entire, the omitted passages being marked by brackets [].

India Office, }
24 March 1859. }

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary in Political and Secret Departments.

(*Mr. Hadfield.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
8 June 1859.

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CORRESPONDENCE between Captain *Burnes* and the Governor General,
during the Years 1837 and 1838.

Captain *Burnes* to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir,

1. I HAVE the honour to report for the information of the Governor General in Council, our arrival at this great emporium of trade, having been detained for 16 days at Khyrpore by Meer Roostum Khan, who received us in the most friendly manner, sending a deputation to his frontier to meet us, a second deputation as we advanced, and his Vizier, Futteh Mahomed Khan Goree, to the banks of the Indus, 22 miles distant, who accompanied us to Khyrpore.

2. On the 10th we waited on his Highness Meer Roostum Khan, and were received in a manner which I have never seen in Sinde, since the Ameer left his couch, came forward and embraced us, declaring that he looked to the British Government as his surest and best friend, and that there was no point which he would not concede to meet its wishes in my present deputation. In the forenoon he sent his own son, and the son of his brother Meer Moobaruk Khan, to return our visit.

3. It would be doing injustice to the Chief of Khyrpore to deny to him the credit of attachment to the British Government by the manner in which he thus received us; but it was soon apparent that he and his advisers had taken alarm at what had passed at Hyderabad, and as I could not be correctly informed of the nature of the communications which his Highness Noor Mahomed Khan had made to the Khyrpore Chief, I found myself in a situation of really an embarrassing nature, as I had either to give ear to overtures which I knew the British Government would not accept, or divulge the whole scope of Colonel Pottinger's negotiations in reply to them.

4. On the forenoon of the 19th, the Ameer sent for me privately. I found him alone with his minister, Futteh Mahomed Khan Goree; he set out by saying that he considered himself the servant (damungur) of the British Government; that he had heard with sincere pleasure that an agent of the Government was to reside at Shikarpore, as it would bring friendly persons to his door, but that he hoped the British would enter into a new treaty with him as they had done at Hyderabad; that the kings of Cabool had always acknowledged him and his father as a distinct power in Sinde; that he had acceded to the treaty for opening the River Indus on the same terms as the Hyderabad family, and now hoped that the same consideration would be shown to him in the altered state of the relations between the two countries.

5. I replied to his Highness that I had come to Khyrpore by desire of the Governor General to renew the friendly intercourse which subsisted, and to explain fully the objects of my journey; that I was not authorised to enter into separate negotiations, and indeed, where such friendship already existed, it appeared unnecessary to seek to strengthen it by other treaties; that further, the British had long been satisfied of his Highness' friendly feelings, but it would have been defeating the great ends which it had in view, of opening the Indus to the merchant, if it had sown dissensions between one family of the Talpoors and another; that our relations at Hyderabad now made us as sure of co-operation there as we were at Khyrpore, and the best proof which his Highness could give of his good disposition towards us, would be to join with the Hyderabad family, and particularly seek to curb the lawless tribes of Muzarees, Boogtees, and others who sought to molest the navigation of the Indus.

6. Meer Roostum Khan, assisted by his minister, replied that the British Government would experience no opposition from Khyrpore; that three-sevenths
of

of Shikarpore belonged to the Khyrpore family ; that though he was yet ignorant how his portion of the revenues of it were to be paid for the expenses of the British agent, he would make no objection on that head, and indeed if it were considered desirable to station an agent at Bukkur, he readily assented ; and that, as to the Muzarees, they were entirely at his command, for the Chief Behram Khan was now at Khyrpore, that he would send him to me* if I liked, take hostages from him, and confine the most turbulent of the tribe as prisoners in Bukkur ; and in doing all this, his Highness only hoped to be considered what he really was, the friend of the Hyderabad Ameers, though independent of them. I could but reiterate my former observations, and finished by adding, that we had avoided with studious care all mixing up of the name of the British Government in the family differences at Hyderabad, and I hoped his Highness would see the propriety of our conduct in following the same course at Khyrpore.

* Orig.

7. I was for some time disposed to treat the declarations of Meer Roostum Khan with reference to the Muzarees in the light of a promise which it would be difficult to fulfil ; but his Highness was as good as his word, and sent Behram Khan, the Chief of the tribe, to wait upon me, with about 60 of his followers ; he fell at my feet, and said he was the servant of the Ameers of Sind, and would become the slave of the British Government. I found Behram Khan to be a very intellectual man, and to bear a good character among his tribe ; and as he is the undoubted Chief of it, it would have been a very simple matter to adjust affairs as far as he was concerned. The Ameer sent his minister to say that he would be answerable along with Meer Noor Mahomed Khan for the good conduct of Behram Khan and his tribe on the plains and hills, and even for Bibruk Boogtee, the most notorious freebooter, only excepting those who had gone over to the Seiks. I replied, that all this would be very acceptable, but I must strenuously urge on Meer Roostum Khan his acting in concert with Meer Noor Mahomed Khan, in a matter to which the British Government attached importance, which the Vizier said was now being done by Meer Moobaruk Khan, who, as I was aware, had gone to Hyderabad to be present at the marriage of the son of Meer Sobdar.

8. Private letters which I have received from Captain Wade have informed me of the delicate nature of the adjustment of this matter with Maharajah Runjeet Singh, and I am yet unacquainted with the steps which Noor Mahomed Khan has taken to fulfil that part of his agreement which makes him answerable for the Muzarees, so that I have been bound to avoid all interference in this matter beyond general expressions to the Chief of Khyrpore and the Muzaree Chief himself, of our determination not to permit the excesses of the Muzarees or any one to interrupt our commerce. If reliance, however, is to be placed on native reports, I have perused a paper from the Khyrpore Vakeel at Bhawul Khan's Court stating that on our arrival at Mittuncote, Runjeet Singh will withdraw his troops from Rozan ; and in such an event, I cannot but anticipate a happy and final adjustment of the Muzaree question, since it will be as satisfactory to the Ameers as to the Muzarees, and be to these lawless men a substantial proof of the power and the generosity of the British Government.

9. With regard to these plunderers by profession I may observe that, like all such tribes, they will be easily managed by conciliation ; and that when the British Agent is fixed here, a familiar and friendly intercourse will, in all probability, grow up between them and the officer. They have honour like other thieves, and they declare that if Monsieur Ventura had continued on the frontier of the Maharajah's country, differences would never have taken place ; that that officer treated them liberally, but that Sawan Mull, the Governor of Mooltan, sowed dissensions among them ; and, to use their own words, treated them as a petty trader seeking for profit, instead of the deputy of a powerful prince like Runjeet Singh.

10. On the 26th of March the Chief of Khyrpore renewed his endeavours to persuade me to enter into separate negotiations. His Highness sent for me to hold a private interview as the message stated ; but on my arrival I found Meer Roostum Khan with his eldest son, and the eldest son of Meer Moobaruk ; also Meer Ali Moorad Khan, his brother, who possesses nearly all the treasure of the Khyrpore family. After a few complimentary observations, Meer Roostum Khan withdrew, saying that his son and family would converse with me on matters of

importance. The room was then cleared, and I found myself along with the persons who were chiefly interested in the late treaty at Hyderabad, the Vuzeer of Meer Roostum Khan remaining. The party set out by stating that it was a worldly maxim to look after one's own interests; that the intelligence from Hyderabad was such that they had one and all joined hand in hand together, and here the three Ameers joining their hands together, clasped mine, and said they were one, and wished to enter into an alliance of the most lasting nature with the British Government, declaring that they were more entitled to it from the early anxiety which they had exhibited to cultivate a close connexion with the British than their relatives at Hyderabad.

11. I replied that there was no necessity for a treaty of friendship other than that which had already been made, for the British Government had built on the cordiality with which its designs would be seconded in Upper Sindé. Ali Morad Khan, who is a very intelligent man, and who is now reconciled to Meer Roostum Khan, asked if there would be any interference in the internal government of Sindé, or in the family quarrels which might arise, and I replied, that in our treaties with Runjeet Singh and Bhawul Khan we had expressly agreed not to interfere in that manner, and the Ameers of Sindé might rest assured that our object was to promote commerce by the Indus. The whole family then expressed in the most earnest manner its anxiety for a new treaty, and it was not till I reiterated my opinion as to its inutility, and as to my wanting powers to make it, that the subject was dropped.

12. I took this opportunity to run over the history of our connexion with Sindé, again stating that it was the aim of the British Government to allay jealousies, not to excite them, for there were Talpoors at Hyderabad as well as at Khyrpore; and it was this which had led to the rejection of the overtures made by the Khyrpore Chief in December 1835, and that it was my duty to counsel them to join heart and hand, and aid their brethren at Hyderabad, for the house of Talpoor owed much of its greatness to the unanimity that had ever subsisted between its different members; and if it was their wish really to gratify the British Government, they would now seek to preserve unimpaired that good understanding. If I did not satisfy the family that it was unnecessary to exchange writings, I believe I left them not displeased.

13. On the following morning Futteh Mahomed Khan waited upon me to renew the subject of yesterday, when I gave him clearly to understand that the Chief of Khyrpore had lost the opportunity of making any other treaty than what he now has when Colonel Pottinger was accredited to his Highness in 1832, and that he must be satisfied with having any treaty, which was more than had been conceded to the Meerpoor Chief; and that the best policy of the Ameers, and that of his successors, would be to act in concert with the Hyderabad family. I have found it extremely perplexing to deal with this question; the Khyrpore Chief does not admit the supremacy of the Hyderabad Ameers, and yet he and his family are quite ready to second them in everything that is wished by the British Government. There cannot be a doubt that the superior power of the Hyderabad family may force the Khyrpore Chiefs to submit to any terms they may dictate, but it will not certainly tend to promote the British interests on the Indus if such cordial friends as the Khyrpore family are offended by any novel or unusual interference on the part of his Highness, Noor Mahomed Khan.

14. On the 29th of March we had our audience of leave with Meer Roostum Khan, who renewed his profession of devotion and submission to the British Government. His Highness and his family sent presents to myself and the gentlemen along with me, and his Vizier accompanied us to Roree. In the afternoon of the 31st we crossed, with the Ameer's permission and in company of his Vizier, to Bukkur, and examined that remarkable fortress, being the first Europeans who have ever been permitted to enter it. The Vizier took this singular time to renew the expression of his master's hopes for a new treaty of friendship, and I could only silence him by pointing to the spot on which I stood, and asking him if anything further was necessary to proclaim, far and near, the good understanding between Meer Roostum Khan and the British Government than that the gates of Bukkur had been thrown open to four English gentlemen. We took leave of the minister at the door of the fortress with great expressions of his master's and his own submission, and immediately crossed the Indus to Sukkur.

15. We

15. We have since prosecuted our journey to Shikarpore, which we entered this morning, being conducted through the great bazaar by a mihmandar from Hyderabad and another from Khypore, receiving likewise immediately after our arrival a visit from the governor of the town. Our boats have proceeded up the river, and we shall join them after our inquiries at this important mart are completed, and I hope may reach Mittuncote by the 1st of May.

Shikarpore, 2 April 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to Government, Fort William.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to notice various circumstances which have transpired at this commercial mart, regarding the debts due here and in Afghanistan by my late fellow traveller Dr. Gerard, and to which, with a view to uphold our national reputation, it is incumbent on me to draw the early attention of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

2. After Dr. Gerard separated from me at Meshid to return to India, it is well known to Government that he was detained for a considerable time as well by continued indisposition as the severity of the climate, and that during this interval he was subjected to great and unlooked-for expenses, and, as his resources could not meet these, he raised money in the different towns he passed, which the merchants at once advanced on a perusal of the passport which Dr. Gerard held under the seal and signature of Lord William Bentinck.

3. It is of course not in my power to inform the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council of the precise manner in which the sums so raised were disbursed, but a very fair means of judging may be formed, when I state that Dr. Gerard had to reward the servants of the chiefs for their civilities, to give presents to *cafila* bashees, and to guides, and, as Moonshee Mohun Lall tells me, that he gave presents to the Chiefs themselves, it is easily seen how the expenditure was incurred, however unauthorised by the instructions given to me by the Supreme Government in the first instance, or by me to Dr. Gerard.

4. Various individuals who have kept up a correspondence with me since I was in Cabool had addressed me on the subject of Dr. Gerard's debts, but it was not till I reached Shikarpore that I was brought in direct contact with the parties concerned, and as they know no difference between the word of an officer, a servant of the British Government, and the British Government itself, they claimed of me the sums due, which, at this place, are two in number, one to Moollah Julall, amounting to 1,912 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees, and another to Mahomed Sadik of 394 rupees, making 2,306 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees. The total amount due in Dera Ghazee Khan, Peshawur, Herat, Cabool and Candahar, including these sums, amounts to Rs. 7,188. 2.

5. I have no resource, therefore, left to me but to pay the debts due at this place, on my own responsibility, and respectfully submit the matter to the consideration of Government, trusting that, in its liberality, it will authorise me to discharge the whole of them to the amount above stated. An ignorant Afghan can draw no distinction between an official and unofficial authority; the sanctity of our word has become as current as a proverb among them, and in this particular instance, so confident were these men, that they refused to accept bonds, saying, that the sight of the Governor General's passport and the word of Dr. Gerard were sufficient.

6. I annex copies of the receipts for the money which I have paid, and a list of all the debts, which I have drawn up with as much care as I could bestow; a subject which has the double interest of preserving the name of the Government and the character of an officer, who was ever ready to devote himself to its interests.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*

Shikarpore, 7 April 1837.

On a Mission to Cabool.

List of Dr. Gerard's Debts.

	Rs.	a.
Balance of 1,260 ducats borrowed at Kandahar of Moollah Julall, and Das-samul Shikapore, 360 ducats	1,912	2
Mahomed Sadik, of Herat, servant to Dr. Gerard, his pay	394	-
Moollah Nujub, of Peshawar	800	-
Mollah Ruheem Shah, of Cabool	327	-
Abdool Ali, of Cabool, now at Loodianah	500	-
Oodoodass, Shikarporee at Deree Ghazee Khan, who has paid the debt of Ali Uskur, at Herat	580	-
Agha Oosman, of Herat, whose creditors are Shaw, Nath and Hursook, bankers, at Delhi	2,025	-
Borrowed of Maheedass to pay Dr. Gerard's servants	250	-
Moollah Kurreem, of Kandabar	400	-
TOTAL - - - Surat Rs.	7,188	2

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to enclose an original letter which I have had the honour to receive from Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan of Cabool, a translation of which I likewise annex, and beg that you will do me the favour of submitting the same to the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

2. The letter bears no date, but I venture to believe that the cordial satisfaction which this Chief evinces at the deputation of an agent on the part of the British Government to Cabool, will prove very satisfactory to his Lordship in Council.

On the Southern Frontier of
Bhawul Khan's Country,
18 April 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Commercial Mission to Cabool.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to report for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, that we reached the Daoodpootra country on the 18th instant, and were received with a most cordial welcome by the officers of Bhawul Khan on his frontier, where boats had been collected for our use for three months past.

2. The mihmandar appointed by the Khan conveyed a message expressive of his great anxiety that we should visit him, and if it were not agreeable, that he would repair in person to the banks of the Chenab at Ooch to receive us; but deeming this to be quite uncalled for, I at once accepted the invitation, and am now proceeding to Ahmedpore, which is about 35 coss from the Indus. This will also afford an opportunity of materially increasing our commercial information.

3. As circumstances have hitherto prevented Captain Wade from dropping down to Mittuncote, I shall not make any longer stay in this part of the country than to receive an answer to the accompanying copy of a letter which I have the honour to annex, and which I have transmitted to him express. Meanwhile, the important marts of Bahwulpoor and Dera Ghazee Khan are engaging attention.

Camp in Bhawul Khan's Country,
25 April 1837.

I have, &c.,
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Commercial Mission to Cabool.

To Captain *C. M. Wade*, Political Agent, &c., Loodiana.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to notify, for your information, that I have reached Bhawul Khan's country, and now await the arrival of yourself and Lieutenant Mackeson, to enter upon the subjects pointed out in the instructions of the Supreme Government regarding the selection on the spot of a place for an entrepôt of the Indus trade.

2. Concluding that the visit of his Excellency the Commander in Chief and other matters might detain you for some time, we have accepted a very pressing invitation from Bhawul Khan, delivered to us on his frontier, that all our party should visit him at Ahmedpoor, since it will give me time to hear from you, and an opportunity of thanking this chief in person for his civilities, which have been unbounded, and also of adding materially to our commercial information.

3. If any unforeseen circumstance prevents my having the pleasure of meeting you, I shall feel obliged by your informing me if you have received any instructions from Calcutta in supersession of those issued on the 5th of September last, that I may be prepared to give such explanations as are necessary to all the parties concerned.

4. In pursuance of those instructions, I have notified to all the chiefs and merchants on the Indus up to this point that such a meeting was to take place at Mittunkote; and as it has naturally excited the greatest interest at Shikarpoor and other marts, and been to them a solid proof that the British Government has in earnest taken up the subject of the Indus trade, it is of the first importance to keep our faith and word on this point; since I cannot but anticipate the most beneficial results to all parties, and to the commerce of the Indus in general, from such a meeting.

5. I have forwarded a copy of this letter for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Burnes.*

Camp in Bhawul Khan's Country,
25 April 1837.

From the Secretary to the Government of India to Captain *Burnes*.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Governor General of India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your three letters, dated 2d, 3d, and 7th April 1837.

2. The Governor General in Council has derived much gratification from perusing the account you have furnished of the highly flattering manner in which you were received by Meer Roostum Khan. It must always be the anxious desire of the British Government to conciliate that Ameer, and undoubtedly he should be rendered a party to any arrangements that may be entered into involving any material change of relations between the British and the Sind Governments, and in the event of the ratification of the proposed engagements, the occasional resort of the British agent to Bukkur might be directed, and would probably meet his views. The apprehension under which he appears to have been labouring at the period of your visit seems to have originated in the belief that a treaty, from the benefits of which he was excluded, had been actually executed with Noor Mahomed Khan providing for the residence of a British agent at Shikarpoor; but for this, as you will have been already informed, there was no foundation.

3. You will of course furnish me at your earliest convenience with the intelligence which may be brought to you by the messenger whom you have sent to Candahar, to ascertain the state of affairs in that quarter. The rumours which have reached you correspond in some measure with the authentic intelligence recently transmitted to you by the Envoy in Persia, the heads of which have been furnished to the Governor General in Council by Colonel Pottinger.

1—Sess. 2.

A 4

4. With

4. With reference to your letter of the third mentioned date, I am desired to acquaint you that his Lordship in Council, while he thinks it necessary to guard against the too easy admission of a very objectionable precedent, will not in this case absolutely prohibit the very cautious exercise of your discretion. For the sum you have already delivered at Shikarpoor, namely, Rs. 1,912. 2., you are authorised to charge in a contingent bill; but it is impossible to admit indiscriminately claims upon the British Government wholly unsupported by any voucher. Among the list of sums due as given by you, his Lordship in Council observes a claim of 800 rupees on account of Mullah Nujeeb of Peshawur. But the validity of this claim at least seems very doubtful, as you will observe from the accompanying copy of a letter to Captain Wade, dated 23d May last, that he was then authorised to pay to the same individual the sum of 1,000 rupees; and it is impossible that all mention of the claim now preferred should at that time have been suppressed, if it in reality existed. This single case will sufficiently mark to you the necessity of admitting no claim against Dr. Gerard, except upon full inquiry and the clearest conviction as well of its validity as of its not having been subsequently paid; and, whilst the Governor General in Council acknowledges the importance of sustaining the high opinion, said to exist in these countries, of British honour and good faith, he would guard against the abuses which would assuredly be the consequence of a ready adoption of debts loosely incurred, and the admission of claims lightly asserted.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten.*

Fort William, 22 May 1837.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 25th ultimo, reporting your arrival in the Daoodpootra country, and of your having accepted a pressing invitation to visit Nawab Bhawul Khan, annexing copy of a letter to Captain Wade, regarding the meeting at Mittunkote, and expressing a hope that no unforeseen circumstances will prevent it.

2. In reply, I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor General in Council entirely approves your acceptance of the Nawab's invitation. You will have learned that Captain Wade will unfortunately be prevented from meeting you at Mittunkote; but the Governor General in Council trusts, that the object to be accomplished at that place will be satisfactorily attained, notwithstanding the unavoidable absence of that officer.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten,*
Secretary to the Government of India.

Fort William, 29 May 1837.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 18th April, forwarding a letter, with translation, from the Chief of Cabool, expressive of his great satisfaction at receiving an agent deputed by the British Government, and to state that the expressions of cordiality with which it abounds are very gratifying both as regards yourself individually, and the feelings by which the Ameer is animated towards the British Government.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten,*
Secretary to the Government of India.

Fort William, 5 June 1837.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

In my communication of the 1st instant, from Dera Ghazee Khan, I reported that it was my intention to prosecute my voyage without delay to Attok. I had already reached Leia, about half way to Dera Ismael Khan, when I received your demi-official note of the 14th ultimo, directing me to await at Mittuncote the arrival of instructions which would be despatched in a day or two.

2. As I am yet distant from the scene of operations in Peshawur, I shall now await the orders of Government at Dera Ismael Khan, under the good and ostensible plea of inquiring into the extensive commerce carried on by the Lohanee Afghans, from that mart to Cabool, and I shall thus be close at hand, without being amongst the Afghans, or in a situation of embarrassment.

3. I have not thought it necessary to forward any reports on the late affair at Peshawur, since Captain Wade will have kept Government fully apprised of them. The Afghans having retired into the Pass of Khyber, virtually puts an end to the campaign, since that defile is impervious; and Dost Mahomed Khan, from what I hear, is too much satisfied with the moral influence of his late success to injure it by pushing matters further; such at least is my information, and such my impression.

4. On receiving your letter of the 10th of April, enclosing a copy of a Despatch to His Majesty's Minister in Persia, and finding myself partly in possession of the views of the Governor General in Council, regarding the policy to be pursued in Afghanistan, I lost no time in replying to Dost Mahomed Khan's unanswered communications then by me, and I now enclose translation of the Ameer's letters, and my reply.

Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

5. It will be seen that I took no notice of the separate enclosure regarding the contemplated attack on the Seiks, for I had not at that time received positive confirmation of the conflict, and I deemed it more consistent with my instructions to answer that document by recurring to the commercial objects which had been committed to me.

6. To the Seiks in attendance with me since the affair at Peshawur has transpired, I have expressed the sincerest regret at the existing differences; and when I have occasion to address Dost Mahomed Khan, I shall hold the same language.

On the Indus near Leia,
8 June 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Commercial Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Meer Dost Mahomed Khan, of Cabool, to Captain *Burnes*, despatched about the 20th of April 1837, but without date.

A. C.,

YOUR friendly letter, dated from Hyderabad, in Sinde, reached me in a happy moment. It made me very glad, as it contained the cheerful tidings of your health: I fully understood all its contents.

The letters which I usually received from the Supreme Government informed me that it was intended to appoint one of its officers to sow the seeds of friendship in this country, and a letter from Captain Wade intimated to me that you have been deputed to this quarter.

As I am desirous of your agreeable society, I learned this intelligence with the greatest pleasure, and it was increased much when I heard from yourself. My house is your house, and if it pleases God, we shall soon know the secret wishes of each other.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a separate Letter from Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, enclosed in the preceding.

A. C.,

I BEG to let you know that I had and have a great desire to make friendship with the British Government, and to drive the Sikhs from Peshawur, through the advice of that Government.

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In these days, Sirdar Hâree Singh, Sadh Singh, the brother of Jamadar Khooshial Singh, Lehna Singh (who have succeeded Sher Singh and Tej Singh in Peshawur), though unable to keep Peshawur itself quiet, came and laid the foundations of a fort in Jamrod, near Khyber. This place belongs to the Afghans of Khyber, who are my subjects, consequently they complained to my son, Sirdar Mahomed Akbar Khan, who, with my permission, appointed some artillery and cavalry to protect those people, and also to level to the ground that new-built fort of the Sikhs.

A month or 40 days since an affair occurred in the vicinity of Peshawur, in which 300 men and 100 horses from the army of Sirdar Hâree Singh and the other Sirdars were killed and wounded. I imagine these Sirdars now repent having erected this fort.

I think that my son, who has not yet received full orders from me to wage war, will fight and wrest the place from the hands of the Sikhs. If you take trouble, and come quickly, to let me know the objects of the British Government, it will be well.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Commercial Mission to Cabool.

No. 3.

To the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, from Captain *Burnes*, dated Dera Ghazee Khan,
2 June 1837.

A. C.,

I HAVE been highly gratified with the receipt of two letters from you; one of these went to Cutch Bhooj, which prevented its being answered, for be assured I am too sensible of your friendly feelings to the Government I serve to delay replying to such a letter, were I not farther gratified at the personal satisfaction which you are pleased to express at my deputation to Cabool.* Believe me, I feel sensible of your former attentions to me, and that the ("murhummut") condescension of the Governor General (*Farmân farmâ i Hindûstân*) in sending me to converse with one so disposed as you are, is very great.

As the business of Government, however, has reference to opening the Indus and making it a safe route for the merchant and trader, I have been long delayed in this quarter by the talpoors of Sind and by Bhawul Khan, and you well know that in the country and house of friends so faithful as these, one comes according to inclination (*iradut*) and goes by permission (*ijazut*); but I have now no courts to detain me, and I am this day setting out on my voyage to Attok, and shall make all speed to reach Cabool, and to explain in person to you the objects of the Governor General. From Kala Bagh I shall again address you, and I need not say more than that I hope the time may be short which shall withdraw from my eyes the curtain which hides the Bala Hissar of Cabool.

(A true translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Commercial Mission to Cabool.

To Captain *Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

WITH reference to my letter to your address of the 22d May last, I am directed to acquaint you that an error has been discovered in the 4th paragraph, the sum which you are authorised to charge in a contingent bill having been erroneously entered as Rs. 1,912. 2., instead of the sum of Rs. 2,306. 2., which is the correct amount.

I have, &c.

Fort William, 3 July 1837.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten,*
Secretary to the Government of India.

* The letter here alluded to was forwarded on the 18th of April.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, that we reached Kala Bagh on the 16th instant, which is within one degree of latitude from Attok. The downward communication by the Indus was open, and several boats arrived while we were at Kala Bagh, but as it was the height of the swell, it was more prudent to allow Lieutenant Wood singly to examine this portion of the river. That officer has already passed Muckud, about one-third of the way up, but it will be difficult, I imagine, at this season to reach Attok.

2. The vicinity of Kala Bagh to Peshawur, by way of Cohat and the right bank of the Indus, rendered me anxious to proceed at once to that city, but so limited is the power of the Sikhs in this quarter, that they could not ensure us protection. I might have addressed Kour Kurruck Sing at Peshawur to send an escort to meet us, but I found that that personage could only assist us, if at all, through Sooltan Mahomed Khan, and for many reasons it was proper to decline such aid. Besides, this road has already been travelled by Mr. Elphinstone's mission.

3. It only remained, therefore, that we should advance on Attok by the left bank, and we quitted Kala Bagh in prosecution of our journey on the 22d. Here also the power of the Sikhs is so limited that we are following a route 60 miles longer than the direct road, as the Maharajah has no authority over the people immediately on the river. The best test of this being correct is our having met Raja Soojet Sing, with a force of from 8,000 to 10,000 men and 18 guns, proceeding by this route to Kala Bagh. We received a visit from the Raja, and he proffered and gave us every assistance, but the escort could not be prevailed on to take the direct route to Attok, and we are following that by Hassan Abdal.

4. The object of this force is to compel the Eesa Khyl Chief, who holds the right bank of the Indus below Kala Bagh for about 40 miles, to pay his tribute; and the troops after this service, it is said, are ultimately destined for Bunnoo. It is very apparent that the late affair between the Afghans and Sikhs at Peshawur has had a prejudicial effect on Sikh influence in this quarter. The population speak out plainly; it seems very probable that the presence of this force under Soojet Sing is simply meant to keep under this bad feeling, and certainly a smaller body of men would find their position at present but precarious in this part of the country.

5. It will be interesting briefly to state the exact authority of the Maharaja west of the Indus. It may be said that he has no power whatever beyond the plain country, being unable to exact tribute, without an armed force, from any other part of it. The Derajat is under complete subjection to him, but from a great breach of faith in his resumption of Dera Ismael Khan last year, the people there are heartily disaffected. Thirty miles north of Dera Ismael commences the Eesa Khyl territories, which are strong and mountainous. The chief is now in rebellion; he will agree to pay tribute as far as 36,000 rupees, but not to receive a detachment of Seiks, the party last year left in his country having been murdered. Murwut, west of Eesa Khyl, is also in rebellion. From Tak, a more certain but varied tribute is levied. From Bunnoo nothing is procurable but by the presence of an army, and north of it, to the plain of Peshawur, the country is entirely independent.

6. Under such circumstances it is very satisfactory to report that we experience no obstacles from any party, and pass without molestation. Our position at Kala Bagh was singular, for we were within hearing of the drums (*nugarus*) of the hostile parties, while the Sikhs had conducted some of our party up the east bank, and the Eesa Khyl Chief was escorting another portion of it along his side of the river, and evinced most marked civility throughout by assisting our cossids in passing to and from Cabool, and also by furnishing trackers for the boats. The name of this person is Ahmed Khan, a man of whom all the Sikhs even speak with respect. He sent his principal persons to me at Kala Bagh with a horse and camel, but I declined these gifts, though I thanked the man cordially, by letter,

letter, for his attentions, and told him, as the best return that I could make, that it would be politic for him to conciliate the Maharaja; and, I may observe, that however the parties settle their differences, our presence has been to neither unsatisfactory.

7. I am also happy to report that I have just received communications from the Ameer of Cabool, in reply to my letters addressed to him from Dera Ghazee Khan, notifying that he has instructed his son Mahomed Akbar Khan to have us escorted through the Khyber Pass to Cabool, and that personage addresses me himself that he anxiously awaits our arrival. It is well known that the Khyber Pass is of the first importance, and through which Nadir Shah could only travel by the liberal distribution of money among the lawless tribes who occupy it. A caravan of merchants does not attempt it, and if the Chief of Cabool can really protect us through it, it will be a good proof of his power, and a satisfactory opportunity of judging precisely as to its strength and importance in war.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alexander Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Camp near Hassan Abdal,
31 July 1837.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters of the dates and on the subjects noted in the margin.*

2. In reply, I am directed to acquaint you that the whole of your proceedings, and the tenor of your correspondence with Dost Mahomed Khan, are entirely approved by his Lordship in Council.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India.

Fort William,
31 July 1837.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to report for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, the heads of intelligence which are current at this mart, relative to the affairs of Persia and Afghanistan.

"1st. The King of Persia has sent a dress of honour to Sher Mahomed Khan the Beglerbegee of the great Huzara tribe, lying eastward of Herat, requesting him to be friendly to the Persian interests. Shah Kamran, to whom this chief has been nominally subject, has been much offended at this gift, and sent a message to the Hazara requesting him to be ready with his troops to attack Candahar.

"2d. Shah Kamran has moved forward his artillery to Subzawur on the road to Candahar, and is at present with his troops encamped at Pool i Milau three coss from Herat, where he has halted on account of a rumour that the King of Persia is marching on Meshid.

"3d. The Sirdar of Candahar has sent his son Mahomed Sadeek to Grisk, to oppose Kamran, and the chief and his brothers will advance in person, as soon as it is known that Kamran has marched on Candahar."

2. It

* Letter dated 8th June 1837, reporting receipt of notification to await instructions at Mittun Kote, and his intention of doing so at Dera Ismael Khan, under the plea of gathering commercial information, stating your belief that the Affghans having retired in Khyber, terminates the campaign at Peshawur, and forwarding copy of correspondence with the Chief of Cabool. Letter dated 20th June 1837, reporting that Lieutenant Mackeson, the British agent for the navigation of the Indus, has joined you.

2. It is certain that all these rumours are at present current at Shikarpoor, and that they are in part believed by the merchants, and I report them on the authority of a cossid who was in Candahar 13 days ago. It seems also, that if the King of Persia really means to advance on Herat, he must do so in the course of the two succeeding months, which is the time of the harvest. Under these circumstances, I yesterday despatched a person to Candahar to ascertain the truth of these rumours, and as that city is about eight days' journey for a courier, I hope to have the honour of communicating more authentic particulars in the course of 20 days.

I have, &c.

(signed) A. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Shirkapoor, 3 April 1837. •

To Captain Burnes.

Sir,

ON the important commercial objects of the mission which has been entrusted to you, you have already received full instructions, and by my letter of the 21st November you have been informed generally of the earnest wish of the Governor General in Council for the preservation of peace in the countries between India and Persia.

2. Unhappily it seems probable that that wish will not be realised; and although on the one side the Persian expedition has for a time been discomfited, and the ambitious schemes of the Shah seem to be at present of necessity suspended, yet its revival is confidently talked of, whilst on the eastern frontier of Afghanistan, Dost Mahomed Khan has by imprudent demonstrations and threats provoked the Sikhs to extensive preparations, and is in immediate hazard of attack from that formidable state. There is no cordiality of feeling or unity of exertion between him and the Chiefs of Candahar, and, far from endeavouring to save himself by measures of conciliation, he seems to be meditating acts of aggression so rash and so violent as to place in jeopardy the very existence of his power.

3. It will be difficult for his Lordship in Council from this distance to lay down precise rules by which your course must be determined, amidst the distraction and dangers which the preceding description indicates, and it will be for yourself to decide (and in forming any decision you will have the advantage of advice from Captain Wade and of communication with him) with what chance of success you can further pursue the objects entrusted to you in that quarter. If, as is most probable, the Afghan and Sikh force should be in hostile collision, and the re-establishment of tranquillity, and if any dominant influence seem doubtful, it will be right that you should not proceed further, and you will consider whether your mission may not be suspended, at least for a time, or pursued only by your proceeding in the first instance to Candahar.

4. On the other hand, if you should learn that the Sikh and the Afghan armies should have but little disposition to advance, from a consciousness of military inferiority on the one side, and from the anticipation of difficulty in a mountainous and unproductive country on the other, and that a desire has been evinced by both the contending parties rather for political adjustment than for conflict, and that without committing your Government to the exercise of direct influence you may either safely act on your original instructions, or perhaps even contribute something to the restoration of the peace; in this case, although from the information at this moment before the Governor General in Council, it is his opinion that it would be more prudent to wait and watch the course of events, he will not object to your proceeding; and in this uncertainty I am desired to instruct you, whether in Peshawur, in Cabool, or in Candahar, to prosecute the commercial inquiries which were prescribed by your original instructions with extreme caution; in no country to give offence or suspicion to its ruler, and in all to act so as to mark the

anxious desire of the British Government for the restoration of tranquillity and for the establishment of friendly relations; but in any case in which specific political propositions shall be made to you, you will state that you have no authority to make replies, but that you will forward them, through Captain Wade, to the Government. If applied to, as you probably may be, for advice by Dost Mahomed Khan, in the difficulties by which he is surrounded, you will dissuade him from insisting in such a crisis from pretensions which he cannot maintain, and you will lead him, as far as may be in your power, to seek and to form arrangements of reconciliation for himself with the Sikh sovereign.

5. But, beyond commercial information, his Lordship in Council will expect to have conveyed to him whatever you may learn upon the history since the period of your last visit, upon the present condition, the internal government, the revenue, the military establishment and resources, and on the power of the chiefs and the disposition of the people in each country that you may visit, and, as far as may be, in the countries contiguous; and you will particularly learn what has been the degree of recent connexion with Persia, and by what agents it has been conducted, and what would be the probable result of a Persian attack upon Herat.

6. You will observe the general feelings towards the British and the Russian Governments, the impression prevailing of the power and resources of either, the degree in which the supposition is entertained of an intimate union between the Persian and Russian Governments, and in which that supposition is likely to have influence; and you will gather all the information in your power on the commerce of Russia, and on the measures adopted by that power with the object of extending her influence in Central Asia.

7. You are authorised also, as you may judge it expedient, to address letters to Shah Kamran of Herat, to the King or Minister of Bokhara, and to other chiefs, expressing friendship on the part of your Government, and stating to them that you are come to arrange measures for the encouragement of commerce with India where they may be assured that traders from their country will be treated with equity and kindness, and you may accompany these letters with such presents of moderate value as are likely to be acceptable.

8. It is desirable that in any journey which you may take you should follow a different route from that which you adopted in your former travels, but you will be particularly cautious not to expose yourself to personal risk.

9. With a view to the possibility of your advance, credentials, copies of which are enclosed for your information, on your behalf, addressed to the Chiefs of Cabool and Candahar, are transmitted with this letter.

10. I am desired to take this opportunity of furnishing you with a copy of the letter written on the 24th of April to Captain Wade, relative to an individual named Hajee Hoosein Ali Khan. That individual has since solicited permission to return to his own country, and he is about to set out in a day or two, *via* Hydrabad (in the Dekhan), Bombay, Cutch, and Sind. A copy of the communication which I made to him on the 1st instant, under the instructions of the Governor General in Council, is also sent herewith for your information. He has not had an interview with the Governor General, nor, under the suspicions which attach to him, has he received any other attentions than those which are due to an Afghan gentleman who was certainly encouraged to visit India by Mr. Ellis, His Majesty's Ambassador in Persia. You will, of course, communicate, for the information of his Lordship in Council, any particulars that may come to your knowledge relative to the individual in question.

11. I am further desired to annex, for your information, copy of the instructions of this date to Captain Wade.

I have, &c.

Fort William,
15 May 1837.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India.

To *W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.*, Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE NOW the honour to communicate, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the reply of the Ameer of Cabool to my communication from Dera Ismael Khan, as well as a letter from his secretary, Mirza Samad Khan, translations of both of which I append.

2. In the last of these letters it will be seen that all doubts as to the appearance of an elchee from Persia have been dispelled by his arrival at Candahar, and his reported intention of advancing shortly to Cabool along with one of the Candahar Sirdars. The same letter states that an embassy had also arrived from the King of Bokhara.

3. The reply of the Ameer of Cabool, it appears to me, is both friendly and satisfactory; but it is very evident that he and his advisers are determined to make the most of the presence of an agent of the British Government. Under existing circumstances, too, it will be a difficult matter, with the presence of agents from so many quarters offering their services, coupled with the late affair at Peshawar, to satisfy Dost Mahomed Khan; but I shall dwell upon the advantage which must accrue to him from being the first of his family who has had personal communication with an agent of the British Government; the influence it must give him, and the opportunity which he now has, by acting prudently and cautiously, to consolidate his power.

4. This language may or may not satisfy the Chief of Cabool; and should it not, few opportunities have occurred, as it seems to me, more favourable for marking, in some decided manner to the neighbouring nations, the views of the British Government, if it is ever intended to extend our political influence in these countries, or make the late arrangements on the Indus a step to ulterior measures.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alexander Burnes,*

Camp at Hassan Abdal,
1 August 1837.

On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, of Cabool, to Captain *Burnes*,
received near Hassan Abdal, 31st July 1837.

A. C.,

YOUR letter from Dera Ismael Khan reached me at a most happy time. I was very much delighted to learn from it that you enjoy perfect health. You have spoken of the battle which took place between me and the Sikhs, and which did not appear to you advisable, because of the commercial ends in view. You added also, that commerce requires peace and tranquillity. You are right, and in truth your observations are unanswerable; but, as the proverb runs, if the enemy wants to treat, do not turn your head; and if he wants to fight, do not pull your reins. What you have written about its being for the good of both Governments (Sikhs and Afghans) to make peace, I have been long thinking the same, and have kept every business unsettled, in the hope of your immediate arrival; but in the meantime, a serious matter, which must have reached your ears from every quarter, took place; viz., Sirdar Huree Singh erecting forts in the district of Peshawar, which caused the Ghazees, or champions of the faith, to assemble. Although I wrote to him many letters of friendly advice, he filled his ears with cotton, and never attended to them. I also learned from Captain Wade's letter, that the Sirdar had built the fort without the sanction of his superior (the Maharaja). At last, on his building a fort in Jamrood, which is the abode of the Khybaree Afghans, they saw no remedy but resistance, and laid all their grievances before me. After a long and careful deliberation, it appeared impossible to settle the affair but by war, and I gave a hint to my son, Mahomed

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Akbar Khan, who obeyed, and what he did is done. You have, of course, since received every particular of the case from Mirza Abdul Samad Khan. On your arrival at Dera Ismael Khan, both armies immediately withdrew to their own stations without hesitation; and be assured that everything is right. Whatever you may advise for the welfare of the Government, it will never be departed from. Write to me without fail, day by day, until we meet each other.

(A true translation.)

(signed) *Alexander Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Mirza Abdul Samad Khan, the Secretary of Dost Mahomed Khan, to Captain *Burnes*; received on the same day.

A. C.,

I SENT a letter to you from Julalabad, which I hope will have reached you, on hearing that Now Nabal Singh and Rajah Diban Singh had returned to Lahore, and left about 20,000 troops, under some Sirdars, to protect Peshawur. The Ameer also summoned to Cabool Sirdar Mahomed Akbar Khan, Nawab Jabbar Khan, Sirdar Mahomed Usman Khan, and Shuja Ud Doulah Khan. The Sirdar has given very strict orders to Assajan Khan, of Julalabad, to proceed and welcome you in the mouth of the Khyber Pass, and conduct you from thence, with distinction, to Cabool.

I am now at Jugdaluk, on my way to Cabool; and I learn from letters just received that one of the Sirdars is coming from Candahar to Cabool, and that the Persian elchee has arrived there, and is also expected very soon at Cabool. Before this, an elchee had arrived from the King of Bokhara; but I think the Ameer will pay no attention whatever to the objects of any of them until you reach Cabool. When you come, the Ameer will do as you advise. Since peace is re-established, and every person is comfortable, and the weather agreeable, all look out anxiously for you. Come as quick as you can.

(A true translation.)

(signed) *Alexander Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE now the honour to report that we crossed the Indus at Attok on the 8th instant, and entered this city on the 13th, where we have been received with marked distinction and honour by Kurruck Sing, the Chevalier Avitabile, and all the officers of Maharaja Runjeet Sing.

2. It is now my intention to set out for Cabool on the morning of the 28th, and enter the defile of Khyber the following day, through which the party is to be escorted by all the chiefs of these mountains.

3. Of this territory I have only to report to his Lordship in Council that it is a complete drain on the finances of the Maharaja, from which, if I have rightly caught the spirit of his people, his Highness would now willingly withdraw; and I should not be surprised that he shortly made a direct offer to fall back on the arrangements preceding 1833, by which Sooltan Mahomed Khan, and his brothers, would be left to govern Peshawar, rendering tribute to Lahore. There is a facility in this arrangement, since I have heard strong assurances that the Chief of Cabool would readily acquiesce in it, but on this I cannot at present speak with precision.

4. Sooltan Mahomed Khan and his family have sought anxiously to interest me in their behalf, but beyond expressions of sympathy at their misfortunes, and hopes that circumstances may again restore them to authority, I have, I think, parried their

their request. Seeltan Mahomed Khan has not concealed from me his differences with his brother of Cabool, and his opinions of being able to injure him by means of Runjeet Sing; but in these sentiments I only recognise the homage he pays to the greater strength of the chief of Cabool.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Peshawur, 22 August 1837.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that we quitted Peshawur yesterday morning, and are now encamped on the scene of the late conflict between the Sikhs and Afghans, where the ruler of the Punjab is actively engaged in erecting a fort; we only await the arrival of Dost Mahomed Khan's officers to enter the defile of Khyber.

2. In my communication of the 22d instant I reported the courteous reception we had met with in Peshawur. It continued to the last, and in company with Kour Kurruck Sing we were conducted to see the fort of Peshawur, and had reviews of the regular and irregular troops composing the garrison. The force at present amounts to 46 guns, 250 camel swivels, 14 battalions, and about 20,000 irregular cavalry; and the efficiency of the body does great credit to the Maharaja and his officers.

3. Up to the 26th instant all my intercourse with the Seik authorities was confined to mere ceremony and expression of friendship, but on that day I was invited, with all the party, to hold a private conference with Kour Kurruck Sing. The prince himself is imbecile, and quite incompetent to keep up even common conversation, but he was attended by Jemadar Kooshial Sing, Sirdar Attar Sing Sindewala, Lena Sing, Sham Sing, and other persons of rank.

4. The prince stated that he had had a letter from his father which he wished to make known to me; and his advisers proceeded to state, that the Maharaja had instructed him to ask me, what were the precise views of the British Government in deputing me to Cabool. I immediately replied by recurring to all our late arrangements for opening the Indus, and stated that we had founded that measure on the good understanding between the Maharaja and the British Government, and that, with his Highness's permission, we had now minutely examined the Indus to Attok, and that my further journey westward had reference to working out the benefits to be derived from this extensive water communication. These, said I, were the views contemplated by the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, when I was first deputed to these countries; but I concluded that the question now put from the Maharaja, had arisen from the late collision of his troops with those of Dost Mahomed Khan.

5. The prince and his advisers of course admitted at once that it was this which had given rise to anxiety, and stated that there was no comparison between the forces of the Ameer of Cabool and their master; that the late affair of Jumrood was not a victory, but a mere surprise, and that the Maharaja would have subsequently marched to Jullalabad and captured it, but for the approach of a mission from the British Government, whose friendship Maharaja Runjeet Singh ardently desired, and the dread of offending which had kept him in position at Peshawur.

6. In answer to these observations, I stated that the British Government, though it anxiously wished to see peace on its frontiers, and despaired of turning the navigation of the Indus to advantage without it, had yet no desire to unnecessarily mix itself up with these unfortunate differences; and that I had delayed at Dera Ismael Khan, by orders of the Governor General, so long as war raged, and only now advanced since peace seemed to be restored; that I would set out for Cabool in a few days, and I could assure the Prince and his advisers, for the Maharaja's information, that the friendship between him and the British Government would not be diminished by any proceedings in that country, and that the

report of the distinction with which I had been received here would soon be current there; that the Chief of Cabool would know from various quarters, and from myself, that I had left the door of the son of the ruler of the Punjab with a declaration that the British Government had not authorised me to enter on any subject which might prove prejudicial to the good understanding which had so long and happily existed between it and Maharaja Runjeet Sing. These sentiments, in which I hope I have embodied the views of the Government of India, gave considerable satisfaction, and at the request of Kour Kurruck Sing, I addressed a letter to the Maharaja expressive of my thanks for his honoured treatment, and stating also that he would hear what had passed on the subject of his message from his son.

7. After the affairs of Cabool had been gone through, the Jemadar Keshal Sing turned the conversation upon Sinde, on which it appeared also the Maharaja wanted information, coming as we had done from that country. I was not slow to avail myself of the opportunity, and explained clearly that our object in establishing an agent in Sinde was to give due effect to all our arrangements regarding the navigation of the Indus, which had been hitherto clogged for want of a resident officer in that country; and that with reference to our having procured possession of Shikarpoor, which was currently rumoured, I begged to contradict it, and to assure the Maharaja, through his son and his advisers, that our objects were not territorial aggrandizement or the possession of Shikarpoor, but the establishment of such an influence along the river Indus as would give confidence to the community, who could not be expected to embark in commercial speculations when war and the disorders consequent upon it impended.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Camp at Jumrood, 31 August 1837.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I now do myself the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, that we entered the defile of Khyber on the morning of the 2d, have passed in perfect safety through it, and are now encamped on the banks of the river of Cabool, in the dominions of Dost Mahomed Khan.

2. The circumstances under which we crossed this great road deserve mention. Some miscalculation as to the date of our arrival, on the part of Dost Mahomed Khan's officers, prevented their coming to the mouth of the pass of Khyber, and I entered the defile without any protection but the Khyberees themselves. They escorted us safely, and even in the confusion which ensued in the pass (which runs in the bed of a river) when unexpectedly overflowed by a torrent, they resisted all temptations to plunder. In the last half of the pass we were joined by Dost Mahomed Khan's officers and troops.

3. From inquiries instituted on the spot, I do not doubt but this great commercial road could be thrown open by an arrangement with the different Khyber chiefs. In the time of the Moghul emperors they were kept in regular pay, and the scale of transit duties which they now produced to me, and by which they are willing to be guided, was by no means exorbitant. On reaching Cabool, I shall state these views to Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, to whom the Khyberees do certainly at present owe or affect allegiance, and see if an end so desirable cannot be accomplished.

4. It is a very curious circumstance in the history of the commerce of these countries, that the roads from this to India are shut up, perhaps in a greater degree, in consequence of the exorbitant custom-house exactions of Maharaja Runjeet Sing, than of the needy mountaineers west of the Indus; and if that great man could have his mind turned to the improvement of his internal economy,

economy, it might withdraw him from schemes of conquest and ambition, and would indubitably contribute to the peace and prosperity of the countries on the British frontier, and the well-being of all parties.

Camp at Duka,
4 September 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to submit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, a report on the political power of the Sikhs westward of the Indus, which at the present time may prove interesting to his Lordship in Council, when this neighbourhood engages attention.

Camp, near Julalabad,
8 September 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

ON the POLITICAL POWER of the *Sikhs* beyond the *Indus*.
By Captain *Burnes*.

Outline of Sikh Power West of the Indus.

THE power of the Sikhs westward of the Indus may be said to be confined to the plain country. It can only be enforced in the mountains by the presence of an army, and in some of the hilly tracts, even bordering on the river, the Mahomedans successfully resist it. The strength of their country, and not their power, enables them to cope with Maharaja Runjeet Singh. The low country, on the other hand, is under complete subjection to Lahore, the Derajat without the presence of a regular force, which is, however, necessary in the plain of Peshawur. For six degrees of latitude, from $34^{\circ} 30'$ north, down to $28^{\circ} 30'$, or the frontiers of Sind, the Sikhs have either possession of the country west of the river, or exercise some kind of influence over it. An enumeration in detail of the condition of the different petty states will best bear out these observations.

Poyndu Khan of Puklee.

2. The most northern territory with which Runjeet Sing has been brought into collision west of the Indus is that of Poyndu Khan Turnowlee, a Moghul by descent.

The possessions of this chief consisted of a small but rich tract of country eastward of the Abooseen (so the Indus is here called) in Puklee, yielding yearly about a lac of rupees. Of this the Sikhs have deprived him. He yet holds the fort of Chuttoorbye, on an island in the Indus, about 10 miles north of Derbund, and a country of about 240 square miles on the west bank. From this tract the Seiks draw no tribute, and even on the east bank they hold their possession with difficulty, Poyndu Khan making continual forays across the river, and carrying off prisoners, on whose ransom he supports himself and his people. He has about 500 horse, and keeps up about 2,000 infantry, most of whom are natives of Hindoostan. These were drawn into this country by the fanatic Syud Ahmed, who was slain by the Seiks in 1831.

Sittana.

3. Succeeding Poyndu Khan's country, and below Derbund, lies the district of Sittana, about 15 miles north of Torbaila. It is held, with a very small tract, by Syud Akbar, a holy man, who is much revered by the Mahomedans in this country. He has no tribute to pay to the Sikhs, nor are he or his few subjects molested by them.*

Euzoofzyes.

4. Below these petty districts, and in from them, lie the territories of the Euzoofzyes, a numerous and powerful tribe of Afghans, whom the Sikhs control by retaining a regular force cantoned in the plain country, north of Attok, between the Indus and river of Cabool. This body is protected from surprise by Tangeera, a fort of some strength, built on the north bank of the river of Cabool, about five miles from where it falls into the Indus. The Euzoofzyes are the tribe from which the ruler of Lahore experienced so much opposition in his approaches on Peshawur, and with whom some of his most sanguinary conflicts have taken place. The late Sirdar Huree Sing, who has just fallen in the battle of Jumrood, was in the habit of making yearly incursions among the Euzoofzyes, burning their villages and crops, and demanding horses, &c. in tribute. At different times he has destroyed the villages of Topee, Minee, Kota, Moonara and Beeree, which belong to the Otmanzye Euzoofzyes. From these he used to exact about 60 horses; but two years since, by mutual agreement, a tax of four rupees per house was fixed in lieu of every demand. This is, however, only rendered to the force which overawes them. The sum realised sometimes amounts to 60,000 rupees. The principal person among the Euzoofzyes is Futtih Khan, chief of Punjtar, whose territories to the west are bounded by Swat and Hushtnuggur. He has about 1,500 foot and 200 horse, besides village (Ooloosee) troops. He has sent horses and hawks to the Sikhs, but pays no regular tribute.† He will not allow an agent of the Sikhs to enter his country. He has greater means of resisting than his more southern neighbours.

Plain of Peshawur.

5. The plain of Peshawur is the most northern actual conquest of the Sikhs west of the Indus. For many years it yielded an annual tribute of horses and rice to Lahore; but in 1834, when the ex-King Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk made the attempt to recover his kingdom, by an attack on Candahar, Runjeet Sing seized upon Peshawur, and has since retained it. It is stated that the Maharaja's design in seizing Peshawur was to counteract the power of the Shah, should he re-establish himself on his throne; but there is more reason to believe that his foresight did not extend thus far, and that Sirdar Huree Sing, from a long residence on the Attok, and incessant wars with the Mahomedans, urged him to the step, and succeeded against his own better judgment. The policy of the conquest was always dubious, and has been throughout a source of much anxiety, and latterly a cause of disaster, and the loss of Sirdar Huree Sing's life. Previous to its conquest, Peshawur was held by a branch of the Barukzye family under Sooltan Mohomed Khan and his brothers, who realised a yearly revenue of upwards of eight lacs of rupees. The assessment under Lahore amounted to 10 lacs, and this sum has since been realised by the French officer (M. Avitabile) who fixed it. A small portion of it, however, reaches the coffers of the Sikhs, for at the present time Sooltan Mohomed Khan, and his brothers, possess jagheers to the amount of four and a half lacs of

* Lieutenant Leech ascended the right bank of the Indus opposite to Derbund, and to him I am indebted for these particulars.

† An agent of this chief waited upon me with a letter, tendering his master's allegiance to the British Government, and offering to pay the usual tribute. Finding his country adjoined Kaffiristan, I made some inquiries regarding it; and the agent immediately offered to commute the tribute of horses into one of young Kaffirs, thinking the change of terms would be more acceptable!

of rupees, and hold Cohat, Hushtnuggur and the Doaba, the richest portion of the plain. The country of the Khuleels, yielding about a lac of rupees, is entirely deserted; and that of the Momunds, which is nearly as valuable, is only half cultivated. Six out of ten lacs are thus expended; and, besides these, lands are alienated to religious persons, and a large garrison is kept up at Peshawur, and much additional expense is incurred, so that Peshawur is a drain on the finances of the Lahore state, with the additional disadvantage of being so situated as to lead the Sikhs into constant collision with desperate enemies, who are only powerless because they want money. In the city of Peshawur, the Sikhs have built a fort on the site of Bala Hissar. It is strong, and in the late war afforded protection to the wealthier inhabitants. They have also sought to strengthen their position by erecting a new fort, called Futtehghur, near Jamrood, opposite the Khyber Pass. It is a square of about 300 yards, protecting an octagonal fort, in the centre of which is a lofty mass of building commanding the surrounding country. This fort is dependent on the mountain streams for its water, which the Afghans can and do dam up. A well, however, has been sunk, but at a depth of 170 feet water has not been found, but from indications in the soil may be expected. With this defence, the position will be a troublesome one; for the Afreedees and Khyberees consider it meritorious to injure the Sikhs, and during two days that we halted at it, drove off a herd of camels, and murdered two Sikhs, who had gone a couple of miles from camp.

Khuttuks and Sagrees.

6. Between the plain of Peshawur and the Salt Range at Kala Bagh, lies the country of the Khuttuks and Sagree Afghans. The Khuttuks are divided into the petty chiefships of Acora and Teree. Acora lies east of the plain of Peshawur, on the river of Cabool; and its chief, Hussan Khan, serves the Sikhs, and is permitted to hold his country in consequence. The Khuttuks of Acora, who live in the hills, are not however subject to Runjeet Sing. The southern division, under the chief of Teree, is able to assert his independence, in so far as that he refuses to pay a direct tribute, though he acknowledges the supremacy of Sooltan Mahomed Khan, who is but a servant of the Sikhs. When Peshawur fell first into the hands of Runjeet Sing, he stationed a Sikh officer in Cohat and Bungush, but he found it next to impossible to manage the country directly under himself, and has since wisely confided it to the ex-chief of Peshawur. By this means a small tribute of about 1,000 rupees per annum is drawn from Teree, in the plain of Bungush, which lies westward of the Khuttuk country. Below the Khuttuks lie the Sagree Patans, a tribe entirely independent of the Sikhs. They hold the country on the west bank for nearly 30 miles above Kala Bagh, and also possess it on the opposite bank as high as the plain commencing at Hassan Abdal. They are shepherds, and have numerous flocks. From Attok to Kalabagh, it will therefore be seen that the Sikhs have little or no power along the line of the Indus. The inhabitants, during the last campaign, resisted the ascent of boats from Kala Bagh to construct the bridge of boats, till Sooltan Mahomed Khan interceded; and had the Sikhs met with further reverses at Jumrood, the Khuttuks were ready to attack them on their retreat to Attok, as they passed the defile of Geedur Gulle.* The number of the Khuttuk tribe is variously stated at 6,000 and 8,000 armed men.

Kala Bagh.

7. The town of Kala Bagh, so famous for its rock salt, is subject to Runjeet Singh, but held by a native malik, or chief, who pays 10,000 rupees yearly to Lahore, though he collected 32,000. The situation of the malik is very unsatisfactory, for he is surrounded on all sides by the enemies of the Sikhs, with whom he is obliged to live on friendly terms, that they may not injure him when the Sikh troops are withdrawn. Kala Bagh is an important position to the Maharaja, as it is here that he crosses his army to make inroads and levy
tribute

* Lieutenant Wood passed through the country of the Khuttuks and Sagrees, and on his authority I am enabled to state the precise condition of this tract.

1—Sess. 2.

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tribute upon the tribes, which we shall presently speak of. The subjection of Kala Bagh is complete.

Eesakhyl.

8. Following the course of the Indus is the country of the Eesakhyl Afghans, which extends to within 30 miles of the province of Dera Ismael Khan. It is a strong and mountainous strip of land, and in its valleys finely watered and well peopled. The Sikhs have, however, approached it from Paharpoor on the south, and also from Kala Bagh, and exact pretty regularly a tribute of 34,000 rupees per annum. To enforce their authority a detachment was last year stationed in the country; but the whole party were massacred during a rise of the population; and the present chief, Ahmed Khan, who has the character of a humane and good man, has resisted all attempts to replace the detachment, though he acknowledges allegiance to Lahore, and agrees to pay his tribute. The mountains of Eesakhyl and Khussoor rise so abruptly from the Indus, that but for the access to this country on other sides, it might make successful resistance; and the latest intelligence from this neighbourhood reports that the Eesakhyl are to be left to govern themselves without a garrison, if they pay their tribute.

Bunnoo.

9. In from Eesakhyl lies the district of Bunnoo, intersected by the Koorum River, which renders it rich and fertile, and excites the cupidity of the Sikhs. The Lahore troops have frequently entered Bunnoo, and did so last year, exacting tribute from it of a lac of rupees. They receive nothing without a large force, and one is generally sent every second year. In the times of the kings, Bunnoo paid a yearly tribute of 1 lac and 40,000 rupees; and the flatness of the country will always enable the most powerful chief in the neighbourhood to exact something from it. The Sikhs have no troops in Bunnoo, and enter it by the village of Lukhee.

Murwut.

10. South of Bunnoo lies Murwut. A tribute of 28,000 rupees is exacted from this district; but, as in Bunnoo, an armed force is necessary. It is a country rich in grain, which is sent down the Indus to Dera Ismael Khan.

Tak.

11. The district of Tak adjoins the province of Dera Ismael Khan, and, being partly in the plains, is now held subject to Lahore. At present it forms part of the jagheer of No Nihal Sing, and is farmed for 1 lac and 20,000 rupees; but the amount realised is varying, though certain, a Sikh force being located in the country. The chiefs for some years paid a tribute of 100 camels and 25,000 rupees; but they have now left the country and fled to Cabool. The only enemies of which the Sikhs here stand in awe are the Wuzerees, a barbarous tribe of Afghans who inhabit the mountains to the westward, and sometimes descend and plunder in the low country.

Dera Ismael Khan.

12. The next tract we come upon in descending the Indus, is Dera Ismael Khan, which formed one of the governments of the Dooranees. It was taken permanent possession of last year by the Sikhs, and assigned as a jagheer to No Nihal Sing, the grandson of the Maharaja. The breach of faith in seizing it renders the Sikh administration very unpopular; for on the conquest of Mankaira, east of the Indus, the ruler of Lahore assigned Dera Ismael Khan in perpetuity to the Nawab, after a brave and memorable defence. Its revenue exceeds 4½ lacs of rupees, which is drawn from the town itself to Paharpoor north, Kaheree south, and Drabund west, including Kolaichee, Koye, and the tribute of Eesakhyl. The ex-ruler is pensioned on 60,000 rupees a year, and,
as

as the following statement will show, but half the balance reaches the young prince :—

Net Revenue of Dera Ismael Khan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rs.	4,25,000
EXPENSES.									Rs.	
Pension to the Ex-Nawab	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50,000	
Poyndu Khan for	-	-	-	100	horse	-	-	-	28,000	
Hyat Oollah for	-	-	-	55	ditto	-	-	-	16,000	
Husn Khan for	-	-	-	60	ditto	-	-	-	20,000	
Ashik Khan for	-	-	-	67	ditto	-	-	-	18,200	
Sikunder Khan for	-	-	-	24	ditto	-	-	-	8,000	
Lukmee Mul for	-	-	-	25	ditto	-	-	-	9,000	
Number of Horse, 331.										
JAGHEERS.										
Futtih Sing Mhan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10,000	
Juggut Sing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17,000	
Bye Seik	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,000	
Managing Dewan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14,000	
Alms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10,000	
Net Expenses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,06,200
RECEIPTS.										
Taxes from Kaheree to Eesakhyl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,50,000	
Town duties from Paharpoor, Dera Ismael, &c., estimated at	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	68,000	
Net Receipts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,18,800
TOTAL									Rs.	4,25,000

The seizure of Dera Ismael Khan, it is stated, has been urged upon the Maharaja to strengthen his position in Peshawur, but the places have no connexion with one another, and are separated by the Khuttuk country, which is impervious to any force but a large one, though a gun road passes through it. The Lahore chief will have no difficulty in retaining Dera Ismael Khan, for the people are less warlike than their neighbours, and a great portion of the inhabitants are addicted to commerce, and have an interest in the peace and tranquillity of the country.

Dera Ghazee Khan.

South of Dera Ismael Khan lies the large tract of Dera Ghazee Khan, which extends as far west as the mountains, and along the Indus to Sinde. These two provinces are generally known by the name of Derajat. Dera Ghazee Khan was conquered by the Sikhs about 25 years ago, but it was not their policy at that time to hold any permanent possession westward of the Indus, and it was farmed to the chief of Bhawalpoor, who mismanaged it grossly till it was resumed in 1832. It has since become a most flourishing territory, for which M. Ventura may claim every credit. Below Kaheree the districts of Gunung, Saugur, Dena, and Hurrund Dajil succeed each other, extending south of Mittun, and are richly watered by numerous streamlets from the hills, the principal of which are the Goomul, Rumul, Vahoor, Sungur, and Shoree. These, with the strip of land on the east bank of the Indus, called Cuchee, now yield a revenue of 8½ or 9 lacs of rupees. The amount would be much greater

if a money tribute were not exacted in room of a grain one, which distresses the cultivators. Sikh authority is established to the base of the hills; and the mountaineers, the Stooreeanees, &c., even pay for the lands which they are allowed to cultivate in the low country. The only turbulent portion of this tract lies to the south, near Hurrund and Dagil, which are acquisitions from the Brahmoes of a late date, and being molested by the Doomkees, Muzarees, &c., require a watchful eye. Otherwise, the Sikh rule is paramount in this country; their Grunth, or holy book, is placed in mosques and sometimes in temples built for it; the cow is a sacred animal, and no Mahomedan raises his voice in praying to his God, the clearest proofs of conquest; but at the same time, an interference so impolitic that on the slightest reverse westward of the Indus, the subdued and sullen population are ready to rise *en masse* upon the invaders of their soil, whose position for a portion of every season is further endangered by the inundation of the Indus, during which it cannot be bridged, and is with difficulty passed by an army.

Camp on the Cabool River,
near Julalabad, 8 September 1837.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I now proceed to lay before the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council a report on the recent intercourse of Candahar with Russia and Persia, founded on documents and information which I consider authentic.

2. Immediately on the receipt of the despatches from our ambassador in Persia at Dera Ghazee Khan, in June last, I despatched a messenger to Candahar to inquire into the state of affairs there, that I might neutralise, as far as was then in my power, the results which might flow from the arrival of a Persian elchee at that city. I addressed the chief of Candahar (Khan Dil Khan) and his two brothers, and made known to them the views contemplated by his Lordship in Council by my deputation west of the Indus. I availed myself of this opportunity to seek [from private correspondents] an account of the state of affairs in that country, and my messengers returned yesterday.

3. The principal chief of Candahar was absent when the courier arrived, but his brother Rahim Dil and Meer Dil Khan have forwarded to me letters, expressive of their highest satisfaction at the prospect of meeting an agent of the British Government, and the reply of their elder brother is promised immediately on his return to the city. How far these professions of satisfaction tally with what is hereafter given, his Lordship in Council will be best able to judge.

4. My private correspondents narrate, in circumstantial detail, the whole affair of the Persian elchee's arrival, reception and treatment, as well as the fullest particulars regarding the change of presents and letters between the chief of Candahar and the Russian ambassador at Tehran.

5. The foundation of the intercourse between Candahar and Russia is to be traced to Abbas Khan, the son of the shater bashee of Shah Kamran, who fled from Herat to Tehran about two years ago, and became at that capital the guest of the Russian ambassador, [from whom he received pay.*]

6. Abbas Khan, possessing some influence with the chiefs of Candahar, sent a secret message to them by his servant Meer Mahomed, suggesting that it would be greatly to their advantage if they addressed the Russian minister at Tehran, and they accordingly charged Tej Mahomed Khan, an envoy whom they had deputed to the Shah of Persia with a letter to the Russian ambassador, the contents of which were as follows:

“That the sirdars of Candahar were sincerely anxious to enter into a friendly connexion with Russia, as family differences had long existed among them, and
in

* [This fact is stated by Mr. McNeill in a private letter to myself.]

in consequence of these, that Runjeet Sing, the Sikh Chieftain of Lahore, had seized much of their country ; that money alone was wanted to expel him ; for troops they had in abundance, but not the means to pay them, and that they hoped for such assistance from Russia."

7. This letter was delivered into the hands of the Russian Minister at Tehran, to whom Tej Mahomed Khan was introduced by Abbass Khan, and at the same time he delivered a fur cloak (postem), ornamented with gold, from the Chief of Candahar ; the Russian Minister expressed great satisfaction at the receipt of this letter, and directed a likeness of Tej Mahomed Khan to be taken, which he said he would forward to St. Petersburg.

8. Some time after the arrival of his envoy, the Shah deputed Kumbur Ali Khan as his elchee to Candahar and Cabool, the copy of whose instructions and credentials are already before Government ; along with him the Candahar envoy started, and the Russian Minister gave him a letter to the chief,* expressing his great satisfaction at the friendly sentiments he had communicated, and dismissed him with a message, suggesting that Kohundil Khan should send his son to Tehran, and that an elchee of Russia would return the compliment in the following year, when any money that could be spared would be despatched to satisfy the wants of the Candahar Chief. By this opportunity [the following] presents were sent by the Russian Minister to the Candahar Chiefs.

[To Sirdar Kohindil Khan :—A good telescope, a double-barrelled gun, a fur cloak, some broad cloth.

To Rahun Dil Khan :—A watch, a pair of pistols, some broad cloth.

To Mihr Dil Khan :—A pipe, with silver head, some broad cloth, some yellow chintz.

Besides, there were some trifling presents for the son of the late Sirdar Porrdil Khan, and likewise for the Sirdar's son.]

9. In company of Tej Mahomed Khan came Meer Mahomed,† the servant of Abbas Khan, and on reaching Candahar all the Sirdars treated him with the highest distinction, and personally visited him, which is quite unusual. It is stated publicly that he is an agent of Russia.

10. Before these circumstances transpired, and the Persian elchee reached Candahar, the Ameer of Cabool addressed his brothers of Candahar, apprising them of the contents of the letter which he had received from the Governor General, regarding my mission to Cabool, and suggested the propriety of deputing one of their number to Cabool, to be present at any conference that might take place ; and his reason for doing so was, that he wished to act fairly by them. It was resolved therefore to send Mihr Dil Khan to Cabool, [who has the credit of possessing more ability than the rest of the family] ; but immediately that Tej Mahomed Khan arrived from Tehran with the Persian elchee, all arrangements have been suspended, and the journey to Cabool is now postponed *sine die*.

11. Various surmises have occurred to the Chiefs of Candahar, regarding the objects of the British Government, and the invitation of their brother of Cabool. The subject has been one of common conversation, and it appears that the Candahar family, who are not cordial with Cabool, considered that any conference there could only have reference to Peshawur, a restoration of which might not benefit themselves. They also considered that they might make themselves useful to the British Government, independent of Cabool, if their intrigues to the west fail ; but be their reasons what they may, they wish to be dealt with separately ; but what is more important than this determination is, the deputing of another envoy on their part to Tehran, by name Hajee Mobeen, who has just set out, and that too in pursuance, as it is believed, of the advice of the Russian Ambassador,‡ for it has been given out that a son of Kohun Dil Khan will follow, and that the Candahar Sirdars will attack Herat.

12. This

* [This is the communication which fell into Mr. M'Neil's hands.]

† [This is the person who made over Count Simonitch's letter to Mr. M'Neil.]

‡ [Mr. M'Neil informed me that he had been only able to impede and interrupt this communication temporarily.]

12. This envoy is the bearer of a letter to the Shah from the Candahar Chiefs, the substance of which is said to be as follows :

“ That the British Government has deputed one of its officers to Cabool, but that they (the Chiefs of Candahar) command the road to and from Herat, and not the Chief of Cabool, who is engaged in the affairs of Peshawur; and has it not in his power to serve the Shah ; that they are prepared to proceed to Herat whenever the Persian army is ready, and also to send a son of the Sirdar to Tehran, and keep aloof from all friendship with the English nation.”

Along with this communication the Persian elchee has written to his Majesty the Shah, stating, that it is Candahar alone which can serve him, and seeing such to be the case, he has met their wishes, and stayed at Candahar. [Of what has been written to the Russian Minister I have had no report.]

13. [I have now stated the particulars regarding the Russian connexion with Candahar.] As reported in my letter of the 1st ultimo, Kumbur Ali Khan, the Persian envoy, has reached Candahar ; he was received with great pomp and distinction, and conducted into the city by the chiefs in person. Since, they have continued to entertain him, but he has made no progress on his way to Cabool ; seldom leaves his house, and seems likely to continue at Candahar. [At present I find it difficult to state precisely whether this arises from the chiefs or the elchee himself, whose character is described in terms not at all measured, since it appears that he and his people pass their time in revelry at the Sirdars' expense, and are seldom or ever free from the influence of wine. From this person individually I imagine there is, therefore, no danger ;* his companion, Mahomed Hoessein, the envoy of Cabool, still continues at Candahar ; the Sirdars notice him but little, and his perpetual theme of conversation is to enlarge on the power of Persia and Russia.]

14. At present Candahar has not only a representative from Persia, but from the court of Lahore, the son of Sooltan Mahomed Khan having been deputed with presents there in company with an agent from Runjeet Singh. The arrival of these gifts has given offence to the Candahar family ; they had sent some horses to their brother in Peshawur, with whom they are on very friendly terms, and he passed them on to Runjeet Singh as the tribute of Candahar : the Maharajah, in return, sent two elephants, with one of his own confidential servants ; the whole under charge of Khoja Mahomed Khan, the son of Sooltan Mahomed Khan, and, but for his near relationship, it seems doubtful if the Candahar family would have ever permitted the presents to enter Candahar ; for these chiefs reject all communication with Lahore, though they have been lately addressed in very flattering terms by the Maharaja. The most singular portion of the contents of his Highness's letters to them is a statement of his intention to restore Peshawur to Sooltan Mahomed Khan, with whom he is about to crush the Chief of Cabool, and to aid in which he requests the assistance of Candahar. The Candahar family are much concerned at the whole proceeding, though they yet entertain a sincere affection for their brother in Peshawar.

15. To such a nucleus of intrigue as the chiefship of Candahar is proved to be, by the above circumstances, I shall not fail to turn my attention, and bear in mind the instructions conveyed to me in the fifth and sixth paragraphs of your communication of the 15th of May last, and thoroughly sift the nature of all connexion between the States in Afghanistan and Persia or Russia, and as long as it pleases his Lordship in Council to keep me in these countries, I shall omit no opportunity of upholding, as far as I can, the British influence, and counteract, by every means in my power, these insidious attempts to extend, at our expense, the influence of other nations.]

Camp near Jalalabad,
9 September 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) Alex. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

* [The letters brought by him from the Shah had reference to attacking Herat, and inviting aid : they have been sent to Government.]

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 31st of July last, making me acquainted with the views of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, regarding an adjustment of the differences between the Sikhs and Afghans, and the anxious wish of his Lordship to bring them, if possible, to a happy termination without involving the British Government.

2. In my letter of the 22d ultimo, from Peshawur, I briefly stated the impression which was current, that the Maharaja would shortly seek to manage Peshawur by means of Sooltan Mahomed Khan, and the correspondence which Captain Wade has sent me serves fully to confirm the rumour that Runjeet Singh entertains some such mode of adjustment, and my communication of yesterday will even show that he has intimated such a plan to the Chief of Candahar.

3. As I am still eight or ten days' march from Cabool, it is not yet in my power to communicate the sentiments of the Ameer; but it will be my most anxious study to moderate his views in every way that lies in my power. Looking as I do upon the disposition of Maharaja Runjeet Sing to withdraw from Peshawur, and to make any such settlement as contemplated as the most cordial proof of his sincerity to see peace established, and to conciliate the British Government, I shall, if the subject becomes one of discussion, point out the manifold benefits likely to result from it to Dost Mahomed Khan, and from his state of mind I do not think I shall do so in vain, since Peshawur, if restored even on an enhanced tribute to any of the Barukzye family, is a voluntary sacrifice of what is by conquest the right and possession of the Lahore Chief.

4. I am happy to report that time seems to have worked a satisfactory change in the mind of the Ameer of Cabool, and that the elation at his success in Jamrood has been much moderated by the reflection that no substantial result has followed from it, and that if the Sikhs prosecute the war, he must be involved in expenses which, even if successful in repelling their attacks, will embarrass him. He seems, therefore, most anxiously to wait our arrival at his capital, and I believe that he is sincere in seeking for counsel to guide him in his difficulties. If Captain Wade therefore succeeds in persuading the Maharaja, I do not doubt of a corresponding success in Cabool.

5. In a paper which I forward by this packet, on "the political power of the Sikhs west of the Indus," his Lordship in council will be made acquainted with the difficulties which the Sikhs encounter in Peshawur, all of which must induce Runjeet to seek some other settlement than the present. If it were possible, it would be impolitic at this time to surrender Peshawur to the Chief of Cabool; and though Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed Khan is restored to the chiefship, it appears to me as likely to induce the Maharaja to an early settlement, if it were suggested to him still to garrison the fort of Peshawur (the Bala Hissar), and receive the tribute through his detachment, which would save the Maharaja's honour if he thought his generosity likely to be misconstrued. The possession of Peshawur by this branch of the Barukzye family would increase British influence in this quarter, give satisfaction at Candahar, and though it might not at first please the Ameer of Cabool, he would concur in it, for he never can seize Peshawur as now situated, and would then find himself freed from the threats of opponents to his religion and power. A reconciliation with the Sikhs on terms so advantageous to both parties, without a compromise of the honour of either, would, in the end, fix Dost Mahomed Khan as the friend of the British Government, and also gain for it a high reputation among the people west of the Indus, whose feelings are greatly mixed up in the existing differences.

6. Under these circumstances I shall await with anxiety the report of Captain Wade's communications with the Maharaja, on which this important question now rests.

Camp near Sussued Koh,
10 September 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabul.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, dated the 31st of July last and the 1st ultimo, reporting your progress towards Cabool, and the circumstances attending it.

2. I am, in the first place, desirous to convey to you his Lordship in Council's entire approbation of the judgment and zeal manifested by you in all your proceedings already reported.

3. For your information and guidance, I am desirous to annex copies of paragraphs 3 to 6, and 11 to the end of a letter, this day written by order of his Lordship in Council to the political agent at Loodiana.

4. The very important intelligence contained in your letter of the 1st ultimo has induced the Governor General in Council to alter, in some measure, the views under which your deputation to Cabool was originally designed.

5. That a Persian elchee has arrived (accompanied by a member of the Candahar family), is nearly certain. It appears probable, from the tenor of Abdool Samads' letter, that you will have a difficult duty to perform under the circumstances by which Dost Mahomed will be surrounded. The quiet and unassuming character given at the outset to your mission will, owing to recent events, be very much changed; and instead of your being merely the bearer of an invitation to the Ameer of general friendship, and for a more free and cordial intercourse in matters of commerce, you may be looked for as an arbiter of peace, and possibly as a supporter of extravagant pretensions.

6. It might have been well, perhaps, if under existing circumstances you had in the first instance rather visited Candahar and Herat than Cabool, but it might bear the character of instability of purpose if your course were now changed, even were it not too late to do so; and supposing you to have arrived at Cabool, it is evident that you cannot confine yourself, in the existing state of excitement, to matters of a commercial nature.

7. It is not the intention of the Governor General in Council to invest you with any direct political power, beyond that of transmitting any proposition which may appear to you to be reasonable through Captain Wade to your own Government.

8. You are authorised, however, whenever an opportunity shall be afforded to you, to communicate, without reserve, with Dost Mahomed upon his actual position, and to point out the light in which that position is considered by the Governor General in Council; our desire to see established the peace and security and independence of his dominions, and our regret to find him exposed to the hazards of war on one side, and excited to restlessness by interference and worthless promises on the other; that, under any circumstances, our first feeling must be that of regard for the honour and just wishes of our old and firm ally Runjeet Singh; that if, however, he looked for terms of peace adapted to a fair measure of his position, such good offices in his favour with the Maharajah as we can render would be given to him; but that if he received with favour every emissary and every proposition, the avowed object of which was to foment disturbances even at the hazard of his own independence, it is impossible but that the friendly feelings of the British Government must be impaired.

9. You will be careful, if you should come in contact with the Persian envoy, so to temper the personal civility and respect with which you will treat him, as to admit no claim of undue importance, and you will at once state to Dost Mahomed that we cannot recognise a right in the Shah of Persia to interfere in any way in his transactions with the Sikh or British Government; you will take care to show to him, in the strongest light, how utterly vain must be his hopes of assistance from the Persian Government, the resources of which are inadequate for the purposes of its own government.

10. It is possible that these representations may have but little effect at the present moment, and it will be for you, upon a review of the influence which you are likely to gain upon passing events, to decide upon the propriety of prolonging your stay at Cabool.

11. If your stay can be prolonged with propriety, it is obvious that the information which you may be able to collect of the power, the means, and the state of parties in that country, cannot but be useful.

12. You will, of course, deem it your duty to discourage all extravagant pretensions

pretensions on the part of Dost Mahomed. In the present state of his information, his Lordship in Council would be inclined to think that, if Peshawur were restored to any of the members of the Barukzye family on the condition of tribute to Runjeet Singh, the terms would be as favourable as any that could be expected; and if Dost Mahomed, rejecting all attempts at drawing him into an alliance with Persia, should consent to the restoration of permanent tranquillity on this basis, and the tenor of your information from Captain Wade be such as to confirm you in this course (for your communications will, of course, be much influenced by the reports which you will receive from that officer), you are authorized to state that you will recommend to your Government the support of such an arrangement, in the manner which shall be most conducive to the honour and interests of all parties; but you should apprise the Ameer that the cultivation of all alliance with powers to the westward must cease, as the indispensable condition of our friendly intervention.

13. You will forward any proposition of this nature that may be made through Lieutenant Mackeson (should he be still at Peshawur) to Captain Wade, and it will be for Captain Wade to decide whether or no it may be advisable to communicate on the subject with the Maharaja previously to obtaining the instructions of his Lordship in Council. As our guarantee will not be given, the delay would hardly seem to be required.

14. As your ulterior proceedings must be altogether guided by the nature of your reception at Cabool, his Lordship in Council feels unable to furnish you with any specific instructions for your guidance beyond that point; but you have full authority to proceed to Candahar and Herat, should you be of opinion that your presence in those countries would have the effect of counteracting Persian intrigues, and of promoting the general tranquillity of the countries bordering on the Indus.

15. A copy of this letter will be sent to the Envoy in Persia for his information.

Fort William,
11 September 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to Government of India.

(No. 16.)

From Captain *Alex. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

I HASTEN to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, that I have just received a messenger from Herat, announcing that Shah Kamran has tendered his homage to the Shah of Persia, and sent 15 good horses, with 25 Cashmere shawls, to Tehran, in charge of Futteh Mahomed Khan, the nephew of his minister, Yar Mahomed.

2. The individual who has communicated the above information leads me to entertain no doubt of its authenticity. It comes from the secretary (Meerza) of Deen Mahomed Khan, who is also a nephew of the minister of Shah Kamran.

3. This intelligence would not appear to be known at Cabool; but it appears to me that when fully confirmed, the effect of it may prove favourable to the British Government, both at Candahar and Cabool. If, however, the chiefs of these provinces do in sincerity seek to form connexions with Persia, the result may be directly opposite. I do not apprehend that Herat could at present strike of itself any blow to the eastward; but if it becomes the frontier city of Persia, that power, aided by her allies, might certainly excite disturbance in this quarter.

Boothkhak,
One march from Cabool,
18 September 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

P. S.—To prevent accidents, I enclose a duplicate of my communication of the 9th instant, regarding the affairs of Candahar.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*.

(A true copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Dy. Secy. to the Govt. of India, with the Gov.-Genl.

(No. 17.)

From Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, that we reached Cabool on the morning of the 20th instant; were conducted into the city by Sirdar Mahomed Akber Khan, with great demonstrations of respect and joy, and immediately on our arrival presented to the Ameer, whose reception was of the most gratifying nature. After the interview, we were conducted by the Ameer's son to a spacious garden in the Bala Hissar, which had been prepared for us, and where we are now residing.

2. On the following day I had the honour to deliver my letter of credentials, which the Ameer received in a very flattering manner, with many expressions of his high sense of the great honour which had been conferred on him, in his at last having had the means of communication with an officer of the British Government, for which he felt deeply grateful to the Governor General.

3. Up to this time my communications with the Ameer have been confined to matters of compliment and ceremony; but I shall take an early opportunity of reporting on what transpires at this court, merely observing at present, from what I have seen and heard, that I have good reason to believe Dost Mahomed Khan will set forth no extravagant pretensions, and act in such a manner as will enable the British Government to show its interest in his behalf, and at the same time preserve for us the valued friendship of the Seikh Chief.

Cabool,
24 September 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Dy. Secy. to the Govt. of India, with the Gov. Genl.

(No. 29.)

From Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

[I HAVE the honour to submit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, a report of what has taken place since my arrival at this capital on the 20th ultimo; and, while it is my intention to lay open, as far as I have it in my power, the tone and temper of the chief, and the state of this country, and those adjacent to it, I shall necessarily confine myself to an outline, leaving for future notice various matters which still engage attention.]

2. On the afternoon of the 24th I was invited to the Bala Hissar, and being conducted into the interior of the harem, found the Ameer and his favourite son, Mahomed Akber Khan, without any of the chiefs, secretaries or attendants. The interview lasted till midnight, dinner being meanwhile served up; and I had an opportunity of conversing at length with Dost Mahomed Khan.

3. At the outset I proceeded to unfold to him in great detail the motives which led the British Government to direct its attention to the River Indus, and the countries bordering on it. I dwelt upon the prosperous trade which had once run in the direction of its course, and the many facilities which it had been found to present to the trader to transport his goods by it in preference to land routes; and, in addition to all, explained the treaties which we had formed with the rulers upon it; the light tolls leviable; the certain protection to property which they insured, superintended as was the navigation by British agents; and, finally, since the River Indus leads to the great commercial city of Cabool, and the marts beyond Hindoo Koosh, the British Government sought, in an extension and encouragement of the trade, not any selfish object, but, on the contrary, saw an advancement of the ends of others as well as of itself, and the strongest motives for stimulating the Ameer of Cabool and all other chiefs to associate themselves with us in promoting this trade, since increased consumption would be productive of increased revenues, and the direct advantage was not only apparent, but immediate.

4. Dost

4. Dost Mahomed Khan listened with great attention to what had been said; assured me that no one did or could enter more readily into the views which the British Government held than himself, for he had the fortunate experience to discover that, by protecting the merchant, the returns of his custom-house had gone on increasing, and were in a state of improvement at this hour; and the Government of India might therefore rely with every confidence on his cordial co-operation in any measures which tended to promote the trade to Cabool and Toorkistan, and that he would instruct all the merchants and hindoos to communicate with me, and also to make them acquainted with the enlightened protection they would experience in passing to India, and with the new routes which, by our fostering care, they might bring their goods to a market.

5. But, said the Ameer, "I am involved in difficulties which are very prejudicial to commerce; my hostilities with the Sikhs narrow my resources, compel me to take up money from merchants, and to even increase the duties to support the expenses of war. These are the shifts to which I am driven for seeking to preserve my honour. While we were engaged in resisting Shooja ool Moolk, at Candahar, the city of Peshawar was seized from our family, and I had the mortification to discover among the papers of the ex-king, after his defeat, a treaty that made Peshawar the reward of the Sikhs' aid to hurl me and mine from authority. [Providence and the sword enabled us to resist a monarch who in such an alliance had disgraced the name of a Dooranee; and Peshawar I have since considered lost, and looked with shame on my brothers, their wives and children being at the mercy of idolaters. Crushed as they are,] I was yet left; but when Runjeet Singh's officers planted a fort near the Khyber Pass, my existence was endangered; I resisted, and here also with success, [since Huree Singh, the inveterate hater of the name of Mahomedan, was slain]"

6. I was not unprepared for the irritation of the Ameer on the late events which have transpired in this quarter, and, as the best means of allaying such feelings, I thought it advisable to give a ready ear to what was urged, since I might by argument and advice do the chief service, and combat some of the positions which he had taken up. I admitted, therefore, that it was undoubtedly true that war produced the evils of which he complained, and crippled his power, but I strongly urged him to reflect on the uselessness of seeking to contend with so potent a prince as Maharaja Runjeet Singh. I stated the revenue of that chief, the great abilities which he possessed, the riches at his command, the fine army which he could bring into the field, the hopelessness of warring with him, and the injuries which he inflicted on himself and his people by allowing himself to be drawn into hostilities; and though the fortune of war had of late granted success to his arms, and his formidable opponent Huree Singh was no more, I could assure him, as a well-wisher, that he was contending with a power which he could not resist, and that it would be prudent to seek for such an adjustment of differences as would preserve his own reputation and that of his countrymen.

7. The Ameer bore at once the most ready testimony to the power and abilities of Runjeet Singh, and after various questions as to my own impressions regarding the Punjab as a State, said it was too true that he could not attack such an adversary, [though the Maharaja had gathered strength solely from the family differences of the chiefs, and it might yet be reduced by the exertions of the Afghans. "The people west of the Indus," said he, "hate the Sikhs for the oppression which they have experienced at their hands, for the barbarous interference with the practice of their religion, which of itself secured friends that could not otherwise be reckoned upon when an attack was contemplated on Runjeet Singh.] My sons and people may speak in exaggerated strains of our late success; but it is too evident, however, that our power is not one-tenth of that of the Punjab; and, instead of renewing such conflicts, it would be a source of real gratification if the British Government would counsel me how to act; none of our other neighbours can avail me, and, in return, I would pledge myself to forward its commercial and its political views."

8. I assured the Ameer that I heard these sentiments with extreme satisfaction, for it had gone abroad that his conclusions from late events were otherwise, and I had only, as a well-wisher, set before him the true power of Runjeet Singh, and from his own observations, it appeared to me I could not have overrated it, [since the admission of the Maharaja's being able to interrupt the Maho-

medan in his devotions, however impolitic it might be, afforded the clearest proof of the formidable strength which he possessed even on this side of the Indus]. I could, however, assure him that the British Government warmly interested itself in the preservation of peace, and wished well to both parties; that in Maharaja Runjeet Singh it recognized, and that, too, publicly, an old and valued ally, and in the Ameer himself it saw a ruler who was anxious to promote the commercial prosperity of his country, and consequently of his neighbours; and that though I myself had been deputed here not to adjust political differences, it would be indeed gratifying if I could do anything towards an end so desirable as a peace, which would not only save the further loss of human life, but promote the good of all parties; but, without an exact knowledge of the Ameer's sentiments on all points, my advice would not only be useless, but probably prejudicial.

9. Dost Mahomed Khan now entered upon the affairs of his own government, ran over the history of the Dooranee kingdom, expatiating on its power, which extended from Meshid and Cashmeer, and, pointing to the house in which he sat, said that "this is the whole share of that vast empire which has fallen to me, and I cannot, therefore, be indifferent to the honour of having communication with an agent of the British Government, nor to seeking, by every means I can, to interest it in my behalf. The treaties which have been made with the powers on the Indus are the best proofs of your sincerity in the objects which have led the government to depute you to Cabool, and [it is publicly stated throughout the whole of Khorasan that you have saved Shikarpore from the aggressions of the Sikhs; and the same motives which led to that measure will, I hope, induce you, for some similar consideration,] to interfere in the affairs of Peshawar and Cabool."

10. I did not conceal from the Ameer that we had sought to preserve peace along the line of the Indus, and that we had used our influence to prevent its being disturbed, and had happily succeeded; but I could assure him that we had done it to promote commercial views, without receiving any consideration, and that the current rumours regarding the cession of Shikarpore to us were incorrect, and likewise that we had come to a perfect understanding with Maharaja Runjeet Singh, and that the friendship of the British Government for that personage was greater than ever. I here drew a broad line of distinction between the affairs of Shikarpore and Peshawar; pointed out that the one was a possession of the Ameers of Sind, while Peshawar was an undoubted conquest of the Sikhs made by the sword, preserved by it, and to interfere with which would be a violation of justice and the integrity of Runjeet Singh's dominions. I continued, however, that there was a rumour very current in Peshawar, and which has also reached me, that the Maharaja intended to make some change in the management of Peshawar, but that it sprung from himself, and not the British Government.

11. The Ameer said that he had also heard similar reports, and asked if I knew the arrangements; for Peshawar could be of no value to the Sikhs, and must indeed cause great expense. I stated my ignorance of the plans of Runjeet Singh; but it appeared a probable enough arrangement, since his Highness had granted large jagheers to Sooltan Mahomed Khan and his brothers; that he contemplated the restoration of the whole country to that branch of his family, under certain restrictions. I said that I spoke without definite information, and not from any indifference on the part of the British Government, which would rejoice to see a change that terminated the present state of constant war in Peshawar, and I even believed that if Runjeet Singh sought of himself to change his policy in that quarter, the Government would be glad to use its good offices to both parties if it saw any prospect of their being useful, but that it was now needless to say more without certain information, though the supposed intentions of the Maharaja ought to afford the Ameer subject for consideration, and might probably lead him to devise some satisfactory means of reconciliation with the Sikhs. With these observations, our private conversation ended by Dost Mahomed Khan's stating that he would take an early opportunity of again seeing me.

12. The Ameer on this, invited in Mirza Sumee Khan and Mirza Iwam Verdi, who are the principal secretaries of himself and his son, and without entering into any minute particulars, sketched out what had passed between us, and called for dinner, during, and after which, he entered upon many subjects, and
among

among others on his connexion with Persia [to which I shall only allude briefly, as I am preparing a report on Kuzzilbash influence in this quarter].

13. He stated with considerable candour the whole circumstances regarding it, declared that he had sought with ardour the friendship of the British Government from its being his neighbour, but he had sought in vain, and hearing of the power of Persia, and the designs towards Khorassan, he had addressed Mahomed Shā, and an elchee was now at Candahar, bringing robes for him and his brother, with a valuable dagger and a promise of assistance in a crore of rupees. Since the conversation was not of my asking, I did not hesitate to enter upon it, and asked if he placed reliance on the aid of Persia, and on the large pecuniary assistance which had been promised, and he at once assured me that he did not [though he had understood Futteh Ali Shā to have had considerable treasure, and had heard much of the power of Persia and Russia. I explained to him very succinctly the nature of things in Persia, the state of the army in that country, and with regard to its revenues I sent him a document extracted from Mr. Bailie Fraser's work, which in 1821, before it had been further reduced by Russia, fixes its net revenues at about a million and a half of pounds sterling, which I did not fail to contrast with the revenues of India and Great Britain, and even with those of Runjeet Singh].

14. On the 26th and 28th the Ameer came over in person to visit us, accompanied by many of the persons about his court, and without entering on the subjects above treated on, discoursed on many matters of general interest; recurring, however, in both visits to Persia, for which he now either possesses or feigns to possess no good feeling, speaking contemptuously of the late campaign in Khorasan. He also asked of me the relations between the British Government and Russia: the influence of Russia over the dominions of Turkey, and spoke of the control which Russia exercised over the trade in Toorkistan.

15. [On the 29th I had a visit from the Nawab Jabbar Khan, who stated in great formality, and I am sure, in great sincerity, his devotion to the British Government, and his readiness to aid it in any measures which it contemplated in this quarter. His brother had made him privy to all that had passed on the evening of the 24th; and recurring to the rumours in circulation about Peshawar, he trusted the British Government would do something in it which would be hailed with joy by all Mahomedans. The Nawab is most favourably disposed to Sooltan Mahomed Khan, and no man would rejoice more than him if that district could be, on any terms, restored to him.

16. At this interview the Nawab, in reply to my questions regarding the Persian elchee and the late communications with that country, averred that he had himself written to the Shah, however contradictory it may seem to his devotion to the British Government, and that he did so, in common with others, because the British Government had exhibited no interest in their affairs. The object of the connexion was aid against the Sikhs—for this, he said, we are to assist Persia against Herat, and to receive pecuniary aid in return, an arrangement that has been chiefly promoted by the Russian minister (Wuzeeri Mookhtar) at Tehran. I content myself with recording this conversation.

17. After several visits from Mirza Sumee Khan, who is really the man of most influence in Dost Mahomed Khan's court, and hearing from him various communications,] I was again invited last night to the Bala Hissar, where I met the Nuwab, and had further and long conversation with Dost Mahomed Khan. I soon found that he had something to communicate which interested him; and after stating at some length how anxiously he himself desired to see his differences with the Sikhs terminated, said, that if I advised it, he would send a son to Lahore to ask Maharajah Runjeet Sing's forgiveness for what had passed, and if he would consent to give up Peshawar to him he would hold it tributary to Lahore, send the requisite presents of horses and rice, and in all things consider himself in that part of his dominions as holding under Lahore.

18. On hearing the conclusion which he had come to, I asked him if his countrymen might not consider he had gone too far in his conciliation of the Sikh chieftain, but he did not consider such an arrangement would be viewed in that light, particularly as the homage which he agreed to render for Peshawar did not affect his other dominions. I here stated that he had brothers in Peshawar whose condition he must compassionate, and if Peshawar were restored to them his reputation would be widely spread in this country, since the world would give him credit for having had some share in the transaction.

Dost Mahomed Khan declared, that he would guarantee to Runjeet Singh or to the British Government the jagheers which his brothers now enjoyed, but that Peshawar might as well continue in the hands of the Sikhs as in those of Sultan Mahomed Khan, or it would never otherwise be believed that Maharaja Runjeet Singh had withdrawn from the countries westward of the Indus. The Maharaja's often expressed wish to have horses and tribute from him would, he was sure, prove a great inducement to his highness to hand over Peshawar to him, as he had never before paid him tribute, and Sultan Mahomed Khan had long been his servant.

19. [In my letter of the 10th of September, I stated the views which occurred to me on the receipt of your communication of the 31st of July last, regarding the advisability of restoring Sultan Mahomed Khan to the government of Peshawar, and the various advantages attendant upon the arrangement. I did not at that time contemplate that Dost Mahomed Khan and his advisers would come to the conclusion now reported,] nor am I aware how far this offer proceeds from a hope of future aggrandizement, or an intention to injure the Peshawar branch of his family, but it is now sufficient to report the sum of his views and wishes. By some these offers may be construed merely into a specious kind of moderation, by others they may be hailed as sincere proofs of the Ameer's desire to terminate his differences with the Sikhs; but whether Runjeet Singh's policy suggests or not a compliance with them, they certainly show that Dost Mahomed Khan is not likely to enter upon any aggressive measures, notwithstanding the vaunts of his people regarding the late battle at Jamrood.

20. With reference to the chief of Cabool individually, I see little change in him since my visit to this country in 1832. Since then he has added Jalalabad to his country, and the most important change in his administration is the investiture of five of his sons in different governments, a policy which cannot be condemned, and, if he can succeed in it, will certainly contribute to the stability of his government. With some, and perhaps they are the majority of his subjects, his wars with the Sikhs have gained him applause; but with one party, and that by far the most worthy of conciliation, the wealthy and mercantile classes, his campaigns have been viewed in a different light, and given great dissatisfaction.

21. [I have forwarded a copy of this communication to Captain Wade for his notice and information.]

Cabool, 5 October 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Dep. Sec. to the Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

Captain *Burnes* to Secretary to Government of India.

Sir,

Cabool, 7 October 1837.

I do myself the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Hon. the Governor General of India in Council, a "Sketch of the Khyber Pass," with an "explanatory description" by Lieutenant Leech.

2. The great importance of this mountain tract, in a military point of view, being, as it is, the principal pass into India, will, I respectfully believe, enhance the value of Lieutenant Leech's labours in the opinion of his Lordship in Council.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Burnes*.

DESCRIPTION of the Khyber Pass and of the Tribes inhabiting it (to accompany the Survey), by Lieutenant *R. Leech*, of the Bombay Engineers.

THIS pass would always be the doorway, or rather more appropriately the keyhole of either Hindoostan or Afghanistan, according as either opposite party had a secure possession. It would not, however, long be kept shut by the latter, as it now is, if any other Hindoosta

Hindoostan power, holding the advanced position the Sikhs now have, were to apply the infallible golden key; but, owing to an unfortunate policy pursued by the latter, of non-toleration towards their Mussulman subjects, the minds of all the neighbouring Mahomedan nations are inflamed with such an implacable hatred towards them, not only because in their eyes they are infidels, but because they are active as persecutors of the "true religion," that they would refuse the most splendid offers for that passage, which they might not be paid for keeping by their own rulers.

The pass extends from a collection of caves called Kadam, three miles south-east of the fort of Fattah-abad, lately built by the Sikhs, which again is nine miles west of Peshawar to within seven miles and a half of Duka opposite to Lalpoor, on the Cabool river, a distance of 24 miles. These seven and a half miles I have not included in the pass, as the road, though not through a plain is no longer confined by perpendicular commanding heights. Like all roads over ranges of mountains, this one is chiefly the bed of a torrent liable to be filled by a sudden fall of rain, but at other times dry, with the exception of a winding rill supplied by springs disappearing sometimes under the sand and gravel, and again appearing from a side defile running from side to side of the pass in zigzags when it is narrow, and where it is broad and straight, keeping to each side, leaving the centre covered with brushwood. The roughness or smoothness of the road, will, of course, depend on the nature of the mountains through which it passes, and on the fall of the stream; a greater fall bringing down larger stones in the same rock, and a more brittle rock forming finer gravel and a smoother bed with the same fall. The facilities of a pass for mercantile communication or the disadvantages for military defence are:—1st. Though not a mercantile facility, a decided advantage for military defence, viz., inconsiderable heights; for when high in the extreme the road becomes out of musket shot, as is the case at the fort of Aly Musjid. 2d. Few descents. 3d. Width. 4th. Smoothness of roadway. 5th. Few ascents. The reason for regarding descent in a pass of such importance is that there is much greater difficulty in bringing guns down than in taking them up a winding hilly road; for, although each if possible should have as many men either way, yet, unless a pole instead of drag-ropes were used, the same number would not be able to act in the latter case. A gun descends with its own weight, and when in motion in one direction can with difficulty be turned to follow a winding-road with a reduced complement of men. A steep descent is more difficult to be got over than a narrow road, which, however, is seldom so much so as to prevent one gun and a file of men on each side at the wheels to pass; for, as will be seen, on looking at Section No. 19, width may be gained by filling up the narrow defile a few feet, and there are few passes in existence where such extreme narrowness would extend for many yards. A steep descent is, moreover, a greater difficulty than a rough road, for the latter might be overcome in many ways; 1st, by a number of bags carried by the men, to be filled with gravel or sand, and placed, so as to form rails for the two wheels for a short distance; and there is not so much trouble as is generally supposed in making a road covered with large loose stones, a good gun-road, for little time would be required to clear spaces for the wheels, and no labour would be necessary in the line of the mules, which would probably be the beasts of draught in this country, on account of their sureness of foot. Roads or footpaths parallel to the principal pass would be of great service to a body forcing its passage; quite the contrary is to be said of cross roads, which would only be of service to the party opposing such passage. In forcing a pass, opposition would only be found at certain stages; for men collected on the detached heights could not keep up with the body below in the road, so as to continue annoying their flanks. The extreme inequality in the numbers of parties attacking and those defending a pass, when the latter are said to have been successful, have, I should think, been greatly exaggerated in most cases, not excepting the famous Pass of Thermopylæ, which however is an example of what advantage parallel roads are to an army forcing the principal one.

The pass of Khyber runs through slate, and throughout its length assumes three different characteristics; first, a flat road between two scarps, not so much varying in perpendicularity as in height, and covered with loose stones and gravel, coarser as the bed approaches the sources of the stream; 2nd, a steep road much narrowed and very winding, cut up by protruding pieces of rock, and slippery: the most difficult portion, abounding in natural obstacles and facilities for the party on the defensive; 3rd, a made road running down the side of a steep hill, safe, except where the small rivulets have been blocked up, which, if not kept in constant repair, would be very dangerous points. At Kadam the pass commences; from this place the Khybarees have diverted the water (whose natural course is by the small hills to the south of Jamrood) round by the base of those to the north, held by their own people. The Sikhs holding Jamrood and Futiehabad lose men daily at this place in trying to break down the embankments, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Kadam, and half a mile beyond Jobgai, where the road narrows, as shown in Section No. 3, the stream above-mentioned is seen coming from the south-west from a place called Badkee, three koss distant in that direction, the residence of Malak Savz Aly Khan, son of Kamar Khan, of the Ustoree Khel of Orukzais. At this place, where the road no longer follows the course of the water, and immediately after passing the first gorge (Tungee) in the pass, there is an open space of one tenth of a square mile in area, from thence on to Tungee, a gorge called so, *par excellence*, by the natives, a distance of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, where a footpath from Jamrood joins the principal road, the pass presents the different appearances shown in Sections 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9. The stream springing out of the rocks at Katá Kuhatá disappears under the gravel and sand, a mile before its juncture with the stream from Badkee. This Tungee extends for three quarters of a mile, and meets a defile coming from south-west, from a place called Kaidaree, $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile

distant on the Afreedee road. From this juncture the road turns to the north and north-north-east, and assumes the profiles represented in Sections 10 to 14, when after a further length of $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, it reaches the foot of Aly Musjid, the appearance of which, approaching from Peshawur, is shown in the accompanying sketch. This fort, so called from a mosque in the neighbourhood now in ruins, is of mud, and has been only a few years erected; during the late engagements with the Sikhs, it had a garrison of 200 rudely disciplined men, and 200 Jazalchees. It is situated at too great a height to be of much service in stopping a force passing below, while, at the same time, the steepness of the hill, on which it is built, would be a great obstacle to the same force storming it, which would be absolutely necessary to secure the passage of the main body or baggage in safety. It is not supplied with water, and the garrison is obliged to descend to the rill below for it. There is no cover for the men inside, and the walls seldom withstand the casual showers of rain that fall here. Immediately after passing the fort the road narrows excessively, as shown in Section 15, and the bed is formed of projecting and slippery pieces of rock; $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile further on is the village of Katá Kubatá, or Katá Kushtá, as some call it, where the stream just past, has its rise. Two miles further on the pass opens out, at a place called Shpolá, the commencement of the plain of Lalabeg, up to which place the appearance of road is as in Sections 16 and 17. The plain extends for six miles to the top of the descent called Landeekhàna. In this distance there are no springs, but tanks to collect the rain water, which supply the inhabitants of Lalabeg. In this plain the Maliks of the Khyber tribes have each a tower, which have more the appearance of chimneys to potteries than places calculated for military defence. The plain averages a mile and a quarter in breadth, and into it, from the north, runs a plain of the Shanwarees, in which is situated the village of Luadgai, whence a cross road leads to the Tatará pass. For the next three quarters of a mile from the top of Landee Khàna is the most difficult part of the pass; a steep narrow rugged descent is represented in Sections 18 and 19. Guns could not be drawn here but by men, and not then without temporarily repairing the road. The next three quarters of a mile is an ascent along a made road in good repair, whence into the plain is a descent along the side of a hill of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the top of which hill would be an admirable position for a fort, which could enfilade with the most destructive effect both the road from Duka and that from Lalbeg, but this position has escaped the eyes of the rulers of Afghanistan. Indeed, a view of the entire pass, and the means adopted for making it a barrier to an invading force, would serve to convince any one passing through that Dost Mohamad does not regard it as a possession of the importance which is attached to it by the world, or perhaps he relies too much on its natural strength. From the fort of Lundee Khàna on to Duká, a distance of $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the road is comparatively through a plain, and presents no difficulties of a pass.

There are three other passes which are connected with this one, inasmuch as a simultaneous passage would most likely be attempted by an invading force through more than one.

1st. *The Tatará Pass*, as follows:

Peshawur Jawara Mena, nine kos, the latter two very steep, 40 houses, spring of water, inhabited by Malagoorees, 300 in number, of whom the Khybarees stand in great dread.

Two villages called Shalmàn, seven kos, 25 houses, springs of water, Momand inhabitants. This stage is so difficult at some places that horsemen are obliged to dismount.

Here the road divides into two, the left joins the Khyber Pass at Luadgai, and the right goes to Duká; seven kos, inhabited by Momunds under Sadat Khan, who resides at Lalpoor. This stage is a descent of great difficulty.

Peer Mahomad Khan led 3,000 men with some camel swivel guns by this road to assist Sultan Mahomad Khan and Yar Mahomad Khan. A toll is taken at present and divided among the tribes on the road of one rupee for a camel or a horseman, and eight annas for a foot passenger.

2d. *The Kadapa Pass*.

Peshawur Shabkadar; 10 kos, a plain, three ferries, viz., Adezai Shalam and Mewdee, a large town and fort mounting two guns and garrisoned by 500 Sikhs, containing a fine well. Here the Indee river from Swat discharges itself.

Murdákhánd; three kos, a stage.

The Kadapá Hill.

Gandav; three kos, a small village with wells and a running stream; the neighbourhood inhabited by Alamzais, 3,000 in number under Anwar Khan. A toll is levied of two rupees each horseman, three rupees each camel with a load or a khajawah, and eight annas a foot passenger.

Attar Jod; five kos a stage, scattered huts of the Alamzais, and tank water. Here the road separates; the right, which is a gun road, goes by Moosá Jod to Goshtá; the left, which is not, goes to Lalpoor, a distance of seven kos.

This road is not so difficult as the Tatará one. Azeem Khan, with an army of 12,000 Duranees, passed this road.

3d. *The Abkanà Pass*.

Peshawur Michnee; eight kos on the other side of the river, by a ferry of rafts.

Hydar Khan; three kos on the Cabool river, after crossing which,

Little Duka; five kos. A Caffila road, but difficult for the two last stages, horsemen being sometimes obliged to alight in that distance; the road held by Momands.

1st. A footpath leading from Jamrood to Tungee.

2d. The

2d. The Bagadee pass, the first gorge or tungee of which situated to the north of Jamrood they call Kafar Tungee; next comes the Shádee gorge, and then the Bagadee one, which leads to the foot of Aly Musjid; the whole distance is nine miles. It is a gun road, for guns were taken by Shah Zamán by it; laden camels also go by this road. Between Shadee and Bagadee, the road required on the above occasion to be levelled with small stones in Kafar Tungee; on the right are some houses of the Abdal Khel Kukheekels, and on the left at a place called Sirkai are the Mashoo Khels.

3d. From Shalmán, on the Tátára, and to Luadgai, a distance of three kos, inhabited by Peerookhel, Khuga Khel and Meedad Khel, Shanwarees.

4th. The Afreedee road from Terrá, meeting the Khyber pass at Tungee, Aly Musjid, and Lalák, sometimes called Lala Cheená.

Two kos from Tangee is a place called Haidaree, inhabited by Paindee Lakakhels, three kos thence is Bazár to the right of which are the Saroghee Lakakhels as far as a place called Bazár Ka Cheená, and to the left are the Annee Lakakhels as far as Halwai, a distance of three kos, thence $1\frac{1}{2}$ kos is a place called Bárá, of the Lakakhels. Alládád Khan and Faiztallab Khan, his nephew, live here, they belong to the Meeree Khel. The other divisions of the Lakakhels are the Pindée Khe's, Annee Khels, Soraghee Khels, Zarooddeen Khels, Shan Khels and Pakhee Khels, thence into Teerá, is a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ kos without habitations on the road. The Afreedees live at some distance to the right and left. These Khels and Zais among the Pathans are like our families in England. I was once informed that Khel was a more general term than Zai, which in Pashtoo signifies a collected body, and that the former was derived from the father and the latter from the mother, but I have had reason since to doubt the correctness of the information.

5th. There is a road called the Dád Ghálá Road, that branches off between Bazár and Chorá (from which latter place there is a cut into Khyber at Lalak, difficult for laden camels, though they can go), and leads to Dur Bába's shrine, a distance of seven kos; twelve kos beyond which, is Pesh Bulák, inhabited by Malagoorees, who are all muleteers.

6th. There is a footpath from Pesh Bulák to Lalabeg. The tribes inhabiting the pass, and thence called Khybarees, are Shanwarees and Afreedees. The former are divided into Peeroo Khels, Khuga Khels, Meedad Khels and Ghanee Khels; the latter into Kukeek Khels, Laka Khels, Malak Deen Khels, Sepá and Kamar Khels. The Kukeek Khels are again subdivided into Sherkhan Khels, Mashoo Khels, Abdal Khels, Katee Khels (notorious cheats), Tor Khels (good swordsmen), and Sikandar Khels. The Momands inhabiting the other passes are divided into Binhan Khels, Alang Zais, Trag Zais, Bazais Khwazais, Kudá Khels, Mocha Khels, Hasn Zais, and Hazar Boos. There are said to be 40,000 houses of Afreedees: this must be a gross exaggeration, unless it be a muster of the whole tribe, in or out of the pass, 3,000 of which there are of the Kukeek Khels. The Malaks of the Kukheek Khels are Abdal Rahman and Jangee, both of the Sher Khan Khel; they hold the pass from Jamrood to Lalak; they could muster 2,000 matchlocks and jazals. From Lalak to Katá Kuhá'á and Lalábeg are the Lala Khels; thence into the south of Dacca, which belongs to the Momands, are the Shanwarees. There are 18,000 Momands under Sadát Khan, who resides at Lalpoor, and 7,000 under Khalid Khan, who resides at Goshtá.

There are seven tolls in Khyber; four belonging to the Afreedees and three to the Shanwarees, who divide the collections equally.

1st toll, at Kadam of the Kukeek Khels.

2d „ at the same place of the Sapas.

3d „ at Aly Masjid, collected by Khan Bahadur of the Malak Deen Khel.

4th „ at Shpola, by Alládád Khán and Faiztallab Khan.

5th „ by Khuza Khels -

6th „ by Peeror Khels -

7th „ Meerdad Khels -

} taken on the top of Landee Kháná.

The sums levied for the whole of Khyber are as follows:

A camel laden with cloth, or a khajawah -	-	-	-	-	5 rupees.
Ditto - - with grocery -	-	-	-	-	3 „
A horseman -	-	-	-	-	3 „
A Hindoo foot passenger -	-	-	-	-	$1\frac{1}{2}$ „
A Masalman ditto, or unladen camel -	-	-	-	-	$1\frac{1}{2}$ „
A load of leather -	-	-	-	-	2 „
A load of salt -	-	-	-	-	1 „

In the time of the kings the Maliks of Khyber received the following sums:

Abdal Rahman's ancestors, Kukee Khels Afreedees -	-	25,000 rupees.
Khan Bahadur's ancestors, Malak Deen Khel Afreedees -	-	25,000 „
Mahomad Ameer Khan Lepa's ancestors -	-	25,000 „
The brothers Murtazá Khan and Sardalla Khan, Zakeekhel Afreedees -	-	25,000 „
The Malak of the Meerdad Khel Shanwarees -	-	10,000 „
Ditto - of the Peeroo Khel Shanwarees -	-	10,000 „
Ditto - of the Khugá Khel Shanwarees -	-	10,000 „

The body of the Khybarees supported themselves on theft, and when called into service only received rations.

Before the last engagement with the Sikhs, Khyber did not cost the Ameer more than 10,000 rupees a year; now he distributes 20,000, in the following way:—

	Rupees.	No. of Swords and Matchlock-men.
Alládád Khan and Faiztalla Zake Khel - - - -	4,000	3,000
Khan Bahadar Malak Deen Khel - - - -	5,000	4,000
Abdul Rahman Khan and Jangeer Khan Kukee Khels -	3,000	3,000
Salam Khan Sepa - - - -	3,000	4,000
Sadulla Khan Ganjo and Amar Khan Shawarees - -	1,500	6,000
Noor Mahamad Kamar Khel - - - -	750	1,500
Samandar Khan and Bakar Khan and Aka Khel - -	750	1,500
Aliff Khan Kambar Khel - - - -	1,500	3,000

The Khybarees are not always a connecting body, as was found to be the case the year after the death of Vizir Fatteh Khan, when Alládád Khan for 3,000 rupees brought Yar Mahomed Khan and Azeem Khan, though against the will of the Malak Deen Khels, Sepas and part of the Kukee Khels.

They refused refuge also in the case of a Molavee, the nephew of Sayad Ahmed, who had retired among them from the pursuit of Sultan Mahamad, for a bribe of 2,000 rupees given by the latter. They made him decamp and join the Eesafzais, by discharging muskets nightly over his camp.

Kabul,
1 October 1837.

(signed) *R. Leech,*
Corps of Engineers.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*

(No. 41.)

From Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to *W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.*,
Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

BEFORE proceeding further with my communications on the state of affairs in this quarter, I feel it a duty incumbent on me to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, the great aid and cordial assistance which I have derived from Mr. Masson, not only since my arrival here, but from his constant correspondence since I left Bombay.

2. If I shall be fortunate enough to merit the approbation of His Lordship in Council for what may be accomplished here, I feel that I shall owe much to Mr. Masson, whose high literary attainments, long residence in this country, and accurate knowledge of people and events, afford me at every step the means of coming to a judgment more correct than in an abrupt transition to Cabool I could have possibly formed.

3. I discharge, therefore, a pleasing task in acknowledging the assistance which I receive from Mr. Masson; and while I do so, it is also my duty to state that I by no means wish the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council to consider Mr. Masson as responsible for the opinions and views which I may take up and report to Government.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alexander Burnes,*

Cabool, 9 October 1837.

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

(No. 43.)

From Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to annex the transcript of a letter to your address, the original of which I have given to Surwur Khan Lohanee, the native gentleman whom it is my object to introduce. After the anxiety displayed by the Russian authorities to show every attention to the Afghan merchants visiting their fairs, I have felt myself more than solicitous to exhibit to these men the equal interest which the British Government take in their welfare.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,

Cabool, 11 October 1837.

On a Mission to Cabool.

From Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir,

THE great Lohanee caravan, which leaves annually for India, being about to set out, I avail myself of the opportunity to bring to your notice Surwur Khan, and his brother, Ameer Khan, two of the principal men among the Lohanees engaged in carrying on the trade from India to Cabool and Toorkistan.

2. Surwur Khan is the individual who acted so very friendly a part when I visited Bokhara in 1832, from which he has just come, and where he still enjoys much of the confidence of the Kosh Beggee, or first minister of the King.

3. In the event of the Right Honourable the Governor General's coming to Hindostan, it is exceedingly probable that Surwur Khan and his brother will deliver this letter in person to you. If you consider it fitting to present these gentlemen to his Lordship, I feel satisfied that such an honour will be highly appreciated by them, and do much good. The Cabool and Bokhara merchants at the last fair at Nijnee Novogorod, were all presented to the Emperor Nicholas, which is much talked of here, and who gave them great encouragement and commendation.

4. Independent of this, Surwur Khan is a man well acquainted with all mercantile affairs here and in Toorkistan, and if his Lordship wishes for a *vide voce* account of them and other subjects, I am certain that Surwur Khan's intelligence will enable him to give satisfactory information.

I have, &c.

(signed) *A. Burnes*.

Cabool, 10 October 1837.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

(No. 45.)

From Captain *Alexander Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE now the honour to report the result of my inquiries on the subject of Persian influence in Cabool, and the exact power which the Kuzzilbash (or Persian) party, resident in this city, exercise over the politics of Affghanistan. Since any ascendancy on the part of Persia, or her allies in this quarter, must either have its origin, or be chiefly brought about by means of the Persian faction in the country, it becomes highly important to note the history of these tribes, their rise, progress, and present condition.

2. In the beginning of last century the feebleness of the Persian monarchy excited the cupidity of the Afghans, who overran the fairer portion of that kingdom, and possessed themselves of Ispahan. Their successes called forth the energies of the great Nadir, who not only drove the Afghans from Persia, but annexed the whole of their own territories to his empire, and, turning their swords against India, with an army of Persians and Afghans, sacked it, precisely an hundred years ago. During these wars the conqueror deemed it politic to fix some native tribes in the lands he had subdued, and to this policy we owe the colony of Persians now settled in Cabool, which, when first located, amounted to less than 2,000 families.

3. The people composing it consist of three divisions: 1st, the Juwansheer; 2d, the Ufsheers; and 3d, the Mooradkhanees, the whole being designated by the general name of Goolam Khanee, or Ghoolam i Shah, servants of the king. The Juwansheers are a clan of Toorks from Sheeshu. There are various divisions included among them, such as the Koort, the Shah Sumund, the Syah Munsoor, &c., and they form the principal portion of the Kuzzilbashes. They consist of 2,500 families, and occupy a separate quarter of Cabool, called the Chandoul, which is surrounded by high walls. Their chief is Khan Sheereen Khan. The Ufshurs are also Toorks, and of the tribe to which Nadir himself belonged. There are 300 families of them who live in a strong fort about three miles from Cabool, under Ghoolam Hoosein Khan. The last division, the Moorad Khanee, is comprised of all the Persians who have from time to time settled in this country. 1,500 families of them reside together under Mihr Alli Khan and five other chiefs. Besides these, there are 700 others in the fort of the Byats, a division of the tribe under Mahomed Khan. It will be thus seen that there are at this time 4,000 Kuzzilbash families in Cabool, from which a force of from 4,000 to 5,000 men could be levied on an emergency for the purposes of war. The number has been generally considered greater than this detailed statement, but the whole of the Shiah population in and about Cabool is then included in the calculation, and among these the Huzaras would furnish twice as many men as the Persians.

4. On Nadir Shah's assassination, many of the Persians fled from Cabool to their native country, but Ahmed Shah Dooranee, who succeeded to the authority of Nadir, conciliated a portion of them whom he retained in his pay and found of eminent service throughout his active reign; in which they became an organised body, acting under a Khan who was directly responsible to the Shah, while the Kuzzilbashes themselves only acknowledged their own chief. Matters seem to have continued in this state for about 53 years, during which the Persians acquired such power that the kings found it necessary to favour them by large stipendiary allowances, granted, in some instances, even to minors; and, as the Sudozye monarchy declined, their support became indispensable to the personal security of the king. In the reign of Shah Zuman, the chief of the Juwansheers was put to death, and from that time a want of confidence in the kings of Cabool, on the part of the Kuzzilbashes, is to be traced till they almost cease to appear as a body in the affairs of the state. The superior intelligence possessed by all Persians readily befits them for employment among the Afghans, and from war many became secretaries (Meerzas) and stewards (nazirs) to the different chiefs; others took to agriculture and merchandise, and some are at present shopkeepers in Cabool. It would at one time have been dangerous to entertain any Persian without their Khan's permission; but with the loss of military employment, or rather withdrawal from it, their pay ceased, and the growing wants of many drove them to the occupations which I have stated, though a portion of them have always continued in the service of the ruler of Cabool, as is the case at the present time.

5. Since the whole of the Persians in Cabool are Shiahs, and the national persuasion of the Afghans is Soonnee, the position of the Kuzzilbashes was full of danger; it was at any time possible to turn political dispute into religious difference, and there are various instances in the history of the Cabool monarchy in which these have threatened their very existence. Of late these fears have not been diminished, and since the overthrow of the monarchy the walls which surround the Juwansheer quarter of the city have been heightened and improved, and I observe alterations even since 1832. At one time they were not afraid to live outside of the city, but common interest has now led the whole

whole of the Persians to congregate together as the best means of warding off danger. They would have willingly left the city of Cabool and fixed themselves at a distance, like the Ufshurs, in a detached fort; but this they have found impossible, and their situation in the Chundool, or quarter of the Juwansheers, is now so completely commanded that an infuriated population might readily overpower them. The Persians themselves are therefore intently bent on adding to their own strength by intrigues around them, and though their military influence has declined, their power in this way is more considerable than before; since every man of rank has Persians for his secretaries, and all the home and foreign correspondence is in their hands, by which their influence ramifies in every direction.

6. The Persians of Cabool attached themselves to the vizier, Futteh Khan, and fought against Persia in his Herat campaign. They have long sought for a master who would consolidate them, as in former times, and they have, at times, entered into correspondence with Shah Shooja, but they have especially attached themselves to the vizier's brother, the present ruler of Cabool, and with the greater avidity, as his mother was of their tribe. Dost Mahomed Khan availed himself to the fullest extent of their support, and it was long considered by many that he was even favourable to Shiah doctrines; but he has either had the discrimination to see that these would be fatal to supremacy among his countrymen, or never in sincerity entertained them. This he proclaimed to the world, when about four years ago he took the title of Ameer, which has a religious signification, and from that time the Kuzzilbashees have ceased to centre their hopes in him. He himself has also withdrawn much of his confidence from the party, reduced the number of those in his pay to about 1,000 or 1,200 persons, and part of their salaries he has retrenched. The headmen receive about 58,000 rupees per annum, and the total derivable from the State by the rest may amount to about a lac of rupees, each horseman receiving 84 rupees per annum. Even in public he does not conceal his contempt for their creed: and, what is perhaps more bitterly felt, his avowed opinions of their wanting courage in the field, as exhibited in his campaigns with the ex-king at Candahar, and lately at Peshawar. In the former instance, he is stated to have placed Afghans on both flanks of the Kuzzilbashes, with secret instruction to fire on them if they fled. At Peshawar it is very certain that the party were backward in fighting; none of them were killed, and a piece of pleasantry is attributed to the Ameer, who said that he never remembered a Kuzzilbash to have fallen in his service. But Dost Mahomed Khan may have mistaken a want of inclination originating from disappointed hopes for a want of courage. Certain it is that of late he has sought to raise a body of regular troops, disciplined by Europeans; but he has hitherto completely failed, and if he consulted his interests he would seek no other support than that which he may command from the hill people about Cabool and the native Afghan tribes, who do now serve, and would willingly, on good pay, devote themselves to him. It would also undoubtedly add to his strength if he drew, at the same time, the Kuzzilbashes nearer to him; for, according to a profound political maxim, he should put it out of these men's power to injure, before he insults them, and they may materially promote his fortunes.

7. While Persian influence is thus declining, it appears a strange contradiction to record that Dost Mahomed Khan has sought for alliance with Persia, as the best means which occurred to him to support his power. He admitted into his councils a native Persian of some talent but bad character, the Naib Abdool Sumut, who has since been disgraced and fled to Persia, and the advice of this man, with that of Mahomed Khan Byat, a Kuzzilbash, raised by him and much in his confidence, as well as that of several interested persons, induced the Ameer to seek for support from Persia, and with this has revived the hopes of the Kuzzilbash faction, though their support would probably be directed, under Persian influence, to a master who more appreciated them than Dost Mahomed Khan. The whole party see, however, in the alliance certain benefit to their own condition, and in consequence, do what in them lies to promote the intercourse. It is thus that the Persian community in Cabool have viewed the arrival of an agent of the British Government in this quarter with suspicion, if not open dissatisfaction. They would cling to the British or any power which supported them, but it is more natural that they first seek to attach themselves to the country from which they originally spring, to which they are allied by a

common religion, more dear as it is rendered to them by impending danger. The Shah of Persia has not been slow in responding to Dost Mahomed Khan's desire for an alliance; an elchee has been sent with robes and presents in return, and is now at Candahar, but he has appeared at a time most unfavourable to his master, when the attention of the British Government is directed to Afghanistan, and which goes far to discredit him with all parties, and even to damp the hopes of the Kuzzilbashies. It is even doubtful if he will advance to Cabool, and it is certain, if he does so, that any offer which he may make will never be placed in the balance against those of the British Government. The King of Persia desires to add Herat to his dominions, and the Chiefs of Candahar and Cabool might certainly aid him in his designs, but the probabilities of a return for such good offices are more dubious; and it is this which inclines the Chiefs of Afghanistan, of Cabool in particular, to seek to improve their intimacy with the British Government. It is nearer to them, far more powerful than Persia, and with it a connexion would not be viewed by the Afghan nation in the unfavourable light which an alliance with a Shiah or a Hindoo power would certainly be in this Soonee country.

8. It is well known here that the young King of Persia has turned his earnest attention to Herat. The most outrageous conduct of the ruler and his minister, in having sold into slavery the greater part, or if not the whole Shiah population of the city, would justify any attack on the part of Persia, but I doubt the ability of that power, single-handed, to attack Herat. If she succeeds in humbling Kamran without the co-operation of the Afghan Chiefs, it must be through the influence of Russia, by whose counsels there can be very little doubt she is directed to Herat. Persia itself, as I have observed, has grounds for provocation, but I find Russia is not the less interested, and that she directs her attention to Herat to improve her commerce with Toorkistan, and her position in the East generally; and, it is seen, has not been dilatory in availing herself of the openings lately given by messengers from the Afghan Chiefs to the Shah, by whom her ambassador at Tehran transmitted communications. I shall reserve what I have to say regarding the commercial views of Russia in that quarter for an early and more fitting opportunity, when I come to that portion of my instructions which directs me to report on the measures adopted by that power to extend her commerce and influence in Central Asia.

9. In this country, however, the chiefs will have little mercy to expect from a King of Persia, if his influence extends to Herat, and the less so if it has been established without any co-operation from them. It has been seen, too, from the state of the Kuzzilbash faction, which has been described, that they afford at all times facilities for intriguing in Cabool, and with a Persian power so near as Herat, of a nature that may soon become dangerous. The only counterpoise to it that could benefit British interests in this quarter, would spring from the Ameer of Cabool being advised to show to these tribes a greater degree of favour than they now enjoy, which, since they cannot be removed from his country, would be a sound and safe policy. By pursuing it he might, perhaps, contrive to live on friendly terms with Persia, and since the party is too weak to be turned against the native Afghan tribes, their jealousy and their fear would be alike allayed. If, on the other hand, Persian influence is allowed to be established in this country, that of Russia must follow; should the attempt of Persia prove unsuccessful, we may look for some such fate to the Kuzzilbashies in Cabool as befel the Janissaries under the Sultan Mahomed, only that it will be more certain; since those soldiers held a power in the Ottoman empire, which was never enjoyed by the Persians in this kingdom.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*

Cabool, 14 October 1837.

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

From Captain *A. Burnes*, to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, that two messengers arrived from Sind the day before yesterday, bringing letters from his Highness Meer Sobdar, to the Ameer and his brother the Nawab. The contents of the communication are as follows :—

“That Sind was a tributary state of the Dooranee monarchy, but that his cousins, Noor Mahomed, Nusser Khan, and Meer Mahomed, had entered into arrangements with the British Government, forgetting that he (Meer Sobdar) was the eldest son of the founder of the house of Talpoor; that as his father always rendered tribute to Cabool, he was now ready to do likewise to Dost Mahomed Khan; and begged he would send one of his sons to fix the sum, and to whom he might in person render his allegiance.”

2. The cossids were entrusted with verbal messages to the Ameer, to the same effect as the contents of the letter; and as several of my servants are Sindees, I received through that channel the substance of the communication. The letters are about 40 days old. As yet Dost Mahomed Khan has returned no answer, nor has he spoken to me on the subject.

3. As Meer Sobdar Khan states, it is undoubtedly true that he is the eldest son of Futteh Ali, the first of the Talpoors, but he is unable to cope with his three cousins, each of whom possesses shares in Lower Sind as large as himself; and besides, he is subject to epileptic fits, which, though he possesses ability, often unfit him for business.

4. About 10 days before the arrival of Meer Sobdar's letter, I received a conjunct letter from their Highnesses Noor Mahomed and Nusser Khan, telling me that they looked upon me as one of their best friends and sincerest well-wishers; and I conclude the explanation of this epistle is to be found in the letters now received by the Ameer.

5. I have forwarded a copy of this letter for the information of Colonel Pottinger.

Cabool, 19 October 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*.

(No. 47.)

From Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to communicate, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, various circumstances relating to the commercial views and prospects of Russia in Central Asia. From my situation, which is still rather remote from the quarter to which they relate, I report with some small doubt as to their entire correctness, though I have derived them from good authority, and had a great deal of intercourse with the merchants trading from this to Toorkistan.

2. Up to the year 1832, I have recorded all the particulars relating to the intercourse of Russia with Bokhara and Toorkistan, which I gathered in my former journey. It seems that, in the year succeeding my visit, the Russian Government deputed an agent to the King of Bokhara. The name of the individual I do not know, for though he was an officer of the Russian service, he assumed the costume and habits of a Mahomedan while in Bokhara. He brought along with him letters and presents for the king, and was received with every distinction by the authorities in Toorkistan. The ostensible object of his mission was to interest the king in putting a stop to the practices of the Khweins, who molested from time to time the caravans passing into Russia, and also seized many Russians from the frontiers. It was considered that the remonstrances of a friendly Mahomedan authority, such as the King of Bokhara, might produce salutary consequences.

3. In the course of the agent's stay at Bokhara, he frequently conversed with the Koosh Begge on the commercial views of the Russian Government, and their great anxiety to extend their commerce into Central Asia, and particularly

particularly towards Herat; many of his observations were made publicly in presence of the merchants, who always assemble round the Koosh Begée in his caravansary. He likewise continually dwelt on the position of Herat, being such that it was through it alone that the Emperor hoped to realise his wishes, for it was the entrepôt of Persia, India, Cabool, and Toorkistan; that from Herat to Bokhara the road led through flat countries and good roads as compared with those by Cabool over Hindoo Koosh, and that the influence of the Russian Government when once established in that part of Afghanistan, must draw the whole trade into that channel, and promote, in a very great degree, the further intercourse with the fairs at Nejnei Novogorod, and other parts of the Russian dominions.

4. In reply to the letters brought by the Russian envoy, the King of Bokhara returned most friendly communications, but stated his inability to exercise his control over the Khivans, though he was very anxious to promote in every way commercial prosperity. Soon afterwards an agent was deputed from Bokhara to make known to the Emperor various circumstances regarding the duties leviable at the fairs in Russia considered oppressive, and of which a revision was solicited. In addressing the Emperor, the Koosh Begée availed himself of the opportunity to note the attention which the Government of India had been lately directing towards the Indus and Bokhara, and he stated the communications which he had with us in 1832, and the hopes he had expressed that the British Government would extend its commerce in this quarter. In reply to these communications the Emperor of Russia acceded in some points to the requests made, and promised to take others into consideration at an early and future opportunity, when he would visit in person the southern part of his territories.

5. In the year 1835 the Russian Government, finding that they could not put an end to the intrusion of the Khivans and the excesses which they committed, resolved upon more rigorous measures than they had hitherto adopted. They seized upon a site near Mungusluck, on the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea, opposite to Astrakan, and built a fort which commands the landing-place in the bay, and which they yet occupy. As may be supposed, this step gave great offence to the chief of Khiva, Ullah Kooli Khan, who remonstrated strongly against it; and failing here, he threatened to retaliate by sending out plundering excursions more numerous than formerly, and he complained to the King of Bokhara and to the Khan of Kokan at the unjust invasion of his country, and sought their aid against an enemy which might next day injure themselves if not timely resisted. These chiefs admitted the justice of the demand, but sent no assistance to the Khan of Orgunge.

6. After the Russians had fixed themselves on the eastern bank of the Caspian, a party came over from Astrakan in four small vessels, as report states, for the purpose of sporting (shikar), but more probably for some purpose of reconnoissance. Information of their movements reaching the Khan of Orgunge, he sent out a plundering (allaman) expedition, and captured the whole body, about 120 in number, two of them being men of rank. They were all brought to Orgunge; the two individuals in question were detained by the Khan, the rest sold as slaves; some of them were sent to Bokhara and Kokan, and I met a man from the neighbourhood of Samarcand who had known a party of them exchanged for some horses. The Emperor promptly remonstrated against such acts, and demanded restitution of the captives; but the Khan refused to surrender them, alleging that the Russians had built a fort in his country by force, and that he had retaliated according to his threat, and seized the party which he intended to retain.

7. Matters continued in this state till the Emperor Nicholas, in July last year, repaired in person to the great fair of Nejnei Novogorod. One of his first acts was to direct all the merchants of Central Asia to be presented to him, and to request that they would state any means by which their interests could be promoted. The subject of the excessive duties being brought forward, he directed on inquiry that a very material reduction, stated by some to be as much as one-fourth of the whole, should at once take place, which he communicated by letter to the King of Bokhara, and the Khan of Kokan, sending them presents and friendly letters. On this occasion the Emperor received with much affability and condescension the merchants from Bokhara and Cabool; bestowed on them great commendations for their enterprise, stating that

that he had granted immunities to the fair on their account, The fact of such privileges being conferred is, I perceive, mentioned in the "Frankfort Gazette." Very different, however, was the treatment which the merchants from Orgunge experienced. His Majesty directed the whole of them to be detained, and their goods seized upon by the government officers. They amounted to 46 individuals, some of them of considerable opulence, and who had long traded to Russia. The merchants petitioned against such conduct, declaring that they were not parties in the transactions of the Khan of Khiva, and ought not in consequence to be made responsible. The Emperor refused to attend to their solicitations, and directed them to be sent to Moscow.

8. On these proceedings being made known in Khiva, the Khan sent a second envoy to the chiefs of Bokhara and Kokan to request their aid and advice. They were reluctant to interfere after the privileges lately granted, but considering the act of the Russians to be harsh against the merchants, the King of Bokhara agreed to send an agent to the Emperor to negotiate for the relief of the *detenus* and the restoration of their property; a caravan which has just arrived here from Bokhara, brings intelligence that the agent has not returned, but that the Russians refuse to restore the merchants, and, in fact, that they had already been marched to Siberia. This intelligence has been received with great dissatisfaction in Toorkistan, and for the present will lead to a suspension of all trade between that country and Russia. It is even stated that the chiefs of Kokan, Bokhara, and Khiva will league together, and take measures to capture Russians and their property in the direction of Orenburgh, Cazan, Troitskai, and Erbit, or in the places lying immediately north of their respective countries. The anxiety of Russia to promote her ends in Toorkistan, leads me, however, to the belief, that she will seek some means of allaying the irritation of these small Mahomedan states; but from the nature of the dispute this will be far from easy, for the Khan of Orgunge must first be pacified; he commands the great caravan road leading into Russia, he has been able to prevent Russian merchants coming to Bokhara, and he can also obstruct the passage of the Mahomedan merchants into Russia. It is not improbable that the position of Khiva has led the Emperor of Russia to these apparently unjust measures. It, however, also serves to conciliate Persia, whose subjects are enslaved in thousands in Khiva, so that anything done against that petty state must be gratifying to the Court of Tehran, the ends of both being in this instance identical. His Majesty may likewise find it advisable to send a military expedition into the steppe, and the detention of the merchants may serve to work upon the Khan, since it touches his interests.

9. At such a juncture, I have thought it very advisable to send an express messenger to the Koosh Beggee, or minister of Bokhara, and to give him at great length the motives which have led the Government of India to depute me to Cabool. By letter I have informed him of the treaties which we have entered upon to throw open the Indus, and pointed out the bright commercial prospects which these arrangements held out, and the temptations which they afford to the traders of Toorkistan to turn their capital in this direction. I, of course, have made no allusion to the existing differences with Russia, but based the communication on the increased facility afforded by a new channel of commerce. I have also requested the minister to inform the king of the contents of the communication, and I did not let the opportunity pass of thanking the excellent man himself for the kind treatment to Dr. Gerard and myself when in Bokhara, nor to assure him how much my superiors, my countrymen, and myself appreciated it; and above all, how glad the Government of India would be to give in return every encouragement and protection to the merchants who would frequent its territories. I shall expect a reply in 40 or 50 days, and since the merchants here assure me of the friendly feelings which the Koosh Beggee entertains towards the British Government, and that he bears a kindly remembrance of my former visit, I shall look with interest and anxiety for the reply.

10. With reference to what has been stated in the 3d paragraph of this letter regarding the commercial views of Russia towards Herat, it will not fail to strike his Lordship in Council that if they should prove well founded, some explanation is found of the urgency with which Russia has counselled Persia to designs in that quarter; and this opinion receives strength from the obstruction

which Mr. Ellis met in procuring even a "Rukum" from his Persian Majesty regarding immunities to British commerce in his dominions, similar to those possessed by Russia. To a country wanting money, and abounding in raw materials as Russia, any new outlet to her commerce must be as dear as to Great Britain. We shall thus find a strong motive for the attention directed by her in this quarter, without believing that she contemplates the gigantic enterprise of invading either Cabool or India. It is also certainly true that there is no capital in Asia better adapted by its position for maturing the commercial views of Russia than Herat. The time is not far distant when trade ran from India in that direction, from which it was only diverted by the present ruler of Cabool. Further, if Candahar become linked with Persia, the channel is complete, since through that city the communications to Herat are now carried on, and on an identity of interests between Candahar and Persia will follow all that the Russian Government can desire.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 20 October 1837.

(True copy.)

(signed) H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters of the dates and on the subjects noted in the margin,* and in reply to forward for your information the accompanying copy of a letter this day written to Captain Wade on the subject of those communications.

2. I am desired to take this opportunity of assuring you that the Governor General in Council is entirely satisfied with your proceedings so far as they have been heretofore reported, and he feels confident that in your future negotiations you will take care not to encourage any unreasonable hope on the part of Dost Mahomed, that you will studiously refrain from committing your own Government, and that you will endeavour if possible to effect the desirable object of reconciling the existing differences between the Sikhs and the Afghans without any ostensible intervention on our part. There would doubtless appear to be many advantages in prospect could a reconciliation be effected on the basis of the restoration of Peshawur to one of the brothers of the Ameer, if such an arrangement could willingly be acceded to by the Maharajah.

3. You will learn from my letter to Captain Wade, that the Governor General in Council is doubtful as to the expediency of your proceeding for the present to Candahar. In the existing complicated state of political relations in that quarter, his Lordship in Council does not clearly perceive what specific object could be aimed at by your presence there, and he apprehends that, on the contrary, some embarrassment might be experienced. His Lordship in Council relies upon your judgment for proceeding or otherwise to Candahar, as you may deem that step advisable; but in case of your proceeding, and until you receive

* Letter dated 31 August 1837, reporting your departure from Peshawur, and giving an account of your interviews with Koor Kurruck Singh, relative to the objects which the British Government had in view in sending a mission to Cabool. Letter dated 4 September 1837, reporting your having passed Khyber, and arrived within the limits of Dost Mahomed Khan's jurisdiction in safety. Letter dated 8 September 1837, submitting a report on the political power of the Sikhs westward of the Indus. Letter dated 9 September 1837, reporting on the recent intercourse of Candahar with Russia and Persia, founded on documents and information which you consider authentic. Letter dated 10 September 1837, stating, in reply to my letter of 31 July last, that in your opinion the restoration of Peshawur, under certain restrictions, is likely most to contribute towards a reconciliation between the Sikhs and Afghans.

receive further instructions, you will restrict yourself to the duty of carefully watching and reporting the course of events, refraining from mixing yourself up with any of the intrigues which appear to be in progress in that quarter. You will at the same time so act as to mark the wish of the Governor General in Council, to respect the independence of all the chiefs of Afghanistan.

4. His Lordship in Council concludes, that you keep Mr. McNeill duly informed of all authentic intelligence that may reach you regarding the endeavours reported to be making with a view to the extension in an easterly direction of Persian or Russian influence.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India.

Fort William, 20 October 1837.

(No. 54.)

From Captain *Alex. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

In my letter of the 9th ultimo, I had the honour to make known to the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council what had transpired at Candahar since the arrival of an elchee at that city from the Shah of Persia. Since then Mahomed Hoosein, the agent sent by the Ameer of Cabool to the Court of Tehran has reached this, but Kumbur Ali Khan, the elchee, has not made his appearance.

2. It appears that he was ready to start for Cabool, and had actually made one march in this direction, when Hajee Khan Kaker, a man of some weight in this country, and who has lately gone to Candahar, after quarrelling with Dost Mahomed Khan, pointed out to the Candahar Chiefs the inadvisability of permitting any agent from Persia to go beyond Candahar, and that it was for their interest that they should of themselves enter into an alliance with Persia unconnected with their brother in Cabool. The effect of this advice was the recall of Kumbur Ali Khan to Candahar, and by the last letters he is now preparing to set out for Persia, and the universal and current rumour is that the Chief of Candahar, Kohin Dil Khan, is to send his own son along with him, though Hajee Khan Kaker wishes to go himself, unattended by a son of the Sirdar.

3. When this intelligence reached Cabool, the Ameer was much displeased, and he is now on the eve of sending a confidential person to Candahar to induce the elchee to continue his journey to Cabool. He acts thus to save his own credit with his neighbours, though I see little probability of his succeeding, if the Candahar Chiefs consider they have gained a point by their own establishment of an independent intercourse with Persia. The Persians also may really be assisted in their designs upon Herat by the Candahar Sirdars, and in a much more useful manner than by Cabool.

4. Since the date of my last letter on this subject, 9th ultimo, I have received a most friendly communication from Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan, which in itself, if reliance is to be placed upon it, is highly satisfactory. I have been therefore considering how far it would be advisable in me to address a remonstrance to him on the line of procedure which he is now following, but on the strength of such a letter he might consider the British Government committed in some way to him, and I therefore for the present await the course of events before I take any such step, and a very few weeks, even days, must decide the fate of the Persian mission to Afghanistan.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
Cabool, On a Mission to Cabool.
21 October 1837.

(True copy.)
(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

(No. 57.)

From Captain *A. Burnes* on a Mission to Cabool, to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

[I HAD the honour to receive your very important communication of the 11th of September, on the evening of the 21st, immediately after I had despatched my letter of that day's date to your address. It is satisfactory to think that my Despatch of the 5th instant will put the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council in possession of information which will, I doubt not, remove every anxiety as to the Chief of Cabool putting forth any extravagant pretensions; though my short letter of the 21st exhibits a state of affairs at Candahar of a much less cheering nature. The very opportune arrival of the instructions now acknowledged has placed me in such full possession of the views of Government, that I at once resolved to use my most active exertions to counteract Persian intrigue in that quarter, and the more so as public rumour states, and universal belief seems to confirm, that the Shah of Persia has actually marched on Khorasan, and, by the last reports, was close upon Meshid.]

2. On the morning of the 22d I received by a messenger from Candahar a full account of the proceedings at that city. The Chief had finally resolved on despatching his second son, Mahommed Omar Khan, to Persia, along with the elchee; had fixed upon the persons who were to compose his suite, about 150 in number; set aside 14,000 rupees for the expenses of the journey, and made provision for the presents with which the party is to be charged to the Shah and the Russian Ambassador. For his Majesty an elephant is to be sent, for his minister a pair of shawls, for the Russian Ambassador four shawls, for Abbas Khan Heratee two shawls, and Kumber Ali himself is to be dismissed with every honour and respect. To conciliate still further his Persian Majesty, the name of the Sirdar's son is changed from Omar Khan to Mudud Khan, the former designation being offensive to Mahommedans of the Shiah persuasion.

3. [I have stated in my letter of the 21st that] these measures were adopted by the advice of Hajee Khan Kaker, but though he has no doubt had some share in the transactions, there are proofs of a much earlier disposition in the Candahar Sirdars to cultivate a close alliance with Persia, of which the late deputation of Hajee Mobeen is not the least. The activity of their present proceedings is said to arise from anxiety to strengthen themselves with Persia, under a belief that their brother in Cabool will receive, to their exclusion, the alliance of the British Government; for though these chiefs would willingly co-operate with Dost Mahomed Khan on any occasion where Barukzye supremacy was endangered, they see in the advance of Persia eastward immediate danger to themselves, and they rejoice in the opportunity which they think they possess in the presence of a Persian elchee to conciliate the Shah, in whose promises their reliance seems firm. [Of the three brothers, one only, Rahim Dil Khan, is considered lukewarm in the cause.] Since their resolution has been taken, the Persian envoy, Kumber Ali Khan, has been introduced to many people in the city, and talked openly of the connexion between Candahar and Persia, and the vast benefits which must flow from it, which include [among other empty vaunts], a promise of the cession of Herat when their combined forces shall have subdued that city.

4. Since these reports have reached this from other correspondents than my own, there could be no doubt that the time had arrived for using every exertion to put a stop to this intercourse; [and though it would have rendered the assistance of the Ameer of Cabool more certain, if something definite had been settled about the affairs of Peshawar, still his disposition was such that I believed I could rely upon his co-operation without committing the Government by promises of anything in return.] I therefore resolved to enter, in the most unreserved manner, as to the views entertained regarding his brother's league with Persia. The Ameer himself, instead of receiving me at the Bala Hissar, came over in person to our residence, along with his brother, the Nuwab, on the morning of the 24th; and I now proceed to state the nature of our interview, which sets Dost Mahomed Khan's conduct in a light that must prove, as I believe, very gratifying to Government.

5. After

5. After we had conversed on the reported approach of the Shah of Persia, of which the Ameer had also heard by letter from Candahar on the preceding evening, stating that his Majesty had arrived at Shahrood, [Bootan,] I asked at once if there was any truth in the rumours that had reached me of his brother, at Candahar, sending one of his sons to the Court of Persia. The Ameer at once replied, that the very letter he had just mentioned, and which he showed to me, confirmed the report, but that he had not heard direct on the subject. I stated that I was anxious to inform him I saw no possible good that could result to Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan in such a step, and that I felt myself bound to tell him so. "When Shah Shooja ool Moolk invaded this kingdom in 1833," I added, "you and your brothers at Candahar acted in concert with one another, and the British Government in evincing its sympathy with the difficulties under which your family now labours, is not likely to be urged on to use its good offices to allay differences in the east, when fresh causes to disturb the public tranquillity of these countries on the west, receive support at Candahar."

6. The Ameer declared to me in the most explicit manner that if it was a cause of regret on our part it was doubly so on his own; for he had himself bitterly repented his ever having had anything to do with Persia, and the more so, since he had received the Governor General's notification of my deputation to this country. So much indeed had this been the case, that he had refrained from entering with me into particulars regarding Kumber Ali Khan's mission; and that, what was further, he had resisted all persuasion to send a letter of invitation to that person when he reported his arrival at Candahar; for though he could not refuse to receive him, after the letters which he had addressed to the Shah, he saw clearly that it could not meet our approbation; and that he was glad to say the elchee in question would not advance beyond Candahar. This, he said, appeared to him the best way in which he could mark his desire to ally himself to the British Government; and he begged to assure me that the whole of these transactions at Candahar were passing without his concurrence, and much against his inclination.

7. I immediately replied that it was very pleasing to hear such sentiments; for though I could not doubt, after the declarations which I heard since reaching Cabool, that these were his real feelings, yet it had been stated that he had taken offence at the detention of the envoy at Candahar, and had sent a confidential agent there, which now appeared to be erroneous. [That I had already pointed out to him the inability of the Persian Government to assist him, and of the worthlessness of the promises which had been made, he was now able to judge, since neither men nor money were forthcoming; that all which I had stated applied with equal force to his brother at Candahar, and that it was for their own real good to desist from applications in a direction from which no possible benefit would spring, and serious injury, as it appeared to me, must follow.] I felt myself bound, however, I stated, to explain very clearly that, [on this advice,] neither he nor his brother were to found hopes of receiving aid from the British Government, [because I now pointed out to them the hollowness of a Persian alliance. I said that we could not for a moment allow of a comparison between that monarchy and Britain; that the Shah, who now sat upon the throne had been put there by British influence, that his resources were small and his army inefficient, and that these facts proved the inability of Persia to render the aid which she promised; that her end was to try and unsettle these countries, to play one small State against another, such as Herat and Candahar, and her only object self-aggrandisement at the expense of others, and that too through promises which were deceitful.] The British Government [on the other hand] if they had not taken any active measures in these countries, had now evinced their sympathy, while a good understanding between the chiefs of Afghanistan must ultimately lead to the benefit of all parties, and to the growth of that friendly feeling now first evinced by the present mission to this country. I hoped therefore he would use his influence at Candahar; for I also felt myself bound, after a friendly communication which I had received from that quarter, to address a friendly letter of advice to Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan.

8. The Ameer declared that he himself was much concerned at what had passed; and said that I should have asked him sooner to use his influence, and he would have exerted himself long since. He saw clearly that the

designs of Persia were sinister, and that Russia, through her, was preparing to try her fortune in these countries, as the British had tried it in India. For this, too, they had themselves to blame, as that Court had found out, from the applications of Kamran, of himself unfortunately, and of his brothers at Candahar, that this country is without masters; but if the affairs of Peshawar are adjusted, his Persian Majesty will learn that the case is otherwise, and whether the British Government interested itself or not, he was resolved to do everything which he could to show his respect for its wishes, and conciliate it, and if he could not succeed he was equally determined to have nothing further to do with Persia; that he would despatch a confidential courier (chuppur) to Candahar this evening, and remonstrate in the strongest language with his brothers; and that, further, if he could not change them in their purpose, he would, if I advised it, put a stop to these intrigues by threats or by force of arms; for the Afghans had no sympathy with Persia, and if Herat fell into the hands of that kingdom [of which there now appeared a great probability], it was time to unite their strength, or to take measures which would place the resources of Cabool and Candahar in one hand. I declared at once that the British Government would not give its countenance to any such step as active operations against his brother: but that if he succeeded in preventing Kohin Dil Khan from acting as he intended, it could not fail to be received as a strong mark of his desire for our friendship, and I would add, of great good sense. [He dictated, in my presence, three letters, to be addressed to Candahar, and, along with them, a paper of a very caustic nature was enclosed, a translation of both of which I append. I add, at the same time, the communication which I myself addressed, in which I have been as explicit as seems advisable.

9. Whatever be the ultimate destiny of these countries, whether one chief raises himself at the expense of the others, or they continue, as at present, in small independent States, it appears of the first importance, as they are now constituted, to exhibit a kind and conciliatory demeanor towards all parties. The necessity of cutting off communication with the west has been fully acknowledged by his Lordship in Council, and the Ambassador in Persia has given his opinion of the necessity there exists of putting a stop to further intercourse between Persia and Candahar. I hope, therefore, that the communication which I have now addressed to that quarter, comes strictly within the line of my duty: by its result the propriety of it will probably be judged; but seeing the ills which must flow from such a decided step as sending a son of the chief to Persia, I considered it right first to interest Dost Mahomed Khan in cutting asunder this alliance, and next to exhibit to the chief how little it would conduce to his own interest. Arriving at a time when Persian and Russian intrigues were insinuating themselves into this country, a chain of circumstances fortuitous in their nature, and which at first foreboded distraction, has happily defeated for the present their designs in Cabool; and, with the friendly footing in this important capital which has been given to us by Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, I found a strong hope, that the Candahar Chiefs will also be turned from their purpose, and ultimately contribute to the ascendancy of British counsels over that of every other power between India and Persia.]

Cabool, 31 October 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

[TRANSLATION of a Public Letter from the Ameer, to the address of the Candahar Chiefs; dated Cabool, 25 October 1837.

A. C.,

I HAVE lately sent you all the news of this quarter, which you might have understood. What your letters contained, I comprehend perfectly. We have been always friends with each other, and the fruits of unanimity have and will always prove advantageous. You, and all my other brothers at Candahar, have always written to me that I was your superior, and asked my advice on every subject, and declared that you would never contradict me.

As Peshawar, which is our principal abode, fell into the hands of the Sikhs, on account of the foolishness of Sultan Mahomed Khan, and which has been a source of great trouble and

and vexation to us, so now Candahar, the place of our nativity, is always threatened by Kamran. These difficulties obliged us all to have recourse to the English, Persian, and Tartar Governments. It brought, at last, from east, the English elchee, and from the west the elchees of Persia and Tartary. Before the latter embassies entered the country, I informed you, that as Alexander Burnes is coming here on the part of the British Government, it would be proper to send one of your brothers to Cabool, that we might consult on the matter, and settle things with him. You replied to me, that you would send Mehir Dil Khan along with the Persian elchee, and do what I advised.

Meanwhile some misunderstanding takes place between you and your brothers, which prevents the elchee and Mihr Dil Khan coming here. Mr. Burnes arrives, and enters upon business; what he has seen and heard he has reported to his Government, and it will also reach the Sikhs. Some hopes arise regarding Peshawar. It is well known to the world that the power of the Sikhs is nothing in comparison with that of the English, and if all our objects be obtained through that great power, so much the better. Mr. Burnes, after settling matters in this quarter, intends to proceed to Candahar, and thence, by the road of Shikarpoor, to Sindh.

For these few days past no letter has come direct from you; but from the contents of letters for Mr. Burnes and others, I learn that on the information of a Persian army coming to Herat, you are going to send your son, Mahomed Omar Khan, along with the Persian Elchee, to the Shah. This has astonished me very much, because you never did anything before without my advice; and what fruits do you hope to reap by sending your son to Persia? If the British would not be friendly, then you might make friendship with others; the former are near to us, and famous for preserving their word: the latter are nothing in power as compared with them.

If you look upon me as greater than yourself, take my advice and do not send your son to Persia. In the event of your not attending to my advice, such circumstances will happen as will make you bite the finger with repentance.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.]

No. 2.

[TRANSLATION of a Private Letter from the Ameer to the Address of the Chief of Candahar, enclosed in the preceding; dated Cabool, 25 October 1837.

A. C.,

A FEW days ago, Alexander Burnes received information that you are sending Mahomed Omar Khan to Persia. He privately asked me in the following manner: "Notwithstanding the friendly feelings which subsists between the English and Afghans, your brother, it appears, is going to send his son to Mahomed Shah; how will it do to keep foot in two boats? If they act by your advice, it is far from wisdom. We (English) are looking for the prosperity of the household of the Afghans, and you, in return, are doing such things. If you say that your brothers at Candahar are taking this step without your advice, the world will never believe it, because it is well known to the Europeans that Shah Shooja had nearly taken the city of Candahar, when you, being of one blood, went with troops and drove Shah Shooja from Candahar. It is, however, possible that these matters at Candahar are going on without your knowledge." Mr. Burnes said many things in this style, and really I had no answer to give him.

Oh! my brother, if you will do such things without my concurrence, what will the people of the world say to it? We have an enemy like Runjeet Singh in our neighbourhood, and the English may get the affair of Peshawar settled. How, then, can we enter on an alliance with others, if they exhibit to us friendship. I see nothing for the Mussulmans, in their wars against the Sikhs, but to be friendly with the English Government, and endeavour to please them. If you will do contrary to what I do, it will be very bad, and finally create such animosity between us, if you go by one road and I by the other, that it must injure the welfare of both. If you fear from Kamran at Herat, that thing in time may also be settled through the means of the English. Consider deeply that the friendship of Persia is exactly like the following old proverb: "Until the antidote should be brought from Irak, the poison of the snake causes death."

If you will not abandon the intention of sending your son to Persia, you must consider me your enemy.

In case you do not rely upon what Captain Burnes and I have been conversing on, send your brother, Mihr Dil Khan, here for a few days, and he will see and tell you all.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.]

No. 3.

[COPY of a Letter from Captain *Burnes*, to the Chief of Candahar, Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan ; dated Cabool, 24 October 1837.

A. C.,

I HAD the great pleasure to receive your friendly letter, the arrival of which delighted me very much. What you said, that, "By God, the feelings of friendship which I entertain must correspond with those in your breast, and will strengthen the bonds of amity ; do not think otherwise," greatly pleased me, and I have been looking forward to the time when I should see and know you, and hear all about this good disposition from your own mouth.

It is known to you that I came to this quarter with good intentions towards all parties, and particularly to converse with all the members of your family, and I have received a very friendly reception at Cabool. At this time I hear, from various quarters, that you are sending your son to Iran ; when I look to the contents of your letter, and to this step, I do not understand matters, and believe that some person has been deceiving me. Its not possible to hold two water-melons in one hand ; unanimity in families is a great source of power ; family differences are the certain cause of evil ; and foreseeing as much as the feeble intellect of man can do into futurity, I see no good in the step you now contemplate. Even I see that the fruit of the matter will be nothing but repentance and loss ; and wishing you well, I have thought it proper to write to you. Let me hear from you, that I may know you continue as much my friend as I am yours.

(A true translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.]

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Right honourable the Governor General of India in Council, various circumstances regarding my intercourse with Meer Moorad Beg, the Uzbek Chief of Koondooz, which have led to the deputation of Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood on a visit to that personage.

No. 3.

No. 4.

2. Immediately on my arriving in this country, I endeavoured, by every means in my power, to conciliate the chief ; but his known and avowed aversion to all Europeans rendered the task very difficult. He had behaved badly to Mr. Moorcroft, and indifferently to myself. A letter which was addressed to his minister by Nawab Jubbar Khan, in behalf of Mr. Vigne, who lately visited this country, drew forth the very unfriendly reply (No. 3) which is annexed ; and the late Dr. Gerard, on his return to India, was not more fortunate, as is exhibited in the translation (No. 4) of a letter from the chief which I now possess.

3. As the British Nation had never done aught to excite such animosity in the mind of the Koondooz Chief, I have been long disposed to attribute these unkindly feelings to his belief that all Europeans were hostile to him merely on account of what befel Mr. Moorcroft. I therefore assured the Toorkistan merchants, particularly Budro Deen, the principal of them, that we had no ill feeling to Moorad Beg ; and on the 6th ultimo, I addressed Atma, the Dewan Beggee, his principal minister ; but I forwarded the letter to him secretly, since it was not at all advisable to subject myself to such replies as had been already received.

4. About the time of our reaching Cabool, the Meer of Koondooz sent an agent to this city, to see what was passing. He and Dost Mahomed Khan have not of late been on the best of terms, and the Uzbek was not altogether satisfied that our presence might not affect him, as there was then an elchee from Bokhara at this place. Some explanation, however, ensued, and the messenger, in the name of his master, begged that Dost Mahomed Khan would get Dr. Lord to improve the eye-sight of his Mahomed Beg, the brother of the
Koondooz

Koondooz Chief. The Ameer wrote, in reply, that he could not ask the medical gentleman to go to Koondooz, as he was his guest; but that if he would come to Cabool, his house would be his home, and he would procure medical assistance.

5. In the course of 22 days an elchee returned from Koondooz, and I was surprised to receive from his hands the annexed letter (No. 1), addressed by Meer Moorad Beg to myself; nor was the chief satisfied with this imploration, but addressed Dost Mahomed Khan and Budro Deen to sue for medical aid from us. The elchee, Mirza Budia, a man much in the confidence of the Chief of Koondooz, delivered to me a most friendly message, with the very remarkable and spontaneous offer, that if the medical gentleman would come to Koondooz, he would cause all the MSS. and books of the lamented Moorcroft to be handed over to him.

No. 1.

6. The Chief of Cabool was exceedingly anxious to bring Moorad Beg's brother across Hindoo Koosh; but he had political objects in view, and I thought it much more advisable for Mr. Lord to proceed in person to Koondooz; and he started yesterday, in company with the elchee and an agent from Dost Mahomed Khan. By him I addressed a letter to Meer Moorad Beg (No. 2), the translation of which is appended.

7. Along with Mr. Lord I have also despatched Lieutenant Wood; and as he carries with him his chronometers and other instruments, he will be enabled, I hope, to materially improve the geography of this interesting and unknown part of Asia. Lieutenant Leech has already examined the great pass over Hindoo Koosh; and this officer, in both going and returning, may add a new route to our information. I trust also that Mr. Lord will be able to conciliate the Chief of Koondooz by curing his brother; but I am certain that that gentleman will advance our knowledge of the geology and botany of the stupendous mountains across which his route lies.

8. But, however desirous it must always be to enlarge our general knowledge of these countries, I cannot but consider the present opportunity of conversation with Moorad Beg as fortunate and well timed. That chief had it always in his power to shut up the caravan road from Cabool to Bokhara; though he is friendly to the merchant, political circumstances have sometimes led him to threaten he would take such a step. Our presence has healed his differences with Cabool, and by the establishment of a good understanding with him, the link of communication will now be complete from the sea to Bokhara.

I have, &c.

(signed) *A. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 4 November 1837.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Meer Moorad Beg, the Chief of Koondooz, to the Address of Captain *Burnes*; received at Cabool on the 24th of October 1837.

After Compliments,

I HAVE heard much of you and the great wisdom which you possess; I learn from many quarters that you are as the renowned Bograt (Hippocrates) among wise men. My young brother, Mahmood Beg, has become dim sighted; if you can cure him, I will be very thankful to you, and send him to Cabool. I am friendly with Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, and his house will be open to my brother as if it were my own house.

If it pleases God, and the eyes of my brother are cured, you will have great fame and name in (Tartary) Toorkistan.

The bearer of this, Mirza Budia, will tell you all the case; and rely upon what he says.

Let me hear from you, and accept the horse which I send you, as a rarity of this country and a remembrance from me.

(sealed) *Moorad Beg.*

(A true translation)

(signed) *A. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

COPY of a Letter addressed to Meer Moorad Beg, the Chief of Koondooz, by Captain Burnes; dated Cabool, 31 October 1837.

After Compliments,

I HAVE had great satisfaction in receiving the very friendly communication which you transmitted to me from Koondooz by the hands of your confidential agent, Mirza Budea. I have understood all which the Mirza has stated, and be assured that I feel honoured by the confidence you place in me, and more so at the high opinions which you entertain of European skill and knowledge.

It is to me a source of much regret that one so dear to you as your brother, the honoured Mahmood Beg, should labour under a disease so afflicting, a threatened loss of sight. Where would be the proof of the friendly feelings which I entertain towards you, if I allowed such an one to cross the snows of Hindoo Koosh, and seek for medical aid in Cabool? Along with me, as you have justly heard, is a renowned (hukeem) physician, skilled in the science of Europe, and he hastens to attend you in your own country. The cure of a disease is in the hands of God, but Dr. Lord and Mr. Wood will omit nothing which can render their services of value to your brother and useful to yourself. These gentlemen are the servants of the Government of India and my fellow travellers; they are very dear to me, and will make known to you the business which has brought me here, and all which they tell you be pleased to rely on.

It is proper to mention to you that the object of the European Government in India is to lay open the roads to and from Hind and Toorkistan, that the caravans may pass safely. Your fame in protecting the merchant and exacting duties according to law (shira) is well known, but such is not the case throughout all the roads from Hind. When arrangements have been made for using the great river of Sinde as a channel of commerce, more merchandise will be sent into Toorkistan, and I rejoice to think that this will improve your revenue and increase your power.

What Mirza Budea has stated to me about the papers and books of Moorcroft, which you will procure for me; that is a great proof of your friendly feeling, and worthy of yourself. As the sight of your own brother is dear to you, so are the relics of a countryman who died in a distant country dear to all his friends (buradarun) and relations.

For the horse which you sent to me I am very much obliged; in return I send you some of the rarities of Europe, such as a pair of pistols, a telescope, a watch, a sword-blade, &c., &c., of which I beg your acceptance from Dr. Lord and Mr. Wood, who will deliver them to you.

I trust that it may be the will of God that your brother may be cured; as much as man can do will be done for him. Think of the distance of Europe (Furhung) from Koondooz, and the good fortune which has brought a physician at such an opportune time near him. I trust the omen is auspicious, and that the present occasion will also be the beginning of a lasting friendship between the British Government and yourself. Consider me, who am one of its servants, as your friend, and let me hear of your welfare.

(signed) A. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)
(signed) A. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 3.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Atma Dewan Begee, the Minister of Meer Moorad Beg, to the Address of Nawab Jubbar Khan; received in Cabool 1835, about Mr. Vigne.

After Compliments,

I WAS highly honoured with the arrival of your kind letter; its contents gave me great pleasure. The rarities, along with the compliments which some European (who is your friend) had sent by the cossid to my master, the Meer, safely reached me; they were unworthy presents for my master, who is king of this country. The man who has sent them and the messages was quite wrong; such messages could only be sent by a master to a servant. It is not concealed from you that kings and beggars are independent, and never obey anybody. I gave all things back to the cossid, for they are useless in this country. I send you birds and seeds of the melon and water-melon, which my servant, Shama, will give you.

If you have any business of your own, I will always do it with great pleasure.

For God's sake, for God's sake, for God's sake (tukseer), pardon me for my presumption in speaking out as follows:—You have favourably recommended your friend, the European,
in

in your letter; I cannot do anything for him, because the holy Meer does not like Europeans; he even hates those who mention their name. Do you think it possible, therefore, that I can introduce your friend, the Faringee, to the Meer? No, no, I dare not do so; I would incur risk and danger. Pray excuse my refusal.

(A true translation.)

(signed) *A. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 4.

TRANSLATION of a Letter in reply from Meer Moorad Beg, the Chief of Koondooz, to the Address of the late Dr. Gerard; received at Cabool 1834.

After Compliments,

YOUR letter, with the news of your health, explaining some circumstances and inquiring as to others about Moorcroft, reached me, and I fully understood what it contained.

It is well known that Moorcroft came to this country, and after some stay, went towards Bokhara along with his property, whence he returned in good health.

On his arrival at Muzar he fell ill and died: whatever property he had was taken by Shooja-oo-Deen Khan, the ruler of that place, and I know nothing about it.

You write also regarding the establishment of friendship with me, but reflect well how, for the dirty world, can I make friendship with the people of another faith. We are neither desirous of your friendship nor your enmity, nor do we wish intercourse with any one.

If any one, excited by animosity, comes into our country, we shall try our fortune, and not fail in anything as far as our power permits.

Whenever a person may happen to come here on commercial business, after paying the duty, according to the law of merchants, he shall get his leave. Even all the men of Europe may conduct trade through my country; I have no objection to it, but I have no desire to be friends with them.

The scissors and penknife reached me, and I send you, as you request, tea, 200 tollahs in weight.

(True copy.)

(signed) *A. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(No. 61.)

From Captain *Alex. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

WITH reference to my letter of the 19th ultimo regarding the overtures of his Highness Meer Sobdar to the Ameer of Cabool, I have now the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, that they have met with no favour from Dost Mahomed Khan.

2. I have at various times explained to the Ameer the nature of our position in Sinde, and the influence which we had established in that country; and though nothing could be more acceptable to the Chief of Cabool than money, he has informed Meer Sobdar that he wishes to have nothing to say to him, and he does so believing that such an answer pleases the British Government.

I have, &c.

Cabool,
5 November 1837.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

WITH reference to the 10th paragraph of your letter of the 15th of May last, regarding the individual named Hajee Hoossain Ali Khan, who gave himself out as an ambassador from the Chief of Cabool, and whose credentials were forwarded to me, I have now the honour to report that I have shown the same to the principal secretary of Dost Mahomed Khan, and through him to the Chief, and that the whole is a fabrication from beginning to end, the individual in question not having been here for the last 14 years.

2. The Ameer of Cabool and his advisers are vexed at what has happened, and have been speculating on the mode of punishing such a knavish impostor, but I imagine that he will not give such an opportunity by visiting Cabool.

I have, &c.

Cabool,
6 November 1837.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William

Sir,

I HAVE now the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, that since my communication of the 31st ultimo, more authentic particulars regarding the movements of Persia have been received at this city, and it now appears certain that the Shah has not advanced beyond Meshid, and, all but probable, that his Majesty is still at Tehran, the rumours which are afloat having arisen in consequence of a party of 5,000 or 6,000 men accompanying the mother of the Shah on a pilgrimage to Meshid.

2. It is, however, considered quite certain that the Shah does entertain designs to the eastward, and as Herat is necessarily the point to which his attention would be first directed, Shah Kamran has become alarmed, quitted Laush, and returned to Herat, where he is now said to be engaged in repairing the ditch and fortress, and in storing wood and provisions. It therefore appears that, notwithstanding the tender of his allegiance to Persia, he has no intention of quietly submitting himself to that power.

3. There is no doubt that Herat, as it is described, is a place of some strength in this part of Asia, but there is only one opinion regarding Kamran, that he is a cruel and tyrannical man, very dissipated, without friends, and who can expect no assistance from his countrymen, over whom his oppressions are almost incredible. His minister, Yar Mahomed Khan, and Shere Mahomed Khan Huzara, are the great aids of Kamran; the one has ability, the other can command the services of 5,000 or 6,000 men, but the military strength of Herat cannot be of much consequence, as is proved by the investment of Laush ending unsuccessfully after a lapse of eight months. Kamran, however, has some treasure, and he has increased it and the number of his troops by selling his Shiah subjects to the Toorkmans, but funds so acquired must in the end, as it appears to me, weaken instead of strengthening him. It is, therefore, believed that Herat, if not surrendered to a Persian army, would be betrayed into their hands; and if the Shah chooses a proper season to march against it, the latter, I imagine, will be its fate.

4. While the cruelties experienced by all individuals of the Shiah creed lead the Shah of Persia to be revenged upon Herat, the Persians are, it is said, still further incited to its attack from the best roads to Orgunje and Bokhara (to which

which their ulterior attention is directed) leading from that city. I do not believe that Persia will ever make a successful inroad into their states, or put a stop to her subjects being enslaved, even if actively aided by Russia, for nothing but their permanent possession would arrest the odious system of man-selling now prevalent among them.

5. In advancing even upon Herat the Persians experience serious evils, for such is the position of Khiva and Bokhara, that all detachments and supplies are likely to be attacked by Toorkmans, and, if I can place credit on my informants, the King of Persia's last campaign was a most disastrous one in the loss of men and subjects thus kidnapped. The Khivans even marched off some of the Toorkmans under Persia, as well as some thousand Persian families. Herat will, therefore, be a very inconvenient position to retain possession of, supposing it to fall. It is to Persia what Peshawur is to the Sikhs; in the one the Shiah will excite religious animosity in their Soonee neighbours, as in the other the whole Mahomedan population are ever ready to enter on anything that can injure their Sikh rulers.

Cabool,
10 November 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(No. 18.)

From *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
to Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters of the dates and on the subjects noted in the margin * in the former, containing a duplicate of your letter of the 9th of September.

2. In reply I am desired to state that your information as regards the mission of an elchee from Herat to the Shah of Persia is correct, though you do not appear to have been accurately informed, at the date of your letter, of the terms on which the ruler of Herat desires to be reconciled to her powerful neighbour. The particulars of this negotiation, and of the part which Mr. McNeill has taken in it, will doubtless reach you long before the receipt of this letter.

3. On the subject of your second letter I am merely desired to observe, for the present, that your account of the reception afforded to you at Cabool is highly gratifying to his Lordship, who does not doubt that you will turn to the best account the very favourable disposition manifested by the Ameer.

4. I am desired to take this opportunity of forwarding, for your information, the accompanying copy of a letter this day written by order of his Lordship to Captain Wade, as connected with the important objects of your mission.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Governor General of India.
Ghazeepore,
13 November 1837.

(True copy.)
(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To

* Letter dated 18 September 1837, reporting that intelligence has just reached of Shah Kamram having acknowledged allegiance to Persia, and sent an elchee with presents to the Shah, at Tehran, that the circumstances would not appear to be known in Cabool, and stating what you believe the effect to be. Letter dated 24 September 1837, reporting your arrival at Cabool, the delivery of your credentials, and the gratifying reception of them and the mission in that capital, with your remarks.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the copy of a letter received some time since by the Anir of Cabool from his Excellency Count Simonitch, the Russian Ambassador at Tehran, likewise one from the Amir's agent forwarding the same. I append translations of these documents.

2. His Lordship in Council is already aware, by the Despatches of Her Majesty's Ambassador in Persia, that a communication was also addressed by the Russian Ambassador to the chief of Candahar [which fell into Mr. M'Neil's hands, and was transmitted by his Excellency to Lord Palmerston]. A double opportunity is now offered of judging of the designs and intentions of Russia in this quarter.

3. [Before my arrival in Cabool I had heard, through Mr. Masson, of the communication now forwarded; but some doubts had occurred as to its authenticity, from its wanting a signature, which can no longer be entertained. In the course of an interview with Mirza Samée Khan, a few days ago, the conversation turned on Russian designs, and I at once asked him as to the communication which the Ameer had received from Russia, when he offered to show it to me, and sent it accordingly. Not the least remarkable portion of this communication is the accompaniment to the Russian ambassador's communication.]

4. If anything were wanting to bear out the correctness of Mr. M'Neil's views, as expressed in his Despatch of the 30th of June last to Her Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, regarding the encouragement given to Persia by Russia to extend her influence to the countries eastward, these papers now forwarded carry the clearest proof of it, for the Russian Ambassador himself commences the correspondence with the chief of Cabool, and tells him that if the Shah of Persia will not assist him his Court is ready to do so.

5. [I am glad to say that no answer has as yet been returned to Count Simonitch's letter, and I have every reason to believe that none will ever be sent, but in the now very improbable event of this chief's despairing of the sympathy and friendly feelings of the British Government.]

I have, &c.

Cabool,
15 November 1837.

(signed) *A. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

[TRANSLATION of a Letter from the Russian Ambassador at Tehran, to the Address of Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, of Cabool.

After Compliments,

IN these happy days the respectable Hajie Ibrahim Khan, one of your people, arrived at the door of his Majesty the Shah. He has now got leave to return to you, and I embrace the opportunity to write to you, being induced to do so by the praises which I am always hearing of you, and the friendly conversation which has passed between your man and myself. Through him, therefore, I send this friendly letter, and hope that you in future will keep up a correspondence with me.

Considering me your friend, I trust that you will strengthen the bonds of friendship by writing to me and freely commanding my services, as I shall always be happy to do anything for you.

Look upon me as your servant, and let me hear from you.



(Sealed)

Wuzeeri Mookhtur, Dowlut Behayee Roosia.
Graf Iwan Simonitch.

No. 2.

[TRANSLATION of a Letter to Ameer of Cabool, forwarding the preceding from Hajee Ibrahim, his Agent at Tehran.

After Compliments,

I REACHED the camp of the Shah in the month of Jumadoolwul. When his Majesty learned the contents of your letter he was happy and kind to me. At that time the Shah was at Cushma Ali, seven marches from Tehran, near Dam Ghou. He stated that on arriving at Khalpash he would discharge me, with some message to you. On his reaching Khal Posh he went to punish the Turkmans, and I accompanied his Majesty as desired. When we returned to Shah Rood the winter set in, and the Shah, by the advice of his counsellors, left his artillery there, abandoned the intention of going to Herat this year, and returned to Tehran. He ordered his nobles to get ready by Nouroz for an expedition to Herat.

The Shah directed me to inform you that he will shortly send an elchi, who, after meeting you, will proceed to Runjeet Singh, to explain to him, on the part of the Shah, that if he (Runjeet) will not restore all the Afghan countries to you, the Ameer, he must be prepared to receive the Persian army. When the Shah takes Herat he has promised to send you money and any troops you want.

The Russian Ambassador, who is always with the Shah, has sent to you a letter, which I enclose. The substance of his verbal messages to you are, that if the Shah does everything you want, so much the better, and if not, the Russian Government will furnish you (the Ameer) with everything wanting.

The object of the Russian elchee by this message is to have a road to the English (India), and for this they are very anxious. He is waiting for your answer, and I am sure he will serve you. The letter you sent through Aga Mahomed Kushee pleased the Shah very much, and he (Mahomed Hoosein) will soon return to you.

The Asufool Dowlah, the ruler of Khorasan, has written to the Shah that he saw Yar Mahomed Khan on this side of Turhut. He says that he has not power to oppose the Shah, but he will not serve him until the Shah gives him money to take Candahar and Cabool.

I send you the letter (firman) of the Shah, which will, I trust, meet approbation.

(True translation.)

(signed) *A. Barnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.]

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the following heads of intelligence, which have reached me by a cossid from Herat, who arrived in Cabool in 27 days. The cossid brings a letter from the Attar Bashee, a man of high respectability, bidding me give evidence to what he says; but of course the same reliance is not to be placed as if it had been written from Herat.

2. The King of Persia had reached Shahrood Boostan, half way to Meshid, where he had been met by the Asoofool Dowla, the Governor of Khorasan, who urged his Majesty not to advance on Herat at present, but settle the affairs of Ispahan and Shiraz, which are disordered, and return in the spring to Herat. His Majesty suspects the Asoofool Dowla of intriguing with Kamran, and is farther urged to advance by respectable people who have been driven from Herat.

3. The son of the Asoofool Dowla, who holds Meshid in his father's absence, has
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however ordered a small body of troops, with some guns, to encamp outside the city, on the road to Herat. This movement is attributed by some to a letter which the ruler of Laush addressed to the Shah, and has for its object the prevention of Kamran's again investing that fortress. The chief of Laush is friendly to Persia from fear of Kamran.

4. "On the return of Futtch Khan from Tehran it was immediately given out that the British ambassador had sent a message to Kamran's vizier, Yar Mahomed Khan, to repair the fortress, collect all the Soonnees, and ask the aid of the Huzaras and Toorkmuns to resist Persia, all of which is now being done. The Toorkmuns in and about Shurukhs, as also the Suha Toorkmuns, have promised every support to resist the Shah, whose intentions, it is supposed, are to winter in Khorasan, and see if he cannot reduce Herat by stopping a supply of provisions.

5. "At the same time, Yar Mahomed Khan is certainly in correspondence with the Shah, and is even said to have invited his Majesty to Herat, and to make it his residence till it is convenient to march on Candahar and Cabool. For his good offices, Yar Mahomed Khan is promised the possession of Herat."

6. The Shah has also sent very valuable presents to Shere Mahomed Khan, the Huzaree chief, who is an adherent or rather an abettor of Kamran. With these he has made a request that he would not assist Kamran when attacked by the Persian army.

7. "The intention of the chief of Candahar to despatch one of his sons with the Shah's elchee, on his return to Persia, has reached Herat and given great dissatisfaction. Yar Mahomed Khan has even written a letter of remonstrance, declaring that no Affghan had ever so disgraced himself. Shumso Deen Khan Populzye, a connexion of Kamran's, now pitched at Kela Kah, near Seistan, is instructed to seize, if possible, the Chief of Candahar's son, on his road to Persia, and the Affghans of Bukwa, near Furrah, have promised to assist him. The route of the Persian mission, on its return, will be by Seistan to Kaeen, Burjon, and Meshid or Tehran, the chief of Seistan, the son of Khan Jan, who is a Shiah, having received a sum of money from Persia to give protection through his country."

8. These reports serve to explain the cause of excitement in Herat and this country. Since they arrived, your letter of the 28th of August, enclosing the copies of the Despatches of Her Majesty's Ambassador in Persia, reached me on the 11th instant, but the paragraph No. 3, alluded to as having been addressed to his Excellency, has been (my mistake, I suppose) omitted. The good effect, however, of Mr. MacNeil's intervention in the affairs of Herat, is already, as his Lordship in Council will observe, beginning to show itself in Affghanistan. I have felt myself much strengthened by the receipt of so full an account of the ambassador's proceedings, and I have not failed to keep him informed of all that is passing here.

I have, &c.

Cabool,
16 November 1837.

(signed) A. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

WITHOUT waiting for the reply of my communication to the Chief of Candahar, I consider it advisable to dispatch by this opportunity the annexed document, which purports to be the heads of a treaty between the Shah of Persia and the Sirdars of Candahar. I have seen the original paper, which arrived

arrived here a few days ago, [and was sent to me by the Ameer,] so that there is no doubt of its authenticity.

2. On the afternoon of the 13th instant, I was specially invited by the Ameer to the Bala Hissar, and had an opportunity of conversing with Dost Mahomed Khan on matters of some moment, as well as the subject of this paper. He proceeded to inform me that its contents had given him great dissatisfaction, and that probably a corresponding feeling would arise in the mind of the British Government on account of it; that it was very evident there was some crisis at hand in the affairs to the west; and that Herat certainly, and Candahar probably, would fall into the hands of Persia, if some arrangement were not speedily entered upon to check her approach, as it was very clear, from every account, that Persia could not of herself act in this manner; she must be assisted by Russia. [His motive for having sought this private interview was to assure me that he was entirely English in his views, interests, and opinions, and that his position, services, and power were at our disposal to check these inroads; but it was very advisable in such a state of things to act betimes.

3. I thanked the Ameer for his friendly declaration, and assured him that I would convey it to his Lordship in Council; but at the same time I thought it right to assure him that I did not attach much importance to the heads of the treaty between Candahar and Persia which he had sent to me. From it, I admitted that before his or my letters could get to Candahar, or had been written, that the result of Kumber Ali Khan's visit there had generated a resolution to depute a son of Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan to Persia, which might or might not be put into effect; but] I observed that among other very dubious portions of the treaty, was a promise that the British Ambassador in Persia would see its terms fulfilled on this point. I found myself at liberty to state most unhesitatingly that no such promise would be fulfilled, and that an unjustifiable use had been made of the name of the British Government in that document, since it was contrary to its policy to hew down Herat for the benefit of Candahar. I could not also help observing that the whole of the stipulations seemed in favour of Candahar, and I questioned very much the authority on which the Persian elchee had made them.

[4. With reference to Herat, I told the Ameer that I relied on the intelligence which I had received both from that city and Persia that there was no immediate danger of its being attacked, and that when the time did arrive, it was satisfactory to think that the British Government had so willing and ready a friend in this quarter as himself, and that next to shunning all communication with the Persian elchee deputed to him, the present declaration must be held as the best proof of his sincerity.

5. By the 14th paragraph of instructions issued to me on the 14th of September last, I am authorised to proceed to Candahar or Herat, but that at present seems neither advisable nor necessary, since the influence of our name is strengthened by the friendly footing that has been secured in Cabool. It however appears from the accompaniment to Mr. M'Neill's letter of the 30th of June last, that the Persian Government is not likely to desist from its designs against Herat and this quarter; and assuredly the disposition of the Candahar Sirdars, which will of course be made the most of by the elchee, is not calculated to turn away their attention. It may, perhaps, therefore appear worthy of the consideration of his Lordship in Council to decide how far Government will go in its offers, whether of money, countenance, or protection, to detach the Chiefs of Afghanistan from a Persian alliance. I am in great hopes that through the Chief of Cabool alone we may ultimately succeed in accomplishing that which is desired; but when Herat is threatened from day to day, and may fall, it will not, I respectfully believe, be considered premature to deliberate on what is to be done in that event in Cabool and Candahar.]

I have, &c.

Cabool,
19 November 1837.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

[TRANSLATION of a Note from Mooltah Abdool Rashid, the Chief Manager of Kohin Dil, Khan of Candahar, to the Address of Ameer Dost Mahomed, Khan of Cabool.

THE treaty which the Sirdars have made with Kumber Ali Khan is as follows: When Taj Mahomed Khan was at Tehran, the Shah spoke to him about Herat, and promised if any of the brothers sent one of their sons to him, and he was assured of their fidelity, he would give them Herat, and never intrude upon the country of the Afghans. The Persian troops will be considered as under the Sirdars; we are never to make friendship with Kamran. The expedition for the taking of Heerat must be undertaken according to the wishes of the Sirdars. Whatever number of forces, either small or large, are required for assistance, the Shah is to furnish them, and they are to be under us. On the arrival of Mahomed Omar Khan at Tehran, with Kumber Ali Khan, the treaty made here must be shown by the Shah to the Ambassadors of Russia and England. They, with the two Viziers of the Shah, are to witness it, and be responsible for the oath, also for the manner in which the Shah receives Mahomed Omar Khan. The Shah will then send us money for the expenses of 12,000 cavalry and 24 guns. When everything for the troops is completed, we are to march and encamp at Furash Rood; on our arrival there, one of the two Viziers of the Shah must come to us, with Kumber Ali Khan, and bring money for the troops. The Vizier is also to convince us of the preservation of the articles of the treaty on the part of the Shah. After this, Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan is to accompany the Vizier to the Shah at Meshid, and whatever number of troops he may want he is to take from the Shah, and then march against Herat, the expenses of the army being paid by the Shah. By the grace of God, when Herat is conquered, we are to be left masters of it. After taking the city, the Shah requires from us in return, that whenever he may have any civil war in Persia, we must assist him. Such are the articles of the treaty, which after it bears the seals of the Shah's two Viziers and the Russian and English Ambassador, must be returned to us. Mahomed is going for this purpose, but we do not know what are the wishes of God, and what will happen.

(A true translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.]

(True copies.)

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten,*
Secretary to the Government of India.

To *W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.,* Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

- No. 1. I HAVE the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the translation of a letter of some importance from Maharajah Runjeet Singh, which has just reached me through Lieutenant Mackeson, with a request that I would send an early answer.
- No. 2. I have not delayed in doing so, and annex also a copy of the same, which, after due consideration, it seemed fitting I should address to his Highness.

2. I have forwarded the original for his Highness through Lieutenant Mackeson, who by this time is in the Maharajah's camp, and I have requested that officer to transmit this communication through Captain Wade, that he may peruse it as it passes on to Government.

Cabool,
25 November 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Maharajah Runjeet Singh to the Address of Captain A. Burnes, received at Cabool 25 November 1837.

After Compliments,

By the grace of Shree Akal Poorukhjee, there is a great and everlasting friendship between the two Governments, namely, the Khalsa and the Company. You are my old friend, therefore I anxiously hope that you will let me hear of your good health, and the affairs in which you are now engaged. I was certain from the first day that everything you did would be agreeable, and not fail to increase the friendship of the two Courts; but since I have had the pleasure to receive the friendly letter from the Right Honourable Lord Auckland, I have entire confidence in you.

His Lordship writes to me that you will always consult with me and take my advice in the circumstances you are engaged in that quarter, and will never perform any business without my knowledge, for the friendship between the two Governments is very great. This message from his Lordship has given me great peace of mind.

My friend, the friendship of the two Governments, which is strengthened by engagements and treaty, is as well known as the brightness of the sun, and the circumstances as well as the agreements of the people of Wilayat (Afghans), are not concealed from you; they are self-interested, and do not require my explanation to you.

Since the country of Peshawur fell into my hands, its chiefs, Sooltan Mahomed and Peer Mahomed Khan, are under me. They are pleased with me, and have received jagheers (land) producing many lacs of rupees in return for their faithful service, and the horses of noble breed which they present to me. Keeping all these things before you, I hope you will do such business as may prove beneficial to both Governments, and also may not create any injury to the countries under me.

Let me hear from you, as I am always desirous to learn your welfare.

TRANSLATION of an Enclosure.

After Compliments,

I AM sure that you will ever preserve the laws of friendship, agreeably to the sacred engagements which exist between the two Governments, and that, wherever you may be, you will do all in your power to increase it; further, that you will never lend your ears to the conversation of those who are not friendly, for the word of the English is famed throughout the world.

(A true translation.)

(signed) A. Burnes, on a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

COPY of a Letter from Captain Burnes to Maharajah Runjeet Singh, sent from Cabool on 25 November 1837.

After Compliments,

At this happy moment I have had great satisfaction in receiving your most friendly letter from the banks of the Jelum. It is only three or four days since I had the honour to write to you, and in such a manner that the letter then sent seems to be the answer to your present acceptable communication; but friends never can correspond too frequently with one another, and I hasten to reply.

In truth, I am day and night considering how I may so conduct myself as will prove satisfactory to your Highness. Everything which I say and do in this country has reference to preserving firm the great friendship which, by the blessing of God, unites the Khalsa and the British Governments. My superiors have, as you correctly note, directed me to give no ear to those who are unfriendly towards you. Be satisfied on this point. My Government have no objects here separate from those of your Highness; the British and Sikh Governments are therefore as one in my eye, and the cordiality subsisting between them is known from Cheen to Room. I never think of you but as one of the oldest and best allies of the British Government; I never speak of you to the people of Wilayat (the Afghans) but as a particular friend (khas dost); and when I have the honour to receive a letter from you, I produce it to prove how cordial is the alliance. Besides attending to the orders of my masters, I assure you that I bear in remembrance the great condescension formerly shown to me by yourself, and I feel proud to think that you honour me with the name of your old friend (qudeem dost).

All which has taken place here I have written in detail to Captain Wade, who, besides

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being your valued friend, possesses the high confidence of Government. I never conceal from him, who is also my friend, a single circumstance which interests your Highness, and I need not therefore say anything of what is passing here than to beg your Highness to be certain that nothing will ever be done that would cause loss or injury, which God avert from so dear an ally.

It is known to your Highness, from the letter of the Right Honourable the Governor General, Lord Auckland, that his Lordship deputed me here as his agent to concert measures for facilitating traffic in this and the adjoining countries. It was not known at that time that any other matters would arise to engage attention in this country, but I assured your son, the Kour Khurruck Sing, and your respectable Sirdars at Peshawur, that nothing would ever be done in this quarter which could diminish the friendship between the two Governments, which are as one; and your Highness knows well, and has mentioned in your letter, how sacred is the word of the English.

All that you have written I perfectly understand; also what you say regarding Peshawur, and the horses which your Highness received as tribute from its Sirdars. That is as apparent as the sun at noon, and I keep it all in remembrance, and consider every one the enemy of my Government, who speaks of your Highness but as one of the oldest and best friends of the British nation. The horrors of war, as your Highness is aware, are very great, and God grant that peace and harmony may be established in this quarter with you, his Highness's permission; for there is no object of greater solicitude to the British Government than it: and, as your Highness knows, it founds its hopes on the great friendship which exists between the two Governments, and which is the envy of the world.

I need trouble your Highness no further. I shall write often to Captain Wade, who is the Agent of the Governor General at your Court, and through whom all its wishes are expressed. If I do not write more fully, you will therefore forgive it, since Captain Wade constantly learns from me everything that has passed here, and everything that will pass.

I shall always be honoured by hearing from you, as I rejoice to know of your welfare.

(True copy.)

(signed) *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

(No. 55.)

From *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
to Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters of the dates and on the subjects noted in the margin,* and, in reply, to forward to you the accompanying copy of a letter this day written to Captain Wade on the subjects noticed in those communications.

2. You

* Letter dated 9 October 1837, reporting the aid which he has received from Mr. Masson since he has been deputed to Cabool, and acknowledging the assistance you have derived on all subjects from the high literary attainments and the accurate knowledge of that gentleman regarding Cabool. Letter dated 11th October 1837, annexing copy of a letter to my address, the original of which you have given to two of the principal Sohani merchants, suggesting the propriety of their being presented to the Governor General, and stating your reason for introducing these gentlemen. Letter dated 14 October 1837, submitting a special report on the influence of the Kuzzilbash party in Afghanistan, tracing its rise from Nadir Shah to the present time, and exhibiting the means of intrigue which it presents to any power, but particularly to Persia and Russia. Letter dated 19 October 1837, reporting on overtures made to Dost Mahomed Khan by Meer Sobdar, your impressions regarding that chief's power in Sinde, and the receipt of letters from the principal Ameers counteracting the effect of this correspondence with Cabool. Letter of 20 October, reporting on the commercial prospects and views of Russia towards Central Asia, and her communications with Bokhara, &c., with your remarks and observations. Letter dated 21 October 1837, reporting the proceedings of the Persian elchee in Afghanistan, of his having been recalled by the Candahar Sirdars when on his way to Cabool, of his leaving Candahar for Persia with a son of the chief, and the steps taken by Dost Mahomed Khan in consequence, and noticing the contents of a letter from the Chief of Kandahar.

2. You have been already apprised by my letter to Captain Wade, a copy of which was sent to you on the 25th ultimo, that in the opinion of the Governor General the Maharajah will not be disposed to surrender Peshawur on the terms proposed by the Ameer; that Dost Mahomed's relinquishment of all connexion with Persia should be made a condition preliminary to our entering into any negotiation with Runjeet Singh on the subject of existing differences; that the undoubted policy of the British Government is to preserve unimpaired the existing state of affairs in Central Asia, and to refrain from being a party to an arrangement which should give to any one chief an undue preponderance; which, for instance, should enable Dost Mahomed to subdue Candahar, or to aid Persia in the subjugation of Herat; and that, subject to this proviso, his Lordship would be gratified at hearing of the adjustment of the differences between the Sikhs and the Afghans, whether such adjustment should be founded on the basis of making Khyber the boundary, of reinstating Sultan Mahomed in the Government of Peshawar, of surrendering that possession to the Ameer on the terms proposed, or of any other arrangement.

3. The Governor General has now re-perused the whole of the recent correspondence regarding the differences between Runjeet Singh and Dost Mahomed, and the state of Central Asia generally. His Lordship is of opinion that you have entitled yourself to the approbation of Government by the clear and comprehensive views and opinions which you have recorded on the political condition and prospects of Central Asia, no less than by the valuable information which you have afforded relative to commercial matters, which formed the primary object of your mission.

4. It occurs, however, to his Lordship, that a few words of caution may be necessary in regard to the pretensions of Dost Mahomed, who may perhaps be too sanguine in regard to the effect of our good offices should they be exerted in his favour. His immediate recovery of Peshawur would seem to be hopeless, and it should, his Lordship thinks, be impressed upon that chief as his best policy at present, to seek for peace and security in his actual position, and to concentrate and strengthen his existing resources, which cannot, in his present position, but be weakened by too restless and impatient a desire to extend them.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten,*

Secretary to the Governor General of India.

Head Quarters, Camp Allahabad,
2 December 1837.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*

Deputy Secretary to Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.*, Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE now the honour to forward the result of my inquiries regarding the political state of Cabool, which I have to request you will favour me by respectfully submitting for the notice and consideration of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

I have, &c.

(signed) *A. Burnes.*

Cabool, 3 December 1837.

(True copy.)

(signed) *A. Burnes,*

On a Mission to Cabool.

ON THE POLITICAL STATE OF CABOOL.

Site of Cabool,
viewed politically
and commercially.

IN treating on Cabool, it is necessary to guard the mind from including under that head the vast kingdom which once extended from Meshid to Delhi, and from the ocean to Cashmere. We are only to speak of the small and flourishing territory which surrounds the capital of that decayed monarchy, though we shall not fail to be struck with the miniature resemblance which it still bears to the empire of the Dooranees. As a city, Cabool owes more importance to its position, which is central for commerce, than being the seat of a government; and it has, therefore, stemmed with success the various revolutions which have disturbed the general peace of the country. Invigorated as it is by this independence, there are few positions in the East better adapted for a metropolis. Its political advantages, though in a degree inferior to its commercial, are enhanced by them, since Cabool has a rapid and regular communication with the countries adjacent, and is supplied at the same time with accurate information of what passes in them, and the abundant resources of foreign lands. It has not the wealth, nor has it the exuberant productions of India or even Bokhara, but it has a race of people far more hardy, who have for the last eight or nine centuries enabled the possessors of Cabool to overrun the surrounding countries. Dynasty after dynasty has issued from their mountains, and used in succession as trophies of their valour and success, the riches and the revenue of the lands which they subdued. The last race of its kings, the Sudozye descendants of Ahmed Shah, a general of Nadir, have also been swept away, and in their place arises the tribe of Barukzye, who rule their native soil, and may in time, like their predecessors, extend the circle of their power.

Extent of chief-
ship, and how
ruled.

2. The present ruler of Cabool is Dost Mahomed Khan, the first of his tribe who assumed, a few years ago, the title of Ameer. The chiefship comprehends the country extending from Hindoo Koosh to the southward of Ghuzni, and from Bameean to the mountains of Khyber. The eastern portion, or Julalabad, is an addition since I wrote in 1832, and has increased this chief's revenue from 18 to 24 lacs of rupees per annum. This territory is apportioned in separate governments to the different sons of the Ameer, a policy which is more wise than popular. The brother who ruled Ghuzni, Ameer Khan, is dead, and that district is also held by one of his own family. The distribution is as follows: Meer Ufzul Khan, the eldest son, holds Zoormut, an agricultural district east of Ghuzni; Mahomed Akbar Khan Sirdar, the favourite son, has Julalabad, and is constituted chief of the Ghilzees; Azam Khan has charge of Bameean, Beesoot, and the Hazaras, tributary to Cabool; Hyder Khan has charge of the Kohi-tan, having lately been ejected from Ghuzni, to make way for the Ameer's son; and when another of the youths is old enough, he will probably be again removed to make way for him. The Ameer himself governs Cabool, where he usually resides, and along with him is his brother, the Nuwab Jubbar Khan. He has a park of 45 guns, all of which are serviceable, about 2,500 "Juzzailchees," or infantry, armed with a musket as large as a wall-piece, which is used with a rest, and 12,000 or 13,000 horse, one-twelfth of which are Kuzzilbashes. About 9,000 of these are highly efficient; 3,000 ride the Government horses, and receive pay; a system of raising troops, called "umlac," new in Afghanistan, and in which Dost Mahomed Khan considers a great portion of his strength to lie. Such is a brief account of the means of offence and defence possessed by the Chief of Cabool.

Effect of the war
with the Sikhs on
the east frontier.

3. To a position from which the destinies of nations may be commanded, it is to be supposed the attention of others is directed. Too weak to pursue foreign conquests on a large scale, the Chief of Cabool is, however, strong enough to resist those around him; and the rugged nature of his country gives to his troops a power which frees him from every hazard. In his wars with the Sikhs, who are a very powerful nation so long as they are ruled by their present chief, this has been singularly exemplified, but similar success might not attend a campaign in any other direction, since religious animosity here inspirits the Mahomedan to war against the enemies of his faith. As it seems clear that no permanent impression could be made by the Chief of Cabool on the conquests of the Sikhs in the plains of Peshawur, the attention of the Afghans is probably turned in that direction, from some fear of the ruler of the Punjab

Punjab pursuing his conquests to Cabool, but there is even less chance of permanent success to Sikh arms in this quarter. The nature of Dost Mahomed Khan's position is only hazardous, as it compels him to dissipate his resources in defensive preparations, which cripple his power, and augment the discontent of his followers, whom his revenues at no time admit of being liberally rewarded. A cessation of hostilities with the Sikhs would release him from this evil, though it will be attended with the counterpoise that many of the Mahomedan tribes inhabiting the mountains of eastern Afghanistan, stretching to the valley of the Indus, who now regard the ruler of Cabool as the champion of Islam, might then view him simply as an ambitious ruler seeking for personal aggrandisement, which would certainly diminish their ardour as his auxiliaries. From no direction but the east, however, has Dost Mahomed Khan to fear an opponent; and a diminution of his enemies will have the same effect as an actual increase to his resources, and with an improvement of these there cannot be a doubt of his power being considerably enlarged. Such, indeed, is the military position of Cabool that if the governor of the city have any stability, a sum of money placed at his disposal can always command the presence of good troops, and the service performed will, of course be to the advantage of the donor. In the time of the monarchy, the benefit of the money thus used resulted to the State; in the present condition of the chiefship, it would fall to the power that advanced it, which gives the ruler of Cabool no small influence in this part of Asia.

4. To the north of Cabool the mountainous regions of Hindoo Koosh make it difficult for the chief to extend his power, or for others to invade him. The ruler of Koondooz, Meer Moorad Beg, has no cordiality with Dost Mahomed Khan, which arises from fear of his power; for if freed from employment elsewhere, the Chief of Cabool could make a successful inroad upon him. Moorad Beg's power is considerable, and it improves, but his troops excel more in a foray than war. He might make a "chupao," on Bameean, but the retaliation would be ruinous to him. The independent Uzbek States, west of Koondooz and Balkh, such as Siripool, Shilbergan, and Maimuna keep up little or no understanding with one another, and would fall a prey to the first power that attacked them. Bokhara, to the north, is protected by its remote situation in the desert, and the character for commerce and religion which it possesses. The ruler of it has just sent an envoy to Cabool, to congratulate the chief on the successful issue of his wars with the Sikhs. The Meer of Koondooz divined, and probably not erroneously, evils to himself from a league that places him between two powers, any one of which might crush him, but whose ability to do so is undoubted when bound together by friendly ties. Moorad Beg resented the formation of this alliance, first, by threatening to seize the envoy, and next by shutting up the road of the caravan; but his suspicions have been removed, or for a time lulled, and a change of presents and friendly expressions has passed between the chiefs of Cabool and Koondooz. Not so, however, between the latter chief and the King of Bokhara, whose dignity is offended by a fort being planted on one of the canals of Balkh. From it Moorad Beg conducts his plundering expeditions on the poor Huzaras; and his dislodgment from a site so profitable is not likely to be effected by the greater moral influence of Bokhara, or by any means but a military expedition undertaken for the purpose.

Relations with
Koondooz and the
northern states.

5. Candahar to the west is still held by the brothers of the Chief of Cabool who profess homage if they do not at all times exhibit it. Since 1832, the Ex-king Sooja Ool Moolk sought to regain his lost empire, near Kandahar: the Chief of Cabool promptly quitted his own frontier, combined with his brother, and saved them, and himself by victory. The common interest dictated these proceedings, and on matters which relate to the family and the Barukzye ascendancy in Afghanistan, the conduct and the professions of the Candahar Chiefs towards Cabool tally with one another. They address Dost Mahomed Khan as inferiors, they seek his counsel as the head of their family, and they follow it when given. Such, however, is not altogether the case in their relation with foreign states. Their advanced position to the west places them in jeopardy from Herat and Persia, and at this time their alarm has led them if not to slight the advice of their brother in Cabool, to court an alliance with Persia, contrary to his avowed wishes. They declare themselves helpless, if they

With Candahar
and the west and
south.

range their troops against Persia, since they will then have no protection from Herat, and if that city becomes subservient to Persian interests without a co-operation on their part, their fate is equally certain. This, however, is a temporary inconvenience which a settlement of the affairs of Herat may remedy, if not, Candahar itself may be overthrown, and through it the interests of Cabool most materially affected. Nor would the Kuzzilbash or Persian faction resident in Cabool, with its present feelings, be an useless instrument in the hands of the Shah, to sap the independence of the Afghans in their capital city. On the south the Chief of Cabool has nothing to fear, the country, which is mountainous and in many parts barren, being held by wild Afghan tribes, who are all independent of each other, and if they do not increase his strength, are sure not to be numbered among his enemies.

Connexion of
Cabool with
Persia.

6. When the great monarchies of Cabool and Persia adjoined each other, an intercourse usual among neighbouring nations existed between them; a desire to avert evil from Sikh encroachment lately led the Chiefs of Afghanistan to sue for a renewal of it, but at no time were the feelings between Afghans and Persians cordial, and their sympathy one with another, considering their difference of creed, must ever be unnatural. Much more so is any connexion at the present time, when Persia exists as a monarchy, and Cabool is dismembered into small principalities, yet the deeds of Nadir are held fresh in remembrance, and some ill-defined ideas of Persian glory, at the beginning of a new reign flitting before the Chiefs of Afghanistan, contributed to their dread, and hastened their anxiety to propitiate. The zeal of the Chief of Cabool was quickened by his solicitude real or pretended, to war with his infidel adversaries, the Sikhs, but he seems to have forgotten that he sought to introduce among his countrymen, those whom they considered to be greater enemies. It was also equally certain that the power of Persia, being a consolidated one, would prove fatal to himself and all the reigning Chiefs of Cabool. The Afghans would have been conquered in detail by those whom they sought as auxiliaries, for though each chiefship had a ruler, the country is without one head, and the natural jealousy and inveterate hatred to which divided power gives rise, would have made it appear as an unoccupied land, and hastened its fall. Interested persons urged the Afghan Chiefs to this line of policy. Persia saw the advantage with which she could enter the land, and counselled by Russia, speedily responded to their call with abundance of worthless promises, which the same advisers pronounced to be the signs of favour and condescension. The style of address, however, which was that of a master to a subject, first roused the suspicion of Dost Mahomed Khan, and a demonstration on the part of the British Government to sympathise with him, which arrived about the same time, fixed him in the determination of preferring any terms which a nearer and more potent power might offer, to a distant and dubious alliance with Persia.

Prospects of the
exiled family.

7. In a country where a family that has once held the executive power is dethroned, the members of it never fail to exercise some influence on its policy. This is the case with the Sudozyes in Cabool; Sooja Ool Moolk's claims have suffered depreciation since 1832, when the attempts to recover his crown proved fruitless, and the more so, as its failure is by many attributed to his own want of energy and decision. It is true that the Kuzzilbashes, dissatisfied at not reaping the full reward for their promotion of Dost Mahomed Khan, were disposed to promote Shooja's views in opposition to those of the Ameer, but his success was doubtful even with their aid, and perhaps his best hopes of it were grounded on the report he industriously spread, and which was in part believed, that the British Government countenanced his expedition. The long residence of the Shah at Loodiana, his being permitted to raise troops there, and his leaving his family to receive our protection and support, together with other circumstances, gave a stamp to these rumours which has only been effaced by public disavowal. There is however a family connexion between Shooja Ool Moolk and the Chief of Cabool, which led one party in the state to believe that there really was an understanding between them. The sister of Dost Mahomed Khan is the wife of the Shah, and the mother of Shahzada Akbar, who is a promising youth that avows his partiality for his uncle. Nor is this the only relationship, for the two daughters of Hajee Rahmut Oolla are married to the Shah and the Ameer, and the wife of the latter exercises the greatest influence over him, and is the mother of Mahomed Akbar Khan, the favoured son, who lately distinguished

distinguished himself at Peshawur. The Chief of Cabool is regular in corresponding with his sister, he has often expressed a wish to have his nephew with him, and even gave instructions about his capture in the Candahar campaign. Yet the bonds of alliance springing from intermarriages have little influence over eastern rulers, and though in this instance they are much strengthened by the circumstances which have been stated, Dost Mahomed Khan is never likely to give willing place to Shooja Ool Moolk, nor to admit the claims of any of his family till matters bear a different aspect from the present. The Chief of Cabool has it assuredly in his power to act a part, as Monk did towards Charles the Second, in a restoration, but his own power, as it goes on increasing, naturally raises up ambitious feelings in his own behalf. Shah Eyoob, the dethroned king, who received an asylum at Lahore, is just dead, and the only other aspirant to the throne is Kamran of Herat. The dissipated habits of that ruler, together with the oppressions lately committed by him in western Afghanistan, greatly diminish his chances of success, and he is besides at equal enmity with the Barukzye Chiefs and the Kazzilbashs, who are hostile to him individually for the murder of their respective chiefs. It is nevertheless true that he or his sons being Sudoozyes might prove formidable when aided by Persia. If Herat becomes an integral portion of that kingdom, they will find a favourable opportunity of asserting claims which are not without weight, and might unsettle the countries. Herat itself is not likely to strike a decisive blow at any part of the Afghan dominions, but Candahar; and if the ruler of Cabool is freed from his fears of the Sikhs, that chiefship will not only be secure against the inroads of Kamran and his family, but Herat itself, now threatened from the west, may be united to Cabool.

8. To a point where so much attention is directed, a healthful rule can only crush the aspirings of the ambitious, and the intrigues of the discontented. For the last 11 years, Dost Mahomed Khan has gathered strength as he goes, but the additions to his power have brought with them cares and anxieties which have of late been unfavourable to his popularity. The Kings of Persia and Bokhara may congratulate him, and perhaps sincerely, on his success against infidels, but he has purchased that at an expensive price—a share of the good will in the subject and the merchant, though these readily admit his necessities, and some even point to his triumphs. Wars are not carried on without money, and an increase of duties and taxes, a resumption of some lands assigned for charity (wakfiyah) which had no heirs, a lapse of the jagheers of Hajee Khan Kaker, and some of those disaffected to him, together with loans and fines, somewhat arbitrarily taken, and a reduction of allowances, are the means to which the Ameer has resorted for increasing his army, which is now too large for his country. The evidences of success in his campaign at Candahar and Peshawur have as yet borne him through his difficulties, but as reverses would have prostrated him, his experiment was hazardous in the extreme. To the vigilance which he has exercised over every branch of the administration, his success is attributable; his sole aim is money, and he seeks for it from a full knowledge of what it can purchase; he expends his entire income, though his own household is maintained on the economical scale of 5,000 rupees a month; his comprehension is quick, and knowledge of character very great; he cannot be long deceived; he listens to every individual who complains, and with a forbearance and temper which is more highly praised than his equity and justice; in matters of a trifling nature he still follows the law (shura), but in greater things his necessities have tarnished his decisions, though, as these affect the wealthier and least numerous portion of his subjects, without a general dissatisfaction. Nothing marks the man's superiority to his countrymen more than the ability to manage as he does, with power and resources so crippled. His patience and delays bespeak ambition, and as a rash act might be fatal to him, his caution is extreme, and his suspicion so easily excited as to amount almost to infirmity, though self-reflection brings back with it his self-confidence. A peace with his eastern neighbour would certainly render the power of this man durable, and enable him to reduce his army and expenses, but as his fame has outstripped his power, he might covet the dominions of his western neighbours, and if he were, as before he came in contact with the Sikhs, less exacting, which his good sense would dictate to him, he might consolidate his power and fix himself as the first of a new dynasty in Cabool.

Government of
Dost Mahomed
Khan; his cha-
racter.

His brother, the celebrated Futteh Khan, long since pronounced him to be the hope of his family, and his subsequent career has justified the expectations, though his sincerity in his religious wars and religious government may proceed, instead of orthodoxy, from ambition.

Prices and supplies
consequent on it.

9. The state of parties in Cabool, and the policy pursued by the Ameer, have had a singular effect on the prices and supplies of the country. The quantity of grain received in former times by a soldier as his pay, or by a proprietor from his lands, is unaltered, but such is the complaint of a want of money, that the value of grain is now deteriorated by one-third, and often by a half. It was at one time unusual, and even considered a disgrace to part with land in Cabool, but it may be now had at from six to seven years' purchase, and is for sale everywhere. During the monarchy, the Afghans went in the course of their service to Peshawur, Sinde, Cashmere, and other provinces, and brought back with them their savings. No such opportunities now present themselves, the Koh-i-Daman, Jellalabad, and Lughman, are their Sinde and Cashmeer, though it is a novel complaint to hear declarations of poverty, when provisions are to be purchased at a rate much more moderate than during the monarchy. In the time of the Sudozyes, the territories around the city of Cabool were held principally by favoured individuals, and others yielded no revenue. Inability to pursue the course of the rulers of those days has compelled the Ameer to look around him, and he has subdued the Kohistan, and several districts which contributed nothing to the expenses of the government. These tribes set at defiance the kings of Cabool, and history makes honourable mention of the resistance that they offered to Baber, Nadir, and the other conquerors; but their independence has not been broken without a struggle, and 3,000 or 4,000 families of the Kohistan have fled the country and sought a home in Balkh, and the valley of the Oxus. There is no evidence, however, that this migration has lessened the quantity of grain, though the Kohistan partly supplies the city, for a greater industry now characterises the agriculturist than formerly. With a revenue of 80 or 90 lacks of rupees, which I learn was the extreme amount of receipts by the Sudozye princes, they were careless of the small sums that could be exacted from such troublesome subjects, but a revenue of 24 or 25 lacs of rupees, with foreign enemies to combat, required a greater vigour in the internal government, and has procured for Dost Mahomed Khan obedient, though not over-willing subjects, near his own door, who may in time avail him. The effect of it would also seem to be, what is so much sought in every government, cheap provisions for his people. It may however be said that a scarcity of money, with low prices, indicates some irregularity in the state of affairs, yet the interest on money is but 6 per cent. per annum, and lower by half than is common among the native government in India.

Effect of govern-
ment on trade.

10. When state expediency renders it necessary to demand a greater amount of duties than usage has authorised, commerce must receive a check. At this time the transit trade of this country still continues to increase, and it must have become greater than it even is, but for the burthens which press upon it. Some grievances, however, have been got rid of by the custom-house being no longer farmed and managed directly under the chief. Cabool can no longer boast of taking only one in 40, like Bokhara, but as compared with Persia, Herat, Candahar, and the Punjab, Cabool is yet a theme of approbation with the trading community. A Jew from Bhawulpore, whose authority ought to be good, declared to me that the treatment of merchants in Cabool was as under the kings of Israel; that the Afghans were free from prejudices, behaved well, did not overtax them, and that the duties which the Ameer had lately demanded of them, were such as any ruler would take under difficulties. It strikes an European with surprise that any merchants frequent marts, where the duties are so liable to be changed, but there are certain broad lines which the ruler must never depart from, or the channel of commerce by his country is deserted. The Ameer has not lost sight of this, and the custom-house duties of Cabool now yield two lacs, and 22,000 rupees per annum, while it was formerly but 82,000 rupees, nor can more than 15,000 or 20,000 of these receipts be attributed to increased duties. At the present time the profit on English goods brought from India to Cabool, is rated at 50 per cent., and if they are pushed on to Bokhara, they give a cent. per cent. return; and it will not place the

the administration of Dost Mahomed Khan in a light that will be considered too favourable to him or unjust to others, when I observe, that the shawls of Cashmere, which are sent into Persia and Turkey, pass through Cabool, and Bokhara to Meshid, the merchants preferring this circuitous road to the oppression which they are sure to experience in Candahar and Herat. But as the state of commerce in this country will be discussed elsewhere, it is at present sufficient to notice the effect of the government upon this most important portion of national economy.

11. The system of government among the Afghans is too well known to require any recapitulation from me. The republican genius which marks it is unchanged, and whatever power a Sudozye or a Barukzye may acquire, its preservation can only be ensured by not infringing the rights of the tribes and the laws by which they are allowed to govern themselves. The Ameer of Cabool has not erred in this point, and though he cannot reckon among his well wishers those who were favoured by the dynasty which he succeeded, he has a large body of the community in his favour, or, at least, to applaud the administration. Nothing but his limited revenues prevent his being a most popular ruler, and with this advantage even his name is seldom mentioned beyond the precincts of his court but with respect. The family of the Barukzye, though inferior in rank to that of the last which held the throne, is yet one of the most distinguished of the Dooranee tribes belonging to the Zeeruk branch, from which the Sudozyes also descend. They possessed such influence even in Ahmed Shah's time, that, according to tradition, and the best authenticated histories, he considered it advisable to divide them into two classes, Barukzye and Atchukzye, and after that they were rated at 12,000 families. They cannot, therefore, be viewed in the light of a tribe suddenly raised, since, in power and rank they have long been of importance in the country. They owe their present elevation to the tragical end of their brother, the Wuzeer Futteh Khan, who had never injured the man who caused his murder, but devoted himself to the consolidation of his power. It is said of that remarkable man, and by good authority, that on being warned against the designs of Kamran, he replied that he had done nothing to make him dread him, and if he were injured the evils would fall on those who had thus requited his services, which has given a kind of sanction to the power that his family have ever after maintained, celebrated as they also are for never taking the lives of each other. From the Ghilzees or the race which ruled Cabool before the last kings, the Barukzyes have little to fear. They are a very great tribe in Afghanistan, being rated at 20,000 families, and extending from Candahar to Gundamuck, half way to Peshawur, but the tribes to the east and west of Cabool have little or no intercourse with one another. Their ill-conceived plan of restoring themselves in Shah Mahmood's reign, shows how little probability there is of their being able to again figure in Afghan history. They might be used as a faction, but have been unable to make any head since they were ejected from power by Nadir, whose alleged cause of grievance in attacking Hindoostan was the protection given by the Moghul to his enemies the Ghilzees. The Ameer of Cabool has allied himself by marriage to both branches of this tribe, as has his son, Mahomed Akbar Khan, who, as I have said, is chief of the eastern Ghilzees, and in which he succeeded the Nuwab Jubbar Khan. Those to the west have more to do with the affairs of Candahar than Cabool, and this is the tribe which sometimes plunders the caravans between these two cities. They bear in lively remembrance that they were once rulers of the land, and are a body of men distinguished for their fine appearance and physical strength.

Effect of the government on the factions of the State.

12. Having thus embodied most of what seems necessary to convey accurate ideas of the power of Cabool, we pass from particular to general observations. No policy would perhaps be wiser than to maintain Sikh influence between India and Cabool, and to place the Punjab in the balance against the country. But difficulties present themselves at every step; the supreme power of either nation depends upon the individual who wields it; the Afghan, though stripped of some Indian provinces, admits no sovereignty of the Sikh, and watches with vigilance for an opportunity to inflict injury and assert his rights. The wealth of the ruler of Lahore, and the discipline and number of his troops, enable him to keep under these aspirings to recover lost power, but

Prospects of this government, and conclusion.

his single mind effects it. Where superior force is unable to subdue and can only keep in check, it would be imprudent to reckon on tranquillity when the disappearance of one man shall have ceased to bridle zeal, stimulated as it is by religion and the hope of political greatness. The successor of Runjeet Singh may certainly possess the elements of character, which so distinguish himself, but the state of parties in his country forbids the hope, and the time may not be distant when his now consolidated territories eastward of the Indus may be overrun, and perhaps dismembered into small states like Cabool. Though the Afghans are without a king, they yet repel the attacks of the Sikh, and countenance the opinion that they may be heirs to a share of his power, and exercise no small influence over these lands, and probably, the adjacent empire of India. Neither the Tartar nor the Afghan any longer rifles that country; the supremacy of the British hems them within their own limits, and the power which it has raised in India brings the nations on and beyond the Indus as suitors for alliance, instead of the invaders of its soil. The lawless inroads of former days are thus effectually prevented, even without an active interposition of British power, and an opportunity is now happily presented of moulding these frontier states by friendly sympathy and conciliation, into a shape which must contribute to the glory of Britain and the duration of its empire in the East.

(signed) *Alexander Burnes,*
Cabool, 26 November 1837. On a Mission to Cabool. •

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.,* Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

Nos. 1 to 6.

IN continuation of my letter of the 19th ultimo, regarding the affairs of Candahar, I have now the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, a series of letters from the chief of that province, and his principal adviser to the Ameer of Cabool, which exhibit at the same time the feelings of the chief towards his brother, and the great alarm under which he labours from a fear of Persia.

2. With reference to the information of the advance of the Shah on Ghorian and Herat, I cannot attach credit to the movement till some more accurate reports reach Cabool, but I do not on that account consider myself authorised to withhold the accompanying letters from Government since the Governor (wallee) of Khorasan may have received the Shah's orders to march eastward.

3. In this correspondence it will be observed that the Chief of Candahar holds himself obedient to the wishes of the Chief of Cabool, and has for a time, as he admits, postponed the departure of his son for Persia, though the alarm for his very existence has dictated also to him the advisability of promptly tendering his submission, through his son, should the reports of the advance of the Persians prove authentic. To my own letters I have as yet received no reply, though I learn from private intelligence that Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan has detained my messengers with himself, and is involved in great perplexity what course to follow. He wishes to be guided by the British Government, and also to do as the Ameer of Cabool wishes, but he is under an apprehension of immediate danger from Persia, which I trust will soon be dissipated.

4. It now appears to me nearly certain that the son of the Candahar Chief will not proceed to Persia. These reports regarding Herat, if true, must discredit all that the elchee of Persia did at Candahar, and if false, put it out of the chief's power to say he was not warned against such a step and cause to him serious reflection which will make him hesitate to disoblige the British Government and the Ameer. It will not, however, fail to be noticed by his Lordship in Council the very detrimental effect which a report of the designs of Persia has
in

in this quarter, and how much distance exaggerates the power and wealth of that monarchy, which is feeble if unaided by others.

Cabool, 4 December 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Private Letter from the Chief of Candahar to the address of the Ameer of Cabool.

A. C.

I HAVE fully understood the letter which you sent to me through your servant Mahomed Azim. You had written, if I do not abandon the design of sending Mahomed Omar Khan to Persia, I must consider that I have abandoned you. Sir, by sending Mahomed Omar Khan to Persia, we do neither mean to injure you nor to destroy the arrangements which you are making with Runjeet Singh and Captain Burnes. My object in making friendship with Persia is on account of the Prince Kamran, who threatens every year to attack Candahar.

The treaty which I have made with Kumbar Ali Khan, the Persian Elchee, and the copy of which has been sent to you by Moolla Rashid, will not cause any evils to Runjeet Singh or the British.

I have not done anything contrary to your interests, but by sending Mahomed Omar Khan to Persia I mean to root out the power of Kamran. In case Kumbar Ali Khan returns disappointed from this country, the Persians will make friendship with Kamran and Yar Mahomed Khan, and with their junction will raise such disorders in our household that nobody will be able to set things right. Kamran is the enemy of our family, and Runjeet Singh is only the enemy of all the Mussulmans.

I have taken the liberty to write to you thus, for which I hope you will excuse me. You blame me now for making friendship with Persia, but when I commenced my correspondence with that power, with your knowledge, you never prevented me, or I would have abandoned communications with the Kujurs.

My desire is to get rid of Kamran, and especially at this time. Mahomed Shah, with one lac of infantry and cavalry, is arrived at Jam, and has sent Husn Khan Sirdar in advance to Kohsan. Many horsemen have come from Herat, and it is believed that that city is besieged from seven or eight days ago. If I do not now send Mahomed Omar Khan to His Majesty, the Shah will be displeased and endeavour to ruin us.

May God put all things right. You are engaged in that direction, and I in this. Whatever is the will of God will come to pass, and time will show the result. I will let you know everything that happens hereafter without any delay.

(A true translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Moolla Rashid, the Minister of Kohin Dil Khan of Candahar, to the address of the Ameer of Cabool.

A. C.

THE arrival of your letter conferred upon me great honour. With regard to the friendship you are making with the English Government through Captain Burnes, the Sirdars have no objection at all; they will agree to whatever you do with that power. The object of the Sirdars in sending Mahomed Omar Khan to Persia is merely to get rid of an enemy near home, the Prince Kamran of Herat; do not think of anything contrary to this. If they ever wished to do anything against your wishes I would never permit them, because I am your wellwisher and their councillor. May God give you a long life and a good heart to look after the affairs of the house.

It is well known in the world that you are the chief of the family, and all the brothers look upon you as their superior.

Whatever arrangements you are going to make with the English Government, no one will gainsay them. We send Mahomed Omar Khan to Persia with the intention of injuring Kamran.

If your letter had reached us before Mahomed Omar Khan left this place, we would prevent his departure; it arrived when he had encamped with the Persian Elchee at Girishk. In case we now recal him to Candahar, it will annoy the Shah very much, and perhaps create some misunderstanding between the English and Persian Governments.

When Captain Burnes arranges the affairs of Peshawar, and the Sikhs leave it according to your agreements, we will do everything wanted in this direction.

1—Sess. 2.

K

We

We have heard no news since Moolla Jubbar's departure, and if we learn anything new it shall be particularly reported to you.

The bearer of this, Mohomed Azeem, will tell you everything of this quarter, both what he has seen and heard.

No. 3.

TRANSLATION of a Private Note from Moolla Rashid to the address of the Ameer.

As Mahomed Omar Khan was at Girishk when the news of the siege of Herat by the Persians reached us, we have delayed his departure 15 or 20 days more, or until we learn the result of the siege.

I sent to you by Moolla Jubbar the copy of the treaty made with Kumbur Ali Khan, which I hope has met your approbation. Whatever happens in the course of the next 15 or 20 days hence I will report without delay. Rely on my services, and think me your faithful servant.

(True translations.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 4.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Kchin Dil Khan to Ameer Dost Mohomed Khan of Kabool, received 30th November 1837.

A. C.

I HAVE received other true information of Mahomed Shah Kujur, which I hasten to communicate. His Majesty at the head of an army of 100,000, 100 guns and 10 mortars, has besieged Ghurian,* destroyed the bulwarks of the fort, and will immediately make himself master of that stronghold. Many of the Shah's troops have been killed and wounded. It happened on the 7th of Shaban, or 24 days ago, and the bearer of this information left Herat three days after the battle was fought. This is the true intelligence; my people will I hope soon give me a further account of this affair, which I will send to you without delay.

Kamran and Yar Mahomed are engaged as they ought in repairing the walls, collecting provisions for the siege, &c. &c.

Let me know of the affairs in your quarter, and freely command my services.

No. 5.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Moolla Rashid to the address of Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, received at Cabool 1st December 1837.

A. C.

ON the affairs of this quarter I have written to you 10 days ago by Mahomed Azeem Khan "Peshkhidurat," which I hope has met your approval.

On the 21st of Shaban, or 11 days ago, Seyud Ameer Oollah and other traders arrived from Herat, and stated that on the 7th of Shaban Mahomed Shah Kujur reached Ghorian, and two days after, at 3 p.m., he made an assault on the fort; 150 Persians were killed, and about five or six soldiers of the Ghurian fell in the field. The Persians were defeated and returned to their camp.

There are 1,500 soldiers and 500 horsemen in the fort of Ghurian, and the Persian army consists of 30,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry, besides 40 guns and 10 mortars. The Ghurians are headed by Sher Mahomed Khan, the brother of Yar Mahomed Khan, and Mahomed Haleem Khan, the son of Meer Alum Khan Halorzye.

Until Mahomed Shah captures Ghorian he will not move towards Herat.

Sher Mahomed Khan Huzara has collected about 10,000 men from the countries of Miraji Firoz Kohee, Jumshaidu Tuka, and Yamoot, and will shortly reach Herat; 1,000 of his horsemen have already arrived there.

The city of Herat is defended by Yar Mahomed Khan, who is at the head of 4,000 horse and foot. The walls of the city are thoroughly repaired, and provisions are stored in every mosque and caravanserai, sufficient for two years. Wheat is sold at 25 maunds per rupee, and butter at one maund, and the other necessities of life at the same cheap rate.

The Khan of Khiva has sent an Elchee to assure Kamran of assistance from him, and he has also promised to attack Persian Khorasan.

Mahomed Omar Khan and Kumbur Ali Khan are still at Girashk. Sirdar Mahomed Sadak Khan (the eldest son of Kohin Dil Khan) has been ordered to proceed with his force by

* Ghurian is ten farsuks from Herat.

by slow marches to Bukwa; on learning the fate of the siege he will receive further instructions.

The treaty which was made with Kumbur Ali Khan becomes quite null by this affair.

One of Kamran's sons is at Farah and the other at Isfayar.

The arrangements which you have made with Captain Burnes will, I hope, prove satisfactory to you, your dependants, and all Mussulmans. Let me know kindly all about your quarter.

(True translations.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No: 6.

EXTRACT of a Merchant's Letter at Candahar.

My brother Ashgar has arrived from Herat, and reports that on the 10th of Shaban Mahomed Shah reached Huft Chunnur and Hasan Khan Sirdar Hasan.

As I am writing this letter a man has arrived from Seistan, and reports that the Persians have captured Ghorian, and that 300 soldiers have been killed.

(True translations.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

IN a communication addressed to you on the 14th of October last I had the honour to state, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the result of my inquiries regarding the power of the Kazilbash or Persian faction in Afghanistan. I have now the honour to report an overture which was made to me by this party, and which appears calculated to throw further light on their influence.

2. Since our reaching Cabool the Persian party, as I have noticed in several of my Despatches, have been naturally chagrined, and I have had little opportunity of communicating with Khan Sheereen Khan, their chief, who invited me to his house when last in Cabool. One individual, however, Naib Mahomed Shurreef, a Kazilbash merchant of some property and respectability, with whom I travelled from Peshawur to Cabool in 1832, sought an early renewal of our acquaintance, and invited me to his country house, where I passed a day with him.

3. When this gentleman visited me a few days ago, he took the opportunity of making it a political as well as a friendly interview. He stated to me that Khan Sheereen Khan had been displeased with him for not inviting him to the party at his house, and that, as he had lost the opportunity of conversing with me, and did not like to come to the Bala Hissar, he had charged him (Mahomed Shurreef) to assure me how anxious the Kazilbashes of Cabool were to serve the British Government, and that they should not be left out in any arrangement which it might contemplate in this country; that the Kazilbashes had always exercised great power in Cabool; that they were an independent body, and only wanted a head to be as great as ever; that the Afghans hated them for their creed, but that they had been yet able to keep their own; that they were indebted to Shah Mahomed and his vizier Futteh Khan for some of the protection they enjoyed, which had inclined them to the present Ameer, whose mother was of their tribe; that this circumstance had made him ruler of Cabool, and the greatest man in Afghanistan, while his brother, Sooltan Mahomed Khan, from adhering to the Afghans, to the sons of Meer Wazeer, &c., was now a servant of

Sic. orig.

the Sikhs; that their services had been ill requited since their pay was reduced, and Dost Mahomed Khan sowed dissensions among them by his Kazilbash influence, which prevented their doing anything; that their position in Cabool was dangerous, and that if a piece of ground at a distance could be got for them they would build a fort on it, bridle the Ameer and all future rulers, and prove of eminent service to British interests in this quarter, as, besides their own power, they could command the Huzaras, who were Shiahhs; also the Ghiljees, who were more friendly to them than the Dooranees, and that the 5,000 horse they could now turn out, might be increased to 4,000 with such aid, if they were cherished and protected.

4. In reply to this long message and observations, I informed Nail Mahomed Shurreef that I was well aware of the influence which the Kazilbashes had possessed in this country from the days of Nadir, and that he must so assure Khan Shurreef Khan, but of course I did not enter into the details which he had sketched, but requested he would thank the chief for his friendly overtures.

5. The declaration of the Kazilbashes, as above given, seems to me to possess peculiar interest and value at this time, since we have in it the light in which they view themselves. Much of what is said is clearly correct, but the policy of allowing such a body of men to build a fort outside Cabool is obviously what no ruler, who was an Afghan, would submit to, and what no foreign power, Persia excepted, would countenance, if it wished to turn the resources of this country to its own ends. With Persia, however, the course would be altogether different, for such probably would be the very first result of a successful invasion by that power, since it would be productive of manifest and permanent advantage to her. At one time Timour Shah could not, without a special licence of the Moollahs, marry a Kazilbash lady, from their being held in the light of slaves of the King (Ghoolam i Shah), but no such objection would now be raised, since their relative position towards the ruler is altered. While the King of Persia, therefore, has his thoughts so earnestly directed to the countries eastward, the more the influence of the Kazilbash faction, as it now exists, is proved, the more dangerous, does it appear to the wellbeing of this country and the tranquillity of the states bordering on the Indus.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*

Cabool, 5 December 1837.

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

Nos. 1 and 2.

I HAVE the honour to annex, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the translations of two letters which I have received from the Chief of Koondooz and his minister, in reply to my notification of the intention to send Mr. Lord to Toorkistan. Their contents will, I believe, prove very satisfactory to Government.

2. I have received accounts of the arrival of Messrs. Lord and Wood at the last pass over the mountains, after experiencing great difficulties on account of a snow storm that happened in the Saraulung Pass, but from which they happily escaped. An elchee from the Ameer of Cabool, who persisted in advancing, was frozen to death, and his body has been since brought in here.

3. The latest intelligence from Toorkistan reports that the King of Bokhara has taken great offence at the Chief of Koondooz having planted a detachment and a small fort on one of the canals of Balkh, from which he has resolved to dislodge him by force of arms. The koosh beggie, or vizier, urged his Majesty not to take such a step, which gave offence, and for which he has been removed from being

being vizier, and appointed Governor of Kurshee, but without being deprived of his property.

4. The Lohanee merchants, who yesterday reached Cabool from Toorkistan, brought to me a message from the koosh beggie, explanatory of what had passed, expressing great anxiety to hear from me (my letter had not arrived), and assuring me that his removal would be productive of no ultimate harm. It seems that one of the instigators of this worthy man's supercession is Abdool Summut, the Persian lately driven from Cabool, who, with others, has been counselling the King of Bokhara to increase his taxes, raise regiments, compel the Hindoos to bury their dead or exile themselves. If persevered in, the policy would be fatal to the prosperity of Bokhara, and lead to the ultimate ruin of that interesting country. I am glad, however, to report that all the merchants consider the minister's removal as temporary, and the treatment of the Hindoos has drawn a remonstrance from Dost Mahomed Khan, as being at variance with the customs of Islam.

5. With reference to the determination of the King to dislodge the Meer of Koondooz from his position near Balkh, three or four thousand horse have already crossed the Oxus, and reached that city. No designs ulterior to preserving the integrity of his frontier are attributed to the King of Bokhara, and it is probable that he and the Chief of Koondooz will come to an understanding on the subject. I am happy to say that I took the precaution, in sending Mr. Lord to Koondooz, to inform the King of Bokhara, through his minister, of the objects of his journey, and his Lordship in Council may rely on the discretion and sound judgment of that gentleman, that the British Government is in no way mixed up with any of these differences.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool,
6 December 1837.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from *Meer Morad Beg*, the Chief of Koondooz, to the address of Captain *Burnes*, received at Cabool, 6th December 1837.

A. C.

YOUR kind letter, containing the words of friendship, and the intimation that you are going to send the doctor (hakim) here, reached me in good time, and I fully understood all its contents. Though every hope in this world depends on God, yet I had hoped that you would kindly send the hakim, and your having done so affords me great pleasure.

If it pleases God, and the endeavours of the doctor are successful in curing the eyes of my dear brother, Meer Mahomed, you will have purchased the goodwill of all the people of Tooran (Toorkistan) without money, and our friendship will be strengthened with you and all Europeans. You will also have a good name in the world.

Let me know of your health, and the news of that quarter.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from *Atmaram Dewan Beggie*, Minister at Koondooz, to the address of Captain *Burnes*, received at Cabool, 6th December 1837.

A. C.

YOUR friendly letter, containing accounts of your good health, and explaining other matters, reached me, and I understood its contents.

I gave your letter to the respectable Ameer, who was very glad to read it. He declares that if the eyes of his brother are cured, through the favour of God and the endeavours of the doctor, the whole country of Tooran will become yours, without spending any money, and that the friendship will be strong and durable.

I will not fail to do you good service, and in some respect, according to the necessity of the time, I once served you long ago, which I hope you will keep kindly in your memory.

1—Sess. 2.

K 3

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Let me know of your welfare, and the news of that quarter, and point out the services I can render you.

I kept your kasid in the hope of seeing the doctor, and to write to you of his safe entry. I hear that he is now coming by another road, so I hasten to dispatch the bearer to you. Do not be angry at his delay.

(True translations.)

Alex. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

To *W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.*, Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I HASTEN to report to you, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, that the rumours which have been so long current regarding the advance of the Persians on Herat, and which were reported in detail in my letter of the 4th instant, are confirmed. Besides the letters from the chiefs at Candahar, I have had communications, both written and verbal, from some of the first merchants of that city.

No. 1.

2. In further and complete corroboration of these rumours, I have just received a letter from Lieutenant E. Pottinger, dated Herat, the 4th November, of which, at his own request, I think it best to hand a copy to Government. That officer, who proceeded, with the permission of Government, to examine the passes west of the Indus, came to Cabool, thence to Herat, about three months ago, where it will be seen, from his letter, he is detained against his will by the authorities. He has applied for my advice and assistance in his disagreeable situation, both of which I shall not fail to forward to him.

3. In addition to the authenticated particulars above given, the last arrivals from Herat report, that the Shah in person had sat down before Ghorian; that his army had advanced to Herat, and closely invested it, and that it was under the guidance of three Russian officers; but these latter facts rest on rumour alone.

No. 2.

4. The arrival of this intelligence at Candahar has increased the consternation of the chief. At first he had considered the movement of Persia as favourable to his own view; but as the army has advanced on Herat without his being consulted, he forebodes evil to himself. He has, however, sent back my messengers with a letter, in reply to mine, notifying, as will be seen, his adherence to his connexion with Persia, which, under existing circumstances, is most natural; but at the same time referring me to the Ameer. Since it was written his perplexities have increased, and he has expressed great anxiety to have advice from Cabool. I have not yet had an interview on this subject with Dost Mohamed Khan.

5. The latest Despatch from Persia relating to the affairs of Herat which has reached me is dated so far back as the 30th June last. It is from the Ambassador to Lord Palmerston, and the tenor of that communication, as far as the Persian Government is concerned, being far from satisfactory, I refrain from writing to Herat, giving advice, or taking any step for some days, in the hope of an arrival from India, and more particular accounts from the west. If Mr. MacNeil has counselled the Herat authorities to resist Persia, it will give them great encouragement, and if the place is not treacherously surrendered, there are provisions and stores for a protracted siege.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool,
8 December 1837.

No. 1.

COPY of a Letter from Lieutenant *E. Pottinger* to Captain *Burnes*, dated Herat,
4 November 1837.

My dear Burnes,

I ARRIVED here about two months ago, while the Shah was employed in besieging Lash. On his return I thought it advisable to make myself known to the Vuzeer. He has detained me until now, on the pretence of sending an envoy to India along with me, as we were to go by the route of Chukunsoor in Seistan. I gladly consented to his proposal. He now, in consequence of the near approach of the Persian army (a detachment of it has reached Ghorian, 30 miles from this), has put off sending the vakeel, and has requested me to stay for the purpose of being a peacemaker. I have told him, and he perfectly understands I have no connexion with or authority from Government, and I cannot divine what his intentions are, unless that he wishes to make a show of having an English agent in Herat. He has treated me very civilly, except in detaining me. I saw him last night, and pointed out the uselessness of my remaining without authority from Government to interfere, and begged he would let me write to you, and send my letter by the huzarazat, so that I might get an answer quickly; lest, however, he should deceive me, I write by this kafilah, and a Pisheenggee syud has promised to despatch this letter the day he reaches Kandahar. Pray, on its receipt, write to me at least your advice what to do; and also send me a hoondie for a hundred ducats, i. e., bozaglees. I have expended all my money, and cannot get the Hindoos to cash the hoondies I have on Kandahar, as they are made out in the name of Alidad Khan, the native officer who accompanied me, and who I sent by the route of Kandahar to bring my spare compasses. I am very anxious to know what has become of him, not having the slightest information by which I can divine his whereabouts or that of his companion, Edul Khan, who I left at Kabool in the hopes of getting a sextant from you. I have lost my compass, and beg you will, if possible, send me a compass, or a spare card and magnet, or at least write how to magnetise iron. I have been hammering away at bits of iron without success for the last week. (I can also get a loadstone here.) I have given the syud two ducats to hire the kasid, and beg you will give him a reward if he arrives in time, and despatch an answer quickly. Take care that the kasid which you send is an Afghan, for if this place be besieged the road will be very difficult from this to Subzar. Pray in the hoondie have it specified that the ducats are to be of full weight when weighed separately, otherwise they will only give light ones. I hope you are well, and that you are getting on successfully. If the Persians are not able to take this by escalade, it will be a tedious business. The Vuzeer tells me Mr. MacNeil will positively accompany the Shah; if he does so I will be relieved from my disagreeable situation. You must take this for a half-official letter; and pray act as you think best in laying my situation before Government, which I myself should wish done.

Yours, &c.

(signed) *Eldred Pottinger.*

(True copy.)

(signed)

Alex. Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from *Kohan Dil Khan*, Chief of Candahar, to the address of Captain *Burnes*, received at Cabool 5th December 1837.

A. C.

Your very friendly letter reached me, and I fully understood its contents.

You had written to me that it was improper to hold two melons in one hand and to keep one foot in two boats; or, in other words, you blame me for the engagements which I have made with the Persian Government, as well as for sending my son, Sardar Mohomed Omar Khan, to that quarter. I wish you yourself to consider, how is it possible that the bonds of friendship which I have contracted with the Persians should be broken merely by your writing to me.

In your former letter you wrote to me nothing regarding this subject, and I have had no intercourse with you about it; it is not in accordance with the laws of friendship that the treaty which I have lately made with the Persians should be now destroyed. I have minutely informed the respectable Ameer about this, and will learn from him everything.

Be confident of everything here, and let me hear always from you.

(True translation.)

(signed)

Alex. Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

H. Torrens,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India with
the Governor General.

(No. 59.)

From *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
to Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 31st of October, reporting your further proceedings at Cabool.

2. In reply, I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor General approves of the efforts which you caused to be made with a view to arrest the progress of Persian intrigue, and the tenor of your letter to Kohun Dil Khan seems to be highly judicious; but the Candahar chiefs evidently entertain a considerable degree of jealousy of their brother the Ameer; and it appears doubtful, therefore, whether the dissuasive arguments against a Persian alliance which have been urged by Dost Mohamud may not weaken, rather than strengthen, the effects of your representation.

3. You will by this time probably have ascertained in what spirit those representations may have been received by the chiefs of Candahar, and you will shape your course accordingly; and if you should deem that step advisable, either proceed yourself to Candahar, or depute Lieutenant Leech to that quarter, should your own presence at Cabool be indispensable.

4. The Governor General trusts that you continue to communicate freely and unreservedly with Mr. MacNeil on all matters connected with the political condition of Central Asia. You have already been made acquainted with the judicious efforts which his Excellency has made to secure the independence of Herat, an object which the Governor General has always considered as of first-rate importance.

I have, &c.

Camp at Kusseeah,
11 December 1837.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Governor General of India.

(True copy.)

H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the very extraordinary piece of intelligence of the arrival at this city yesterday of an agent direct from [the Emperor of] Russia.

2. On the 11th instant I received a notification of his approach from my correspondent at Candahar in the terms reported in the annexed letter, No. 1, and on the 13th instant the Ameer received the information conveyed in the enclosure No. 2. A circumstance of so unusual a nature prevented my sending off an express to you till I could be better informed.

[3. On the morning of the 19th, that is yesterday, the Ameer came over from the Bala Hissar early in the morning with a letter from his son, the Governor of Ghuzni, reporting that the Russian agent had arrived at that city on his way to Cabool. Dost Mahomad Khan said that he had come for my counsel on the occasion; that he wished to have nothing to do with any other power than the British; that he did not wish to receive any agent of any power whatever, so long as he had a hope of sympathy from us; and that he would order the Russian agent to be turned out, detained on the road, or act in the way I desired him.

4. I asked the Ameer if he knew on what business the agent had come, and if he were really an agent from Russia; he replied, that I had read all his letters from Candahar, and that he knew nothing more. I replied, that it was a sacred rule among civilised nations not to refuse to receive emissaries in time of peace,

peace, and that I could not take upon myself to advise him to refuse any one who declared himself duly accredited, but that the Ameer had it in his power to show his feelings on the occasion by making a full disclosure to the British Government of the errand on which the individual had come; to which he most readily assented.

5. After this the Ameer despatched a servant on the road to Ghuzni, to prevent the agent's entering Cabool without notice; but so rapid had been his journey, that he met him a few miles from the city, which he entered in the afternoon, attended by two of the Ameer's people. He has not yet seen the Ameer; he has sent a letter from Count Simonitch, which I have seen, and states that he is the bearer of letters from Mahomed Shah and the Emperor of Russia.

6. I shall take an early opportunity of reporting on the proceedings of this Russian agent, if he be so in reality; for if not an impostor, it is a most uncalled-for proceeding, after the disavowal of the Russian Government conveyed through Count Nesselrode, alluded to in Mr. M'Neil's letter of the 1st of June last.]

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 20 December 1837.

No. 1.

ABSTRACT of Intelligence received from Candahar on the 11th December 1837.

YESTERDAY I went to see the Sirdar, agreeably to his desire, and met a horseman of Girishk, with a Persian escort. They brought information that another Persian elchee was coming, and delivered a letter to Moollah Nusoo. He told me that it was not a Persian embassy, but an elchee from the Russian Government, or from the Russian ambassador at Tehran. The letter was from Haja Mobeen, and he is not come himself. The Russian elchee is named Marawa; he may be Armenian, but not a Persian. The Sirdars sent two horsemen to receive him on the road, and bring him into the city with consideration.

When I am perfectly acquainted with the affairs of the Russian elchee, or three days after, I will write to you minutely.

Sirdar Ruhin Dil Khan has become friendly with his brother, and lives in one place.

(signed) *A. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Moollah Rishid, the Counsellor of Kohin Dil Khan, of Candahar, to the Address of Ameer Mahomed Khan, Agent or Naib of Dost Mahomed Khan, of Cabool, received on the 13th of December 1837.

A. C.

WE have heard nothing new of the Persian siege to Herat since the 1st of Ramzan (14 days ago), except that which I wrote to you before.

The fresh intelligence I write to you, that at noon, on the 28th of Shaban (17 days ago), Tuesday, an elchee arrived here from [Moscow, on the part of the Emperor of] Russia. Leaving the rarities of that country in Tehran, he came to the camp of Mahomed Shah Kujur; and, after seeing his Majesty, he passed through Birjird, Jawer, Lash and Seistan, on his way to Ahmed Shahee (Candahar). He is a man of Moscow, and stands high in the favour of the Emperor. The Russian ambassador at Tehran has sent a list of the presents, with his letter, to the Sirdars, which this elchee left in his charge on account of the disorders of the road between Tehran and Candahar. As he looks a confidential person, I think he will do everything for the Sirdars. We have heard nothing of the results of the arrangements which Mr. Burnes is making at Cabool.

As Mahomed Shah intends to take Herat, so he has left the English and Russian ambassadors at Tehran. Mirza Masood, the minister of his Majesty, is also with them. The assistants of both the ambassadors are in the camp of Mahomed Shah.

Mahomed Omar Khan and the Persian elchee are still at Girishk.

(A true translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 3.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Moolla Reshid, the Counsellor of Kohin Dil Khan Sirdar, to the Address of Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, received at Cabool on the 19th of December 1837.

A. C.,

AN ambassador on the part of [the] Russia [n Emperor] came [from Moscow] to Tehran, and has been appointed to wait on the Sirdars at Candahar, and thence to proceed to the presence of the Ameer. He paid his respects to Mahomed Shah at Nishapoor, and passing through Kayanat, Lash and Jawer, Seistan and Gnoor Sail, arrived at Ahmed Shahee (Candahar). He is the bearer of [confidential messages from the Emperor, and of the] letters from the Russian ambassador at Tehran.

The Russian ambassador recommends this man to be a most trusty individual, and to possess full authority to make any negotiation [on the part of the Emperor and himself]. Captain Burnes will undoubtedly comprehend the real motives of this elchee.

The conduct and appearance of this man (elchee) seems to infer that he possesses no less dignity and honour than Captain Burnes, and whatever arrangements he may make will be agreeable to [the Russian Emperor and] the Russian ambassador. You have now both the English and Russian ambassadors at your Court; please to settle matters with any of them who you think may do some good office hereafter.

By the conversation of this man (elchee), it appears that Mahomed Shah is neither assisted nor induced by the Russians, and is come of himself to try his fortunes. You should receive him with consideration, as he is a man of consequence. He has got four horsemen with himself, and will remain but a few days in Cabool. Sher Mahomed has been sent by the Sirdars to conduct him to you. The Russians and the Persians are separately anxious to promote their respective designs in this quarter.

P.S.—When this Russian elchee reaches Cabool, show him respect, and it will rouse the mind of Alex. Burnes. His appearance will also induce him (Mr. Burnes) to be sharp, and to put off delay in promoting [your] objects.

(True translation.)

(signed)

Alex. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed)

H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to transmit translations (Nos. 1 to 4) of four letters received at Cabool, which convey intelligence regarding the campaign of the Persians against the Herat State up to the 25th of last month. The report of the partial defeat of the Persians has gained ground, and it seems certain that the fort of Ghorian has not yet fallen. The King of Bokhara and the Chief of Koondooz have also made up their differences, and a body of the Bokhara auxiliaries, it is reported, has gone by way of Maimund to aid Herat. I trust sincerely that all this intelligence will be confirmed, and, if so, from the season of the year and the forces opposed to them, a signal discomfiture of the Persians may be anticipated.

2. The effect of the campaign, as far as the Candahar chiefs are concerned, is already developed. In the letter of Kohin Dil Khan's adviser (No. 3), it will be seen that the Sirdar has prevented his son's departure to wait on the King; but in a way so qualified, that if his Majesty were successful, the son might still be forthcoming. Fear is the spring of action at Candahar.

3. Since my last Despatch to you regarding the affairs of Herat on the 8th instant, I have sent a messenger to Lieutenant Pottinger at Herat with my opinions and advice. I have in the first place told him, if possible, to get out of his dilemma by declaring that he possesses no authority from Government; but if he cannot, I have advised him to do all in his power to urge Kamran to resist Persia, if there is any chance of his doing so successfully, and, if not, as a last alternative, to make terms so as not to surrender the fortress; since Government, as it appeared to me, would regret above all things if Herat, so valuable as a position,

position, fell into the hands of that nation. Under the circumstances of the case, this appeared to me the only appropriate counsel.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*

Cabool, 21 December 1837.

On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter to Captain *Burnes* from Syud Moheen Shah at Candahar, received at Cabool on 5th December 1837.

A. C.

THE news of this quarter is as follows:—Mohomed Shah, at the head of 40,000 troops, 60 guns, and 3 mortars, has arrived on the river of Ghorian, and was opposed by 500 horsemen of Sher Mohomed Khan, the brother of Yar Mohomed Khan Vuzeer. The Afghans, after losing 10 men in the field and killing 30 Persians, returned to the fort of Ghorian and shut the gates. The Persians, having marched from the river, have besieged the fort, and fired at it for three successive days. Kamran has also sent 2,000 horsemen to support Sher Mohomed Ghuryan. On the fourth day the Persians made an assault on the fort, and came back to their camp after a loss of 300 men, besides many wounded.

Kamran is not sorry for the Shah's coming at all, but regrets and fears very much that Kohin Dil Khan has made friendship with him.

I have got this information from my nephews, who are just come from Herat. The caravan from Candahar to Herat returned back to the city after going a few stages, on account of the coming of the Persians.

Kamran has driven all the native Persians from the city, and peopled it with Afghans of the adjacent countries in their place. He has gathered a great store of provisions for a siege of three years, and has received messages from Sher Mohomed Khan Hazarah, that he has got 500 horse ready for his service.

There are three Russians with Mohomed Shah, who have the command in their hands. They advised the Shah to stop at Ghuryan, and send his minister with some troops to Herat.

No. 2.

ABSTRACT of Intelligence received from Candahar by Captain *Burnes*, on the 11th of December 1836.

THE letters from Herat say that Mohomed Shah has arrived at Ghuryan with 40,000 troops and 56 guns. His Majesty has not reached Herat yet; 2,000 Persian horsemen came in advance, and which induced the ruler of Ghuryan to send 1,000 cavalry and meet them on the road. Both parties fought, and at last the Persians retired, after leaving seven men in field, and giving eighteen prisoners or slaves. Ghuryan is now besieged by the Persians.

Yar Mohomed Khan has dug another ditch round Herat, and has conducted all the Afghans of the country inside of the city. He is actively engaged in opposing the enemy.

On the 26th of Shaban a horseman came by express from Herat to the Sirdars, and reported that the son of Shah Kamran, who ruled Sabzawar, three marches on this side of Herat, has disappeared. I do not know whether he has run away to his father at Herat, or somewhere else. It happened on account of his minister, the "Kalantar" of Sabzawar, seeking to imprison the prince and send him to Mahomed Shah. When he learned that the prince ran away, he immediately sent a man to Mahomed Shah, with the message that his Majesty must either come himself to Sabzawar or send some troops, but he has not heard in reply. It is rumoured that this traitorous person has been intriguing with the Persians for a long time. His news has deeply vexed the Sirdars, and they anticipate some fearful end by the coming of the Persian army to Sabzawar.

The Sardar says openly that in consequence of the slow arrangements of Mr. Burnes at Cabul, the whole country of Afghanistan will fall into the possession of the Kujar; that he has no money to give his troops and send them to meet the Persians at Herat, and very shortly the snow will fall, and the communication between Candahar and Cabool will be closed.

(True translations.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*

On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 3.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Moolla Reshid, the Counsellor of Kohin Dil Khan Sirdar, to the Address of Ameer Dost Mohomed Khan, received at Cabool on the 19th December 1837.

A. C.

ON Sunday the 11th of Ramzan (17 days ago), Mehar Dil Khan started for Girashk; and on the 6th, Sardar Kohin Dil and Rahim Dil Khan followed him. They intend to

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send for Kamber Ali Khan, who is now with Mohomed Saddik Khan at Karejet Meer, and to tell to him that the treaty which he has lately made with them has all gone wrong, and that Mohomed Omar Khan will therefore not proceed with him to the Shah until they (Sirdars) are satisfied.

About 15 days ago Kamber Ali and Mohomed Saddik Khan both sent a man to the camp of Mohomed Shah, and expect his return here in a few days hence, with full information of that quarter. On his arrival Kamber Ali will either go himself on with the man of the Sirdars to the Shah, or will postpone his departure; but Mohomed Omar Khan will never proceed to his Majesty until the Sirdars obtain all their wishes.

On Tuesday afternoon Ali Mar Dan Khan, the son of Madad Khan Papalzai, came with Moostfa to Candahar; he left Herat 14 days ago. He reports that Mohomed Shah had besieged Ghoorian on the 7th of Shahban, and till the 29th he had not come to Herat. Yar Mohomed Khan is ready to oppose the Shah, and has strengthened the fort.

Sher Mohomed Khan Huzarah, the Jamshaidees, Feroz, Kohees, and the people of Maimund, along with those of the adjacent districts, have assembled forces and sent their sons to Herat, where they will come themselves by-and-by.

The Sardars are engaged in a hunting excursion at Girashk, and are waiting for letters from Mohomed Shah.

One of Kamran's sons is at Sabzwar or Jafzar, and the other at Farah. Shah Pasand Khan is at Lash.

No. 4.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from the same to his Brother, Meer Mohomed Khan, received on the 19th December 1837.

A. C.

I HAVE written to you all the information of this quarter by Mool!a Jabbar Azim Khan, Hajee Wallee and Boda Cossid of Sultan Mohomed Khan long ago, and now let you know the fresh intelligence.

On Tuesday the 6th of Ramzan, Ali Mardan Khan came from Herat to Candahar after 14 days. He states that Mohomed Shah came and besieged Ghorian on the 7th of Shaban. His first engagement was fruitless. The Shah took 40 guns near the fort, and fired for 48 hours at it. The tops of the walls have been very little destroyed, and the Shah gained nothing by this assault, and has encamped at the distance of two cannon shots from the fort. None of the Persians have come to Herat up to the 27th of Shaban (24 days ago). The Shah will not move to Herat until he conquers Ghorian.

The fort of Ghorian is supported by 15 Jazalehis (men with wall pieces), and 300 horsemen. The walls of Herat are strengthened as far as possible, and the city is defended by 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot, besides the native Dooraines. Shah Zadah Sikandar, the son of Kamran, on leaving Herat came to Sabzawar, and took the traitorous "Kalantan" of that place a prisoner to Farah, where he commands 1,000 Dooraines. The other prince, or the ruler of Ghor, has assembled sufficient troops, and is arrived at Farah on his way to Herat.

Yar Mohomed Khan is actively engaged in opposing the Persians, and relies on the protection of God and his prophet. Sher Mohomed Khan Huzarah, with all the Jamshaidee, Feroz, Kohees, Maimund, Pari, Dih and Sarakhs Sunnies, collected a good number of soldiers, and sent their relations to Herat, where they are expected in person by-and-by.

The Khan of Orgunge or Khiva has sent a reply to Kamran, saying that his Highness should rely on his assistance, and informs him that Mohomed Shah, notwithstanding the open battle field, was defeated by him in Gurgam, and that he will not fail now to plunder and destroy his countries about Meshid, &c. &c.

The informers also report that Sher Mohomed Khan Huzara and the other Toorkmans, sent 7,000 horsemen to attack (Chapan), Khaf, Jam and Bakhars, as well as to stop all communication between Meshid and his camp. On receiving the intelligence Mohomed Shah sent 15,000 soldiers with four guns after them, and the enemy met them accidentally. A battle took place, in which the Persians, after losing their guns and many soldiers, were totally defeated. There are numerous Persians taken slaves by the Huzarahs in this engagement.

Grain is sold at 20 mans per rupee at Herat, and in the Persian camp at 2 reals per man.

(True translations.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

WITH reference to my letter of the 20th instant, I have now the honour to inform you, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, that the individual who has arrived here from St. Petersburg is a veritable agent of Russia, and brings a letter from [the Emperor of Russia, a fac-simile of which in the Russian language (and for which I am indebted to Lieutenant Leech) I now forward. The agent also brings letters from] the Shah of Persia and Count Simonich, [and in the former communication] he is designated as Captain Vickovich.

2. I have the honour to enclose the following copies of documents in explanation of the appearance of this person, with translations :

No. 1. A letter from Dost Mahomed Khan to the Emperor of Russia.

[No. 2. A letter in reply from the Emperor, in the Persian language, being a translation of the fac-simile above mentioned.]

No. 3. A "rukum" from the Shah of Persia to Dost Mahomed Khan.

No. 4. A letter from Count Simonitch to the same.

3. I have addressed a confidential letter to his Lordship the Governor General of India regarding these documents, and the Russian agent who has brought them.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 22 December 1837.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Ameer Dost Mohomed Khan, of Cabool, to the address of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia, transmitted *via* Bokhara, by Mirza Hoosein Caboollee, about the beginning of 1836.

A. C.

THERE have been great differences and quarrels between myself and the royal house of the Sudozyees. The English Government is inclined to support Shooja ool Moolk. The whole of India is governed by them, and they are on friendly terms with Runjeet Singh, the Lord of the Punjab, which lies in their neighbourhood. The British Government exhibit no favourable opinions towards me.

I (literally the creature of God), with all my power, have been always fighting with the Sikhs. Your Imperial Government has made friendship with the Persians, and if your Majesty will graciously be pleased to arrange matters in the Afghan country, and assist this nation (which amounts to twenty lacs of families), you will place me under obligations.

I hope your Imperial Majesty will do me the favour by allowing me to be received, like the Persians, under the protection of the Government of Russia. Under your royal protection I can perform, along with my Afghans, various praiseworthy services.

It will be highly proper, whatever your Imperial Majesty may be pleased to do.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

[Translation of a Letter from the Emperor of Russia to the address of Ameer Dost Mohomed Khan of Cabool, received from the Russian Agent, M. Vickovitch, at Cabool, 20 December 1837.

A. C.

IN a happy moment the messenger of your Highness, Mirza Husain, reached my court with your friendly letter. I was very much delighted to receive him, and highly gratified by its perusal.

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The contents of the letter prove that you are my well-wisher, and have friendly opinion towards me. It flattered me very much, and I was convinced of your friendship to my everlasting Government. In consequence of this, and preserving the terms of friendship (which are now commenced between you and myself) in my heart, I will feel always happy to assist the people of Cabool who may come to trade into my kingdom.

On the arrival of your messenger I have ordered him to make preparation for his long journey back to you, and also appointed a man of dignity to accompany him on the part of my Government.

If it pleases God, and he reaches safe, he will present to you the rarities of my country, which I have sent through him.

By the grace of God, may your days be propitious !

Sent from St. Petersburg, the capital of Russia, on the 27th of April 1837, A.D., and in the 12th year of my reign.]

A true translation from the Russian language into the Persian.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 3.

TRANSLATION of Mohomed Shah's "Rukum" to the Address of Ameer Dost Mohomed Khan, of Cabool, received on the 20th December 1837.

A. C.

AGREEABLY to my affection and kindly feelings towards you, I wish to bestow great favours on you, and anxiously wait to hear from you.

In these days the respectable Captain Vickovitch, having been appointed by my esteemed brother the Emperor of Russia to attend your court, paid his respects on his way, stating he had been honoured by his Imperial Majesty to deliver some messages to you. On this I felt it incumbent on me to remember you by the despatch of this "Rukum," to convince you that your well wishers are deeply engraven in my mind.

Considering the favours of my Majesty attached to you, let me hear occasionally from you, and by rendering good services you will obtain the protection of this royal house.

Dated Rajab, 1253 A. H.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 4.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Count Simonitch, the Russian Ambassador at Tehran, to the address of Ameer Dost Mohomed Khan of Cabool, received on the 20th December 1837.

A. C.

THE [respectable P. Vickovitch will wait upon you with this letter, [and deliver to you an epistle from his Imperial Majesty, in reply to the petition which you had addressed through your agent, Hajie Husan Alee.]

Your agent, Hajie Husan Alee, has been attacked by a severe illness, and therefore he stopped at Moscow, when the intelligence of his bad health was conveyed to the Emperor. A good physician was ordered to attend and cure him as soon as possible. On his recovering I will not fail to facilitate him in his long journey back to Cabool.

Knowing your anxiety to hear from this quarter, I have hastened to despatch the bearer to you. He was ordered to accompany your agent to Cabool; I hope on his arrival at your Court that you will treat him with consideration, and trust him with your secrets. I beg you will look upon him like myself, and take his words as if they were from me. In case of his detention at Cabool, you will allow him often to be in your presence; and let my master know through me about your wishes, that anxiety may be removed.

Though the great distance has been preventing the continuance of my correspondence with you, I am always very happy to respect and serve your friends, to show my friendly opinions towards you. The cause of our often hearing from each other merely depends upon our friendship and acquaintance.

I have

I have [received] some Russian rarities [from the Imperial store] to forward to you; as the bearer (P. Vickovitch) is lightly equipped, it was beyond his power to take them along with him, but I will take the first opportunity to convey them safely to you, and now have the pleasure to send you the under-mentioned list of them.

Dated 25 Jamadi ul sani, 1253 A. H.

First kind of samoor.		Parcha Huzir, painted	-	-	1 piece.
Ditto ditto.		Ditto, white, with gold flower	-	-	1 "
Gilt and silvered cloth	-	-	-	-	1 piece.
Cloth, with ditto, flowered	-	-	-	-	1 "
Ditto, with gilt ditto	-	-	-	-	1 "
Ditto, [red] with green gilt flowers,	1	"			
Zari Abi, with gilt flowers	-	-	-	-	1 "
Ditto, firniaz of gold	-	-	-	-	1 "
Ditto, ditto of silver	-	-	-	-	1 "
Parcha Huzir, red and white	-	-	-	-	1 "
Ditto - ditto	-	-	-	-	1 "
		Alachah, with gold flower	-	-	1 "
		Ditto, yellow, with silver ditto	-	-	1 "
		Ditto, red and green	-	-	1 "
		Ditto, light blue	-	-	1 "
		Ditto, with red flower	-	-	1 "
		Ditto, green	-	-	1 "
		Ditto, banafsh	-	-	1 "
		Ditto, red and light blue	-	-	1 "

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report further, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, on the affairs of Candahar. I have just received a message from Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan on his leaving Candahar for Grishk, to the effect that he had delayed sending his son to Persia in hopes of assistance from the English; that he had received none; that the Shah was at hand, and his own chiefship in imminent danger from his not having made friendship with Persia, or sent his son; and that he always was, and would continue to be, the friend of the British.

2. Seeing that this chief has at last discovered the nature of his position, and the great importance of detaching him from Persia, with whom he has at heart no kind of sympathy, I immediately despatched the accompanying letter (No. 1) to Candahar. After pointing out to the chief the dangers in which he is involved, I have gone so far as to inform him that if Herat falls, and the Shah of Persia seeks to march against Candahar, and he continues the friend of the British nation, that his brother, the Ameer, will come to his assistance; that I will accompany him, and that in that event the expenses of keeping off the Persians will be furnished to him.

3. I have every reason to believe that this promise will be a dead letter, since Herat will detain the Persians, if not for good, certainly for a considerable time; but it is positively declared that one of the principal reasons for his Majesty's attack on the Herat state was the assistance he expected to receive from Kohin Dil Khan, and which he has quoted to his chiefs and nobles as his motives for undertaking a campaign which is unpopular with them. It is of the first importance, therefore, to detach the Candahar Sirdars from Persia, since they might assist the Shah with troops, and, what is of far more importance to an army in a winter campaign, provisions.

4. In the critical position in which I was situated, I saw no course left but that which I have followed. My belief is that Herat may withstand the attack of the Persians, but if not, and the Shah marches to Candahar, our own position in the East becomes endangered, and the tranquillity of all the countries that border on the Indus. By your Despatch of the 11th of September last, I am instructed to proceed to Candahar or Herat if it seems to me that my presence would have the effect of counteracting Persian intrigues. In the absence of

force, and in the state of excitement now existing, there is no plan calculated to defeat the designs of Persia if she moves eastward but to array Cabool and Candahar against her, and it is this deliberate conviction that has led me to tender to the Candahar chief the offer of assistance, and of the presence of an agent of the British Government, which I trust most respectfully will meet the approval of his Lordship in Council.

23 December 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

P.S.—The Ameer has just received a Despatch from Candahar, which I have seen, announcing that his brother has dismissed the Russian elchee. Kumber Ali Khan refused to send his own, and awaits advice from Cabool.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*.

No. 1.

COPY of a Letter addressed by Captain *Burnes* to Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan, of Candahar, dated Cabool, 22 December 1837.

A. C.

I HAD the pleasure to receive your very friendly letter some days ago in reply to the communication which I sent to you from Cabool. I have now received the message which you sent to me on starting for Girishk. My friend, I am very much concerned to hear that anything happens in your quarter which gives you pain. I came to this country by order of the British Government to act as your friend. You and your brothers (now in Paradise) often wrote to Bombay to state how much you were the friends of the British Government, and this has sat deeply in the remembrance of my masters. I told you in my two former letters that the Government had deputed me to the Afghan country as the well-wisher of all Afghans, and I now tell you again that I am detained in Cabool by business that relates to the well-being of your family, to the endeavour to establish a peace between Maharaja Runjeet Singh and the Afghans. Be satisfied that in this business I am your well-wisher and not your enemy. The most respectable Ameer has done me the honour to receive me and entertain me most kindly, and he too is your well-wisher; but be assured that my detention here will never be productive of harm to you. You are an old friend of my Government, and I have come here to do you and your brothers good. May all harm be distant from you.

My friend, you have sent to tell me that you have gone to Girishk, and that you may send your son to wait on Mohomed Shah, but that you are still the friend of the English. I do not understand this; the Afghan state (doulut) and the Persians have never been friendly, and as I told you before, I see no good to come from sending your son to Persia. I see, on the other hand, that it is to put water in fire, and God forbid I should advise a friend to do so. You express to me great fear that the Persians should come to Ahmed Shahee (Candahar) on account of your not making friendship with them. May God avert such an accident. The British Government do not wish the Persians to come into the Afghan country. If Herat falls into the hands of the Persians, which is improbable, as it is a strong place, danger will without doubt occur to Candahar. If they intend to come to Candahar, let me know if you are friendly, and you wish your respectable brother, the Ameer, will come to your assistance, and I will immediately come along with him, and the expenses of keeping off the Persians, the enemies of your house, will be furnished to you, so that your country may remain peopled (abad), and you may continue the well-wisher of the British nation.

What more shall I say? All this I would have written before, but you never told me till now that you wished the assistance of the British nation; on the contrary, you told me you wished the friendship of Persia. I was astonished, but now I understand you. Write to me quickly, and let me know the secrets of your heart and wishes, as I am your friend and the servant of a Government who wishes you well, and who wishes you to keep the power in honour and prosperity which Providence has given to you.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

.(Confidential.)

To the Right Honourable Lord *Auckland*, G.C.B., Governor General of India,
&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

IN the [public] Despatches which I forward by this opportunity to Mr. Macnaghten, your Lordship will find a report of the extraordinary circumstance of an agent having arrived at this capital direct from St. Petersburg with a letter [from the Emperor, also] from the Shah of Persia, and Count Simonitch, the Russian Ambassador at Tehran. [I have resolved, therefore, to avail myself of the permission given to me, and address your Lordship personally regarding this very singular event, that I may lay bare the history of this intrigue, the very dangerous consequences likely to ensue from it, and at the same time, as is my duty, most respectfully place your Lordship in possession of the sentiments which occur to me regarding it, and the policy which the British Government is now pursuing in these countries.]

Your Lordship is aware from Mr. MacNeill's Despatches of the proceedings of the Russian Government in Persia, of the intercepted letter from Count Simonitch to the Chief of Candahar, so that it would be out of place to say anything regarding what has been already better said by others. The attention which Russia has directed to this country is what I can best relate, and what is naturally expected from me. On the 15th of last month I forwarded a copy of Count Simonitch's letter to the Chief of Cabool, but I did not anticipate that so early occasion would arise for my not only transmitting a second letter from that nobleman, but also a most friendly one from the Emperor himself to Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, forwarded by an officer in his service styled Captain Parotchik Vickovitch, who reached this city on the afternoon of the 19th instant.

The unhappy differences which have so long reigned in this country have, as your Lordship is aware, been greatly aggravated by the measures pursued by the ruler of Lahore. The chiefs of Afghanistan have for years past avowed their anxious desire to connect themselves with the British Government in India, as well from the exalted notions entertained of it as from the belief of its ability to assist them, but the British Government has stood aloof or sent cold and distant replies to their solicitations. The ex-King at Loodiana, after a lapse of years, partly equipped himself in 1833 in our territories, and, crossing the Indus, marched to Candahar, where he was defeated. The chiefs of Afghanistan universally believed that the British Government had encouraged the ex-King, and were satisfied that we should have hastened to acknowledge him had he been successful. An open avowal of our anxiety for his success could not have been productive of worse consequences than the course which was actually taken, yet it did not alienate the chiefs from us. They had driven Shooja ool Moolk from Candahar, but in their absence Runjeet Singh seized on Peshawur, and gave rise to new anxieties. Seeing that they had no hopes from us, the Afghan chiefs turned their attention to other quarters, and we have thus quickened the designs of the powers to the westward. But such was still the friendly disposition of these chiefs, that though they had written in every direction, they availed themselves of your Lordship's arrival in India to address a new Governor General, and I have no hesitation in saying that the result of that address has been productive of benefit to the State, and stayed for a while many evils.

When it formerly occurred to Dost Mahomed Khan that he must sue for aid elsewhere, he addressed severally the Emperor of Russia, the Kings of Persia and Bokhara, and to one and all his letters were of the same tenor; that he had a powerful enemy to cope with in Runjeet Singh, who threatened his very existence; that he had applied to the all-powerful Government of the British, who were rulers of India, but had applied in vain; that the British had, as he believed, befriended Shooja ool Moolk in attacking him, and were the well-wishers of Runjeet Singh to his prejudice; that he had abundance of men, but no money to pay them, and he therefore implored the Mahomedan rulers to aid him, as was their duty in a holy cause, and the Emperor of Russia he courted, as will be seen in his letter, because of his power as a monarch and his influence in Persia, to which the ruler of Cabool now professed his willingness to ally himself. The result of this application has been the transmission of expensive

presents by the Emperor, with a letter in reply, more than gracious, ostensibly written to encourage commerce, though there be not a word on that subject in the Ameer's communication, and this letter is sent by Captain P. Vickovitch, who is charged with messages direct from the Emperor, and who is, by Count Simonitch's letter, authorised to act and communicate as if he had been his Excellency himself. The whole of these important documents are, however, before your Lordship, and as they involve matters of the first moment, I have thought it right to transmit, besides translations, copies of the correspondence in Persian, as well as a facsimile of the Emperor's, which I have not the means of translating from the Russian language. This dazzling specimen of caligraphy, together with the very friendly expressions contained in it, coming from one who enumerates so many of his lofty titles as his Imperial Majesty, has excited a stirring sensation, nor do I conceal that I have looked on with mingled feelings of astonishment and regret.

The indication of friendship, which has been put forth by your Lordship's administration, has arrested for a time the despair which had taken possession of the Afghan nation. The language which Dost Mahomed Khan and every Mahomedan has held since a British mission entered this country is, that they would stand by us to the last, and seek no aid or connexion while there was a hope of friendship from a nation dear to them for the strict maintenance of its treaties, and celebrated, above all others, for its liberality, justice, and honour. With these words in his mouth, Dost Mahomed Khan came to inform me of the arrival of the Russian agent, of his determination to be guided by my advice, and even refuse to receive him, if it were disagreeable to me. I saw that I dare not seek to hinder an independent chief from receiving an agent, for as it is justly held to be a law in civilised countries never to attack a nation in one of this, its most sacred rights, I should have incurred a responsibility, and I am sure never been honoured by your Lordship's approbation. Though the messenger has been received and delivered his letters, I trust that the friendly devotion of Dost Mahomed Khan in asking my advice, and next handing to me all the letters brought by the emissary will remain in your Lordship's mind, as proofs of sincerity and conciliation, highly to be appreciated, and the more so as the British have as yet made no avowal of their support to his power, while he has received declarations from others, the sincerity of which can be no longer questioned.]

Before I enter upon the messages delivered by the agent to the Ameer, it is proper to state the information which has reached me regarding what has passed at Candahar. In my official communication of the 9th of September last, your Lordship will remember that I reported the departure of one Hajee Mobeen on a mission to Persia, and, as it was believed, in pursuance of the advice of the Russian Ambassador. This individual accompanied Mahomed Shah to Khorasan, and was requested by his Majesty to await the arrival of Captain Vickovitch, and proceed with him to Candahar. The connexion between Russia and Persia in this part of the transaction leaves little doubt of the whole being a concerted plan between these Powers. The statement made by the emissary to the Sirdars of Candahar was to the effect, that [the Emperor of] Russia had full influence in Persia, and that they should assist the Shah, and draw on him for money; and if their drafts were not paid, that the Russian Government would be responsible for their discharge, but that they should follow the wishes of Mahomed Shah if they sought the Emperor's good offices, and on no account ally themselves to the English nation. This declaration, if true, is certainly most explicit, but though it has been communicated to me by whose other reports entirely tally with all that is passing at Candahar, and who is the individual that made known to me five months ago the then inexplicable nature of Hajee Mobeen's mission, I should not wish your Lordship to give to it that confidence which I seek to place on the report of events that have transpired in Cabool.

On the evening of the 20th instant, the Ameer received the Russian messenger, [and immediately after sent to me his confidential Mirza, Samee Khan, to report what had passed. The Ameer expressed great thanks for the honour that the Emperor had conferred upon him in sending such a letter, and entered with the agent upon the state of affairs in Russia, which seems to have surprised Captain Vickovitch; he asked if the Emperor had recovered from his accident, and some other such questions.] On the agent's producing Mahomed Shah's "rukum,"

"rukum," the Ameer felt a degree of irritation, which he could hardly control, and said in Afghanee, "that it was an insult to him, and a proof of Mahomed Shah's being guided by [bad] advisers, for his master the Emperor, wrote to him a letter, and the subservient Shah of Persia arrogated to himself the right of sending him a 'rukum,' or order, with his seal on the face of the document." [He caused the Emperor's letter to be read with great care, but did not peruse the Shah's communication.] The agent was then dismissed, and invited to the Bala Hissar on the following day.

The communications which passed on this second occasion have been also made known to me, and are of a startling nature. Mr. Vickovitch informed Dost Mahomed Khan that the [Emperor]* had desired him to state his sincere sympathy with the difficulties under which he laboured, and that it would afford [His Majesty] great pleasure to assist him in repelling the attacks of Runjeet Sing on his dominions; that [His Majesty] was ready to furnish him with a sum of money for the purpose, and to continue the supply annually, expecting in return the Ameer's good offices; that it was in [the Emperor's] power to forward the pecuniary assistance as far as Bokhara, with which State [he] had friendly and commercial relations, but that the Ameer must arrange for its being forwarded on to Cabool. The agent stated that this was the principal object of his mission, but that there were other matters, which he would state by-and-by; that he hoped the Ameer would give him a speedy answer to despatch to St. Petersburg, and that with reference to himself, he would go, if dismissed, along with it, though he gave the Ameer to understand (and under which impression he still continues) that it is his wish to remain, at least for a time, in Cabool. The report of this interview has been communicated to me from two sources, [the Newab Jubber Khan and Mirza Samee Khan,] and they both agree in the substance of what passed. [Neither of them make any allusion to what the agent is reported to have said at Candahar, regarding the request to shun alliances with the British, and this is probably what he has reserved for a future interview. I have however no apprehension of anything that passes being concealed from me, and what does transpire shall be reported. I need not say that the Ameer has as yet sent no reply to the Emperor's communication.]

* Previously printed, "Russian Government;" "it" being afterwards substituted for "he."

Having thus laid before your Lordship these strong demonstrations on the part of Russia, to interest herself in the affairs of this country, it will not, I feel satisfied, be [considered] presumptuous to state my most deliberate conviction, that much more vigorous proceedings than the Government might wish or contemplate are necessary to counteract Russian and Persian intrigue in this quarter than have been hitherto exhibited. [It is undoubtedly true that we have an old and faithful ally in Maharaja Runjeet Sing, but such an alliance will not keep these powers at a distance, or secure to us what is the end of all alliances, peace, and prosperity, in our country and our frontiers. I am yet ignorant of the light in which your Lordship or Maharajah Runjeet Sing have viewed the overtures of Dost Mahomed Khan regarding Peshawar. Captain Wade informs me that they have been transmitted for your Lordship's consideration, since he did not feel himself authorised to communicate them to the Maharajah. There was surely nothing in them contrary to the dignity of his Highness: an independent chief offers to pay him allegiance and regular tribute, and to send a son to sue for forgiveness. His Highness need not accept the terms, and perhaps Dost Mahomed Khan will in the end be satisfied with the plain of Peshawur being given to any Barukzye, but it becomes a matter of great moment, that this question should be speedily adjusted. If the Maharaja had not been sincere in his wishes, I presume he would not have sought the counsel of Government. His attack on Peshawur drove the Afghans to seek for alliances which are injurious to British interests, and it is surely not asking too much of Runjeet Sing to act with promptitude in the adjustment of a matter, which, while it hangs over, brings intrigues to our door, and if not checked may shortly bring enemies instead of messengers. In a settlement of the Peshawar affair, we have, as it seems to me, an immediate remedy against further intrigue, and a means of showing to the Afghans that the British Government does sympathise with them, and at one and the same time satisfying the chiefs, and gaining both our political and commercial ends.]

From various passages in the Government Despatches, it would appear that the position of the ruler of Cabool is considered hazardous by your Lordship in

Council. It is certainly true that a ruler who is obliged to stand on the defensive, has his safety always more or less endangered, but Dost Mahomed Khan has nothing to fear from the Sikhs, though he is not fully aware of his own strength, and judging by the past, concludes that Runjeet Sing will covet Cabool as he did Peshawar. A trial would, I believe, prove disastrous to the Maharajah, and lead Dost Mahomed Khan into measures which, with all his proffers of assistance, have never yet entered into his contemplation. It is therefore most desirable to take those steps which will prevent any further collision between the Sikhs and Afghans, and the most opportune expressions of Runjeet Sing's anxiety to alter the state of affairs in Peshawar, would give cover to a reiteration of the anxiety entertained by the British Government that they should be at once adjusted. If it were deemed prudent also, it would only be a further proof of frankness in all our dealings with the ruler of the Punjab, to show to him the documents now received from the Emperor of Russia, and thus to place before him in a light that must dissipate his doubts as to the disagreeable things to which his wars with the Afghans subject the British, who have for nearly 30 years stood as his dearest and best friends. Nor is it to Russia only that we can refer him. The Persian agency at Candahar is calculated to do us less, though similar moral harm, and to the letters of the sirdars of Candahar to the Shah, I believe we owe in a degree the present attack on the Herat State. I have explained the particulars of this matter in my public letter of the 22d instant, and to pressure from the ruler of the Punjab we must also attribute measures that must be adopted, and which may involve an outlay of the public money, the only means (except by active interposition of our power) of keeping our footing and influence in these countries.]

By one class of politicians, everything regarding the designs of Russia in this quarter has been treated with disbelief. By another, the little which has transpired has excited immediate, and in consequence, what may be termed groundless alarm. For the last six or seven years, I have had my attention directed to these countries, and I profess myself to be one of those who do believe that Russia entertains the designs of extending her influence to the eastward, and between her dominions and India. With her commercial operations, she has invariably spread the report that her designs were ulterior, and the language of her agents has lately been, that, as the affairs of Turkey and Persia are adjusted, she sought an extension of her influence in Toorkistan and Cabool. Such reports would deserve little credence if unsupported by facts, but assisted by them, they gather high importance, and exhibit views [of a cabinet, Oriental and dark in its diplomacy, and] which, but for the greatest vigilance, might have eluded notice for years to come.

There being therefore facts before us in the transactions passing at Cabool, it seems impossible, with any regard to our safety, to look on longer in silence. If Russia does not entertain inimical feelings directly to the British in India, she avows that she wishes for the good offices of the chiefs on our frontier, and promises them her own in return, so that it is useless to conceal from ourselves that evils must flow from such connexions. It is indeed casting before us a challenge. It is a trite maxim, that prevention is better than cure, and we now have both in our hands; we might certainly wish to delay a while longer before acting, but it is now in our power, by the extended immediate exercise of our already established influence, to counteract every design injurious to us. [A line of agents should be established at Herat, Candahar, Sinde, Cabool, and perhaps Bokhara. Powers of an extensive nature need not be given, but the agents should be British officers, who would mingle with the chiefs and people, and disabuse their minds, which is only to be done by explaining the principles of our Indian Government, the advantages which accrue from it, and by placing these in juxtaposition with the worthless promises of Persia, and the ambitious designs of Russia. These, as it appears to me, are what the occasion calls for, and the immediate adjustment of the affairs of Peshawur would be the best earnest of the sympathy with which the British Government viewed the distresses of the Afghans. A very powerful engine to our success in fixing stable our influence in these countries, additional to the good feeling entertained of us, is, that they are all Soonee Mahometans, who cherish a rooted hatred to the Shiahhs of Persia. In Sinde alone the court faction is of that persuasion, but everywhere else in Bokhara, Koundooz, Herat, Candahar, and Cabool, it would be

be easy to form a league, which under British guidance would arrest the designs of Russia and Persia, but to continue longer indifferent to what is passing, is to throw away the advantages we at present command.

Should the conduct of Dost Mahomed Khan in his frank divulgement of all that has passed meet with your Lordship's approbation, it seems a suitable preliminary step, if your Lordship resolves on making any change in our view, to set out by addressing a letter of thanks to this chief for the proofs which he has rendered of his friendship and fidelity.]

I trust that the free expression of my sentiments will not prove displeasing to your Lordship. I am emboldened by the confidence which has placed me here to speak according to my conviction, and

I remain, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 23 December 1837.

(True copy.)
H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to Government of India, Governor General's camp.

Sir,

IN my communication of the 22d instant, I had the honour to report the steps which I had taken to detach the Candahar sirdars from Persia. Their disposition to withdraw from a Persian alliance exhibiting itself day by day more strongly, I have come to the determination of deputing Lieutenant Leech, without delay, to Candahar.

2. The instructions which I have given to that gentleman form No. 1 of the accompanying documents, and explain so fully the objects contemplated by his journey that I need not recapitulate them, and trust that they will be approved of by Government. In the absence of any instructions consequent on the Persian attack on Herat, it behoved me to be decided in the steps which I took.

No. 1.

3. Since the arrangements have been completed for Mr. Leech's departure, I have had the satisfaction to receive your Despatch of the 13th of November, where the great importance of cultivating a closer connexion than at present subsists between our Government and the rulers of Candahar are pointed out, though my former letters rendered it till now inadvisable. I observe also his Lordship's views regarding the desirability of not allowing Kamran to attack Candahar, and the stipulations to that effect which should, if possible, be made in any mediation that Mr. McNeill might undertake for the reconciliation of Herat and Persia for the protection of Candahar, and I had despatched an extract of that part of your letter to Captain Stoddart, who is believed to be at Herat with the Shah, on the part of Mr. McNeill.

4. In addition to the proofs of the change in the mind of the Candahar Sirdars, I annex two letters, Nos. 2 and 3, from that city, which will also further explain the state of things at Candahar. One of the communications is from the hand of a son of Poordil Khan, the late Chief of Candahar, and considered most authentic.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. M. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 26 December 1837.

No. 1.

To Lieutenant *R. Leech*, Assistant on a Mission, Cabool.

Sir,

THE state of affairs at Candahar rendering it highly desirable that an officer of the British Government should proceed there, it is conducive to the public interests that you repair to that city at your earliest convenience.

2. You are aware that the instructions under which I am acting on the duties assigned to me require that I should myself visit Candahar, but matters of importance have detained, and will continue to detain me in Cabool. I have also hitherto refrained from holding personal communication with the Chiefs of Candahar, because I was not satisfied, in the temper they have of late exhibited, that it would conduce to the public good. A very material change for the better has just occurred at Candahar, and it is with the intention of availing myself of it that I consider your presence most desirable.

3. You already know, from a perusal of the correspondence to and from Government (copies of which I annex), all that has passed regarding Candahar; you know that the Chief of that State had entered into a treaty, or the preliminaries of one, with Persia, had resolved to send his son to the Shah, and to aid his Majesty in his designs against Herat, and in addition to all, that an intercourse has been for some time past publicly carried on from Candahar with the Russian Ambassador at Tehran.

4. It was in vain that the Ameer of Cabool and myself pointed out to the authorities at Candahar that such a line of procedure involved their destruction. The arrival of the Shah of Persia before Herat has at last opened the eyes of Kohindil Khan to his danger. He has listened to advice, and informed me that he will not now send his son to Persia, that he has dismissed the Persian elchee, Kumber Ali Khan, and that he looks with earnest anxiety for the counsel and assistance of the British Government and his brother Dost Mahomed Khan. He states also that the Shah of Persia has sent back one of his emissaries, saying that he does not now require assistance from Candahar, but that after Herat has fallen he will order the Chiefs to wait on him at Furra, and command various services, among which will be an attack upon the Sikhs.

5. The importance of detaching Candahar from Persia is very great. It is one of the most commanding military positions in Asia, and stands at the head of the Bolan Pass, the best of all the routes that lead down upon the Indus from the west. It will therefore become your most special duty to expose to Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan and his brothers the worthlessness of all the promises which they have received from Persia, to point out to them that their only hope of keeping their own is by cultivating a good understanding with their Afghan countrymen and their brother at Cabool, in which case the British Government is ready at all times to befriend them and sympathise with them. You will particularly explain that it is our distinct and declared policy that we shall recognise and respect the independence of all the existing holders of power in this country, and that we have no design to subvert that of the Candahar Sirdars, or any one else, for the benefit of the Ameer of Cabool, or any of his brethren. Your conversation will be uniformly guided by this spirit.

6. On the 22d instant, when it first became known to me that the Chiefs of Candahar were disposed to desist from their intercourse with the west, you are aware that I addressed to them a letter under that date, in which I went so far as to state that I would come in person along with their brother to Candahar, and assist them, by every means in my power, even to the extent of paying their troops, if Persia threatened to subdue their chiefship. I have every reason to believe that such promise will require no active measures and be as a dead letter, but as an earnest, and a most substantial one, of our friendly feelings. You will not fail to make the most of it in your discourse, and I anticipate from it the result that the Candahar Chiefs will, in future, not permit themselves to be misled, or seek aught but the friendship of the British Government.

7. It is, however, possible that the reception of the Sirdars of Candahar, from their connexion with Persia, may raise up angry feelings in the mind of the Shah. His elchee, too, Kumber Ali Khan, whose long stay at Candahar must have exposed to him the weakness of the chiefship, may also excite his Majesty's cupidity to a conquest so easy as Candahar when deprived of assistance from Cabool, and it is therefore quite within the range of possibility if Herat be subdued, that the Persian army, or a detachment of it, should run down upon Candahar to add to the *éclat* of the young king's campaign in the next.

8. From your presence at Candahar, I see the means of counteracting both the intrigues and designs (if there be such) of Persia. It will be publicly avowed by you and in the letters which I give you, that you are an agent of the British Government. This will inspire Kohin Dil Khan with confidence, dissipate all his doubts on our proceedings at Cabool, should any remain, and make him more at ease regarding Persia. The very circumstance of your residing with the chief would give cover to the opinion that there was an understanding between him and the British Government, and consequently make the Shah of Persia hesitate before entering on any active measure against him. It will even, I think, prevent his directing the chief or any of his people to repair to Furra, as intimated. Should such a summons be sent to Candahar, you should get the chief to address a reply that he has sought the protection of the British Government, for I foresee future evils arising from even any show of allegiance to Persia on the part of Candahar.

9. Any connexion between Candahar and Persia is what it should be your zealous endeavour to check, but such a connexion as renders it incumbent on Candahar at the instigation

instigation of Persia to war with the Sikhs, is what the British Government will never permit. It recognises no right in the Shah of Persia to interfere in any way in its transactions between the Sikhs and Affghans, and such interference, if persisted in, will alter our friendly relations with Persia, and lead, in all probability, to very active counteracting measures. Everything therefore which you can do to keep Kohin Dil Khan in our interests should not be neglected.

10. If you have positive intelligence of the determination of the Shah of Persia to attack Candahar on account of the Chief's having connected himself with us, or on any other account, I request you will inform me with the utmost possible expedition, and I will repair in person to join you. You must remember always that from your presence twofold advantages arise; first, as your being the means of transmitting the earliest authentic information, and second, in checking, as far as in you lies, the evils anticipated from the proximity of a Persian force to Candahar.

11. It is probable that you will find an agent of Mihrab Khan, the Brahooee Chief of Kelat, at Candahar. As that ruler is in our interests, you should be attentive to him, and you should write to Kelat to tell Mihrab Khan of your presence at Candahar, and of your assurance that a good Mahomedan like him will never permit the Persians to overrun the country of the Affghans and the Brahooees. If you saw fit, you might also take an opportunity of writing an encouraging letter to Shere Mohomed Khan Huzara, the great supporter of Kamran, which with your being at Candahar, would strengthen his determination to resist Persia.

12. In the event of the Shah of Persia making up his differences with Kamran of Herât, advantages are also to be anticipated from your residence at Kandahar. These Chiefs, as you are aware, are at enmity with each other; but as Kamran is friendly to the British, he would not seek to disturb the tranquillity of Candahar while you remained with the Chief. If the Candahar Chief relies on his brother of Cabool, my impression is that Kamran could not in any way injure him, and nothing is more likely to bring about a friendly coalition in the Barukzye family, which will be beneficial to themselves and to us, than your pointing out at Candahar, as I have done in Cabool, how anxiously our Government wishes to see their family differences terminated. I think it, however, advisable that you should not in any way mix yourself up with the affairs of Herât, since I believe there is a British agent on the part of Mr. McNeill, our Ambassador in Persia, with the Shah. It will, however, be a good line of argument with Kohin Dil Khan to point out to him that he can only be safe from Herat by continuing friendly with Dost Mahamed Khan.

13. In your personal intercourse with the Sirdar of Candahar and his brothers, you should do everything in your power to please them. To Kohin Dil Khan himself, as the head of the house, you should show of course every respect; you should go to him without ceremony when sent for, dine with him when asked, ride out with him if he wishes it. You should also visit his brothers, Ruhim Dil and Mihr Dil, for it is not at Candahar as in Cabool. Here there is but one man in the country, the Ameer; but there you will have three different brothers, all of whom have a share in the management of affairs. Kohin Dil is described as an honest, good man, and a staunch Soonee; Ruhim Dil has some energy, and Mihr Dil has some talent.

14. You must expect to be very closely questioned regarding the intentions of the British Government in adjusting the differences between the Sikhs and Affghans. On this point you know all that has passed; that the matter is still in abeyance, that it is the most anxious desire of the British Government to see peace restored on its frontiers; and you will urge, as a telling argument, that the presence of a British mission has had the immediate effect of suspending hostilities, a happy indication of what may be ultimately settled. In communicating with the people, even the Chiefs and better orders of society, you will often have to encounter expressions very disparaging to the ruler of the Punjab, whom Mahomedan prejudice leads them to designate as an infidel, &c. You can only combat such people by giving no reply, and by never mentioning Maharajah Runjeet Sing but as the faithful ally and dearest friend (khassdost) of the British Government. At first such terms may not be perfectly intelligible, but in the end they are understood, and will even be quoted as proofs of British sincerity and the fixity of purpose which marks all our public acts.

15. Nothing will contribute more to the efficient discharge of the duties on which you are now proceeding, than an active use of cossids or messengers to gather information in every direction. You should never be without some one in the Shah's camp to bring intelligence of what are his movements. In using the public money for this individual item of expenditure, though it is incumbent upon you to be as economical as possible, yet a too parsimonious distribution of it to such useful men as bringers of intelligence need not be studied, and you will not hesitate therefore to incur those expenses which you deem necessary to advance the public interests.

Cabool, 25 December 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alexr. Burnes.*

(True copy.)
(signed) Alexander Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Meer Afzal Khan, son of the late Poordil Khan, of Kandahar, to the Address of Ameer Dost Mohomed Khan, received at Cabool on the 23d of December 1837.

A. C.,

ON the 13th Ramzan, or 16 days ago, the servant of the Sirdar (Kohin Dil) who had gone with the men of Kumbur Ali to the camp of Mohomed Shah, returned to Giraskh. He brought intelligence that the fort of Ghorian was taken by the Persians, and Shere Mohomed Khan and Halim Khan made prisoners. All the property of the fort has fallen into the hands of the Persians.

Leaving Ghorian in the charge of his own people, Mahomed Shah has besieged Herat.

Mohomed Shah sent 12,000 cavalry, under Hasam Khan Sirdar, to Kilah Now, the capital of the Huzaras. Shere Mohomed Khan, their Chief, along with his people, crossed the river of Bala Moorghab and entered the hills. When Hasam Khan reached Kilah Now, Shere Mohomed Khan attacked and defeated him. The Sirdar took shelter in some ruined fort, and is surrounded by the Huzaras. He has sent a petition to the Shah, soliciting the aid of some more troops.

Sham Shooddeen Khan has gone over to the Shah, and it is said that he has got 2,000 Persian horses to go to the Huzara country, and to seize their property, which he knows.

Mohomed Shah directed the servants of the Sirdar to wait upon him until he took Herât, but the men of Kumbur Ali, who was with him, advised his Majesty to discharge the men of the Sirdar, and bring Kumber Ali Khan with the son of the Sirdar. On this the Shah dismissed him.

The Shah gave him a message to deliver to the Sirdars of Candahar, that they should not trouble themselves to come to Herât, but that they should come to Farah, where he would be happy to see them, and order certain services, and to fight with the Sikhs.

The Shah had promised to give this man 200 ducats and a dress of honour, in case he brings Mohomed Amar Khan to the Persian camp.

Mohomed Shah has 100 guns, and 1,000 mules loaded with ducats.

Kumber Ali has been dismissed, and the Sirdar has sent along with him Alah Dad Khan Bar Currahee. The letter is sent on the part of the Sirdars. Mohomed Omar Khan has not been sent to the Shah.

The brothers or Sirdars are at Girshk.

The man was ready to wait on you, and my Mirza was not present; so I wrote these few lines myself. Excuse me for this presumption.

No. 3.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Moolla Nasir, in the employ of Kohin Dil Khan, Chief of Kandahar, to my Moonshee; received at Cabool, on the 24th December 1837.

A. C.,

THE letter which you sent to me kindly through Tahir came in the happy moment.

You had written to me that I should use my influence to discontinue the departure of Mohomed Omar Khan to Persia. Agreeably to your solicitation, I prevented Mohomed Omar Khan to proceed, and annihilated the engagements of the treaty contracted between the Sirdars and the Shah. The Sirdars have only sent Ala Dad Khan in company with Kumber Ali Khan for civility.

You had sent "message, that on dismissing the Persian elchi without Mohomed Omar Khan, one of the Englishmen might come to the Sirdars, and show a way that will prove beneficial to them. I send you this letter by express, and do not let there be any delay in the coming of a confidential person.

If Herât is taken by the Persians, great harm and loss will ensue from such neighbours in Afghanistan. As yet, the Persians have only taken Ghorian, by the treachery of the soldiers in the fort. They were of the Taimoori tribe, and wished to surrender the fort, and also deliver Shere Mohomed Khan and Halim Khan as prisoners to the Shah; and they did so.

For the last 25 days the Persians besieged Herât, and I do not think they will take it soon.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alexander Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

(Political Department.)

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 4th ultimo, transmitting copies of correspondence with the Meer of Koondooz, and noticing the opportunity it has afforded you of conciliating that chief by the deputation of Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood; communicating also the spontaneous offer made by him to restore all the manuscripts and books belonging to the late Mr. Moorcroft.

2. In reply, I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor General deems it fortunate that an opportunity has been offered for entering into a more friendly intercourse with the Chief of Koondooz; and his Lordship highly approves the prompt and judicious mode in which you availed yourself of the opening presented. You will, of course, report at your earliest convenience the result of the visit which may be made by the two gentlemen whom you had deputed.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Governor General of India.

Camp at Cawnpore,
27 December 1837.

(True copy.)
(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 5th ultimo, reporting having shown Hajee Hoossain Alli Khan's credentials to the Ameer of Cabool, through his secretary, who has pronounced them to be a fabrication, and the man an impostor.

2. The information now furnished will be communicated to the Bombay Government, who will be requested to apprise the individual in question that the artifice which he attempted to impose upon the British Government has been detected, and that it will be better for him to quit the British territories at the earliest practicable period.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

Camp at Cawnpore,
27 December 1837.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

(Political Department.)

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letters dated 10th, 15th, 16th, 18th, and 19th ultimo, respecting the latest intelligence regarding the designs of Persia eastward, the probable result of an attack on Herat, and the ulterior motives which led Persia to Herat.

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2. In reply, I am directed to acquaint you that the information now acknowledged is interesting, but that it is not sufficiently authentic to admit of any satisfactory conclusion being formed as to the real designs of Persia or Candahar, or to lead to any immediate apprehension that the integrity of Herat will be impaired, or that the present balance of power in Central Asia is likely to be disturbed. It is undoubtedly to be desired that a probable source of disturbances in the active animosities existing between the rulers of Herat and Candahar, should be removed. In this spirit, in all the communications which have been addressed to you, the importance has been indicated of marking our desire to respect the independence of Candahar, as well as that of the other Afghan States; and Mr. MacNeill has been requested, in using his good offices for the security of Herat, to endeavour to provide at the same time that the designs of Shah Kamran against Candahar shall not be further prosecuted.

3. It would be well if the conviction could be impressed on the Herat and Candahar Chiefs, that by their mutual contests they are furnishing the means of threatening and injuring both to Persia; a power which, if once able to establish itself in Afghanistan, would seek only its own aggrandisement in their ruin. The same reasoning will apply in, at least, an equal degree, to any attempt on the part of the ruler of Cabool to found upon your presence at his court any pretensions to superiority, or to an undue influence over the Chief of Candahar; and whilst his Lordship thinks that he can trace in some of your late despatches the existence of such a design in the mind of Dost Mahomed, he relies with perfect confidence upon your strict attention to the instructions which have already been given to you in regard to the just and important policy which it is the wish of the British Government to pursue. The means of acting, to a greater or less degree, upon these instructions, will, no doubt, arise in the course of your residence in these countries, and his Lordship will rejoice in seeing them judiciously and successfully used. He would further remark, that where so much of our information depends only on uncertain rumours, or means of communication not implicitly to be trusted, and where our direct influence is so extremely limited, the most studious caution is indispensably necessary; and his Lordship is of opinion that a visit of friendly intercourse from you, or from some member of your mission, designed to mark our recognition of that independence of the courts of Candahar and Herat, may become desirable at an earlier period than you seem to anticipate. In the precarious position in which Dost Mahomed is placed, our good offices for the peace and security of his remaining territory should be thankfully accepted by him; but from the moment that he may begin to found views of ambition and intrigue upon this tender of good offices, it must become your object to reassure those whom such views may affect.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

Camp at Cawnpoor,
27 December 1837.

(True copy.)

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th of September last, which only reached me yesterday evening, conveying the displeasure of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council regarding the unauthorised publication in the Bombay newspapers of a communication from Mr. Lord.

2. It is in vain that I urge, in excuse, the injudiciousness of friends, and that Mr. Lord was himself much concerned at the publication. I have taken means
to

to prevent a repetition of the practice, so deserving of censure; and I beg to assure his Lordship in Council that all the officers with me, as well as myself, are equally concerned at anything of the kind having arisen to call for his Lordship's notice.

I have, &c.

(signed) *A. Burnes,*

On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 27 December 1837.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

SINCE my communication of the 21st instant, regarding the progress of the Persians at Herat, I regret to have to report that the fortified town of Ghorian has surrendered. The Shah was unable to make any impression upon it with his artillery, but the governor of it, who is a half-brother of the Vuzeer of Herat, was compelled to give it up by some of the garrison. The result of its capture has been to afford an abundance of grain to the Persian army.

2. On the fall of Ghorian the Persians invested Herat, and letters 27 days' old from that city report that they had attempted to undermine one of the towers, but had hitherto met with no success, and that Kamran and his people were resolute in their opposition.

3. On the authority of Mr. Vitkovitch, I state that the Shah's army is under the guidance of Mr. Barowski, that Captain Stoddart is present on the part of Mr. MacNeill, and a Mr. Goutte on the part of the Russian Ambassador. The presence of Lieutenant Leech at Candahar will soon enable me to give more full and authentic particulars of what is passing in the Persian camp at Herat, and I do not now forward a voluminous correspondence from Candahar, as the results of it all are above given, and many of the reports are inconsistent with each other.

I have, &c.

(signed) *A. Burnes,*

On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 30 December 1837.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp.

(Political Department.)

Sir,

I do myself the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the accompanying extract of a letter from Mr. Lord. Though the communication is not official, it contains details regarding the reception of that gentleman and Mr. Wood at Koondooz, which will, I believe, prove acceptable to Government.

I have, &c.

(signed) *A. Burnes,*

On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 1 January 1838.

EXTRACT of a Letter from Dr. Lord, dated Koondooz, 7 December 1837.

WE left Kabul on the 15th of last month, and arrived here in perfect health and safety on the 4th of the present, having experienced no difficulty worth mentioning on the way. On the 21st we had reached Bamian, and next day entered Meer Moorad Beg's territories, from which moment the Mirza Budna took on himself the duties of a mohmandar, and continued to perform them with the utmost regularity and attention. We continued on the direct road as far as Kooran, which, being his jagheer, we halted there one day to oblige him, and had the satisfaction to receive there a letter from the Meer, expressing his regret at the difficulties he heard we had experienced in our first attempt at crossing Hindoo Koosh, and his satisfaction at hearing that we had now safely reached his country. There was a letter from Atma Dewan Beggee, requesting we would send him full information of our movements, and when we might be expected. To this I despatched an answer, but our cossid delayed so much on the road, that we had reached Alnabad, within one stage of Koondooz, before he had delivered his letter. In consequence, on our arrival at Alnabad there was no one to meet us, as had been intended; the Mirza expressed much disappointment at this, and requested leave to precede us next morning, saying he was certain the cossid could not have arrived. He did so, and about four miles from Koondooz we were met by the Dewan Beggee himself, who, on receiving from the Mirza news of our approach, hurried out to receive us with whatever horsemen were at hand. We afterwards learnt it was intended the Meer's brother (my patient) should have come, but he happened to be asleep when the Mirza arrived. He came, however, to visit us on the very evening of our arrival at a most comfortable house of the Atma's, where we dismounted, and which has been placed entirely at our disposal. We received also a congratulating message from the Meer, desiring us to consider the country our own. This was followed by a present of tea and sweetmeats; and next morning, having heard that we had used native costume on our journey, he sent each of us a full suit of Uzbek clothing, and a present in money of 200 rupees; he also intimated that we might name our own time for paying him a visit, which, as we required a day to prepare, we engaged for the following morning. In the evening I had a long visit with Atma, who came after dinner, and sat with me more than three hours, during which I took occasion to explain to him the objects of your mission as far as they could be interesting to him; mentioned the views of our Government in opening the navigation of the Indus, and their intention of establishing a fair somewhere on its banks. He appeared much pleased and struck with the intelligence, and made many inquiries respecting the rate of tolls, duties, &c. I mentioned Runjeet Sing's fleet of 20 boats going to Bombay and Sind, and that our Government, as an encouragement, had promised they should enter free of all duties.

Just as I had written this, Atma called, and brought with him a letter of yours that had been round by the way of Khooloom, and had only just been forwarded by his agent, Chumnadass. It was opened and read in my presence, and he was evidently most highly gratified by the expressions of friendship it contained, and which, I assured him, were no more than what you really felt. He has desired me, in return, to give his best salaam, and assure you that himself and everything he has shall be at our service as long as we remain here. But to continue my journal.

Next day, December 6th, we went to wait on the Meer; he appeared to us quite a plain, good old man; came outside his door and down his steps to receive us; gave us his hand, invited us in, and placed us at the top of the hall, while he himself sat down at one side, and the few of his courtiers who were allowed to sit occupied the other. The greater number stood below a couple of pillars which divided the upper from the lower end of the hall. The Meer then inquired for your health, and said it was an honour (sirfraz) that Feringees had come to visit him. After a little conversation, I produced your letter, which was read, and which he pronounced at its termination to be "Bisyar mihrbani." I then said you had sent some presents, of which, though not worthy of him, you begged his acceptance. This, he said, was quite unexpected; our coming he looked on as a great thing, and had never looked for anything more. On the presents being produced, he examined them each with much attention, appeared much pleased, and, as I heard afterwards from the Mirza, was highly satisfied. He then resumed the conversation; inquired about the relative size of Feringistan and Hindoostan, the nature of our power in the latter, and whether it had any other king than ours. This enabled me to mention the kings whom we had pensioned, with which he seemed much struck; and one of his Mirzas explained to him that it was the policy of the English, when they conquered a country, to keep in places the "nokurs" whom they found in it, by which means they avoided driving people to despair, and more easily attached them to their Government. He then inquired whether the Russians or the English were the cleverest, to which the same Mirza (a Peshawary, as I have since learned) at once replied, that the English were far the cleverest people in all Feringistan—an assertion which I did not feel myself called on to contradict. After a little further conversation we took our leave; and I next went to visit my patient, and regret to say, his case is almost hopeless, being amaurosis (gutta serena) complete, and of eight years' standing, in one eye; incomplete, and of 18 months' duration, in the other. I have fairly informed him that I consider the former quite gone, and that I have but slender hopes of benefiting the

the latter ; but that as his general health, and particularly his digestive powers, seemed much impaired, I shall require some time to improve these before I give him a definite answer regarding the chances of recovering his eyesight. On this understanding I have commenced his treatment.

(True extract.)

(signed)

A. Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

IN continuation of my reports regarding the attack of the Persians on Herat, I have the honour to forward, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, two letters, the one from Mr. Lord at Koondooz, and the other from Candahar, conveying the latest intelligence regarding this subject. I have not, of course, had time to hear from Lieutenant Leech.

Nos. 1 & 2.

2. The information now transmitted from these opposite quarters is corroborative of the fact that Kamran finds himself in an alarming situation at Herat, but the strength of the place and the season of the year are much in his favour. I can only account for the fact of a portion of the Persian army marching towards Maimuna, which is particularly mentioned by Mr. Lord, in a scarcity of forage near the Shah's camp.

I have, &c.

(signed)

A. Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 11 January 1838.

No. 1.

EXTRACTS of a Letter from *Dr. Lord* to Captain *Burnes*, dated Koondooz,
27 December 1837.

ON the 17th, a man arrived here bringing a letter from Kamran, saying that his town was surrounded by the Persian army, and begging assistance. The reply of Moorad Beg was, that there were two other kings in Turkistan greater than he (viz., Bokhara and Kokan); that if they joined, he would give every assistance in his power, but that alone he was not able to compete with Persia. The letter said that the Persians had captured a small fort on each side of the town, and were preparing to form the siege. The messenger left with his answer next day, and we have since had a report here that Kamran has sent his own son to Bokhara. This, Atma says, is not the case, but adds that a "kalun sirdar" has been sent. The only auxiliary Kamran appears as yet to have found is the Khan of Orgunje, who, it is reported, has sent 12,000 horse.

The day after this message was despatched I visited the Meer. He spoke freely of the advance of the Persians, whom he called Kaffirs, and said if Musulmans would only hold together, they need not fear any one. I replied, the Uzbekhs were sufficient, without any foreign aid, for the defence of Toorkistan; but he said they were beyond all other disunited, and that nothing but a most urgent danger could induce them to make common cause.

While writing, Meerza Rahem (the Meer's chief Meerza), came in; and, as I saw he was full of news, I sat down to hear what he had to say, and his news is important. Late last night the brother of Khan Bucha (Chief of Muzar) rode in here express; and though it was after dark, had an immediate interview with the Meer. A division of the Persian army 13,000 men, with eight guns (but the numbers are of course exaggerated) had taken the direction of Meimuna, as the plan of the war seems to be to waste the whole country round before actually forming the siege of Herat. The Meimuna people, mustering 10,000, went as far as the Moorghaub at Murochak to meet this force, and have been totally defeated. The Meer of Meimuna ran without once stopping until he shut himself up in his fort, where he is momentarily expecting the Persians. He has sent ambassadors all round to ask aid; one had come to Muzar, and the Muzar man had immediately forwarded the

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intelligence,

intelligence, so that yesterday, the 26th, was the eighth day from its leaving Meimuna; they further added, as "gup," piece of news, that the Persians had sent a detachment against Kandahar, and another against Merwe, which latter was to be attacked unless the King of Bokhara immediately declared himself a friend. The man ended his story by asking, as a matter concerning the safety of all Toorkistan, that Moorad Beg should at once send off assistance to Meimuna. To this the Meer replied, "Even if I wished, how could I go there? Balkh is closed; Sirupool is closed; Akoha is closed; what road shall I go?" To this the Meerza added from himself, that as to the Meer going anywhere out of his own territories, it was impossible; for what were the men to live on? They could go "allemany," he said, when each man took three days' barley in his khoorjun (saddle bags) and a little "kroot" for himself; but when it became necessary to provision for a ten or twelve days' march, it could not be done, because the Meer had no treasury.

I was about going to Huzunt Enam myself, and taking my patient with me (it is his government); but this news to-day makes me doubt whether I had not better stay here, at least until we see how matters go, as here I may be able occasionally to send you a little information, whereas there I should be quite out of the way of it. If the Persians take Meimuna, of which there seems to be no reasonable doubt, there is nothing earthly to prevent their taking Balkh, and then all this country is at their mercy; there is neither hill nor fort to protect it. I mentioned this to the Meerza to-day, who said, "Very true, but then we have our hills behind us." All eyes at present, however, are turned towards the King of Bokhara, and if he really has an ambitious disposition and a warlike turn, he might without difficulty put himself now at the head of all Toorkistan; but I doubt if he has the ability. The King of Kokoon has never recovered his fight with the Chinese, and Moorad Beg, as I have shown, is totally powerless out of his own territories. I heard this evening that 6,000 of the Orgunge auxiliaries formed part of the Meimuna army which suffered so complete a defeat at Murochut; if this be so, Kamran is left almost alone to fight his battle.

(True extracts.)

(signed)

A. Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

INTELLIGENCE from Candahar regarding Herat, received on 7 January 1838, at Cabool.

It is now forty days since Herat is under siege, and all communication between that city and Candahar has been stopped for a long time.

Yar Mahomed Khan, the Vizeer of Herat, has sent an elchee to the Sirdar of Candahar with presents of two horses, and has urged them to proceed along with their army to Furah, where they will be furnished with a considerable sum of money to defray their expenses of the journey. In case they are not inclined to assist against the Persians, they are solicited to abandon the design of becoming friendly to Mahomed Shah.

The elchee is also the bearer of this message, that if the Sirdars are contracting friendship with the Shah in the hope of getting Herat as a present from his Majesty, Yar Mahomed Khan would be glad to deliver Herat to them, rather than give it up to the Persians.

News has arrived from Furah that Kamran summoned all the nobles and commanders of his army, and told them that if they were desirous to give up Herat to the Persians, they should inform him before, that he may quit it with his family, and seek some other shelter. This moved the hearts of the courtiers much, who swore to fight against the Persians until their heads rolled under the feet of their master.

The people of Iam, who speak Persian, and are in the service of Kamran, sent a message to deceive the Persians, that they should storm the city at night, when they will meet no opposition. The Shah, relying on the message of the Iamis, assaulted the city, where his troops were received with shots. Having this favourable opportunity, Yar Mahomed, with 2,000 men, came out of the city, and attacked the rear of the assailants. Yar Mahomed Khan, after killing many of the Persians, returned to Herat in possession of four guns of the Shah.

Mahomed Shah has sent Shir Mahomed Khan, the brother of Vuzier Yar Mahomed Khan, along with his family to Meshid, and has kept his son with the camp.

The Sirdars are all in Candahar, and talk of sending Sirdar Rahim Dil Khan to Herat, and following him after the fast Ramzan is finished.

(True translation.)

(signed)

A. Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed)

H. Torrens,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE NOW the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the report called for by you in your communication of the 5th September 1836, regarding the establishment of an entrepôt for the Indus trade, and other highly important subjects connected with it.

2. Having fully stated the views that have occurred to me of the defect in existing arrangements, and the means of their improvement, I need not trouble his Lordship in Council with any further remarks. I beg, however, to draw attention to the 21st paragraph of the report, which exhibits the beneficial effects produced by the countenance of the British Government on the trade of these countries.

3. As it was originally intended that this should be a joint report by Captain Wade, Lieutenant Mackeson, and myself, and circumstances prevented its being made, I shall transmit a copy of my own report to both these officers, and also to the Governor General's Agent for the Affairs of Sind.

I have, &c.

Cabool, 18 January 1838.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

REPORT on the Establishment of an Entrepôt, or Fair, for the Indus Trade.
By Captain *Burnes*.

1. BY desire of the Government of India, I now proceed to record the result of my inquiries and observations regarding "the most convenient place for the establishment of a mart or entrepôt, with reference to all the branches of trade proceeding up, down, or across the Indus, and the means best suited for the establishment of an annual fair, in furtherance of the plan for promoting commerce by way of this river, providing at the same time for the security of the merchant and a system of moderate duties."

2. It may be observed at the outset, that in the foundation of a periodical fair there is no innovation of established usage; the system is known to most Asiatic nations, has been followed up with eminent success in Russia, exists in full force to this day in Toorkistan, North of Hindoo Koosh, is not unknown in some parts of the Cabool dominions, and has long been familiar to the natives of India. The celebrated fair at Hurdwar will immediately occur; and, besides it, numerous "melas," or assemblages, take place in different parts of the country. The performance of a religious ceremony, or the casual collection of a body of people for any purpose, would most naturally suggest to the merchant that the opportunity was favourable both for the sale and purchase of goods; and to this, no doubt, we owe these institutions, which were at one time equally common to our own country. In the altered state of society in Europe, which has brought people to congregate in towns where every necessary and luxury of life may each day, without inconvenience, be procured, fairs have become less useful; but in Asia everything yet contributes to give them vigour, and they flourish as the only means by which the nations distant from each other, and the population of which is often widely spread, can be readily supplied with articles of home and foreign produce.

3. Although there has not been hitherto any such establishment on the Indus, the materials exist ready for the purpose; and had the political state of these countries admitted, we should long ere this have had a flourishing fair on the banks of this river. The merchants who carry on the trade from India to Cabool are principally Lohanee Afghans, whose country lies westward of the river between Dera Ismael Khan and Cabool, and they now make an annual journey to and from these places, bringing with them the productions of Afghanistan, and taking back

those of India and Europe. Being a pastoral race, they are their own carriers ; and being brave, they require no protection but their own arms. They leave the ragged mountains of the west at Drabund, and assemble at Dera Ismael Khan, where they dispose of some of their property ; others proceed lower down the Indus to Dera Ghazee Khan, or cross to Mooltan and Bhawulpoor, where their wants, in a return supply of goods, are sometimes to be procured. Failing this, the Lohanees pass into India, and even to Calcutta and Bombay. Their resort to these distant marks is solely attributable to inability to supply their wants nearer home ; and while it would be the business of a fair to effect this, the site of it is indicated by the names of those four places above noted, Dera Ismael, Dera Ghazee, Mooltan, and Bhawulpoor. Other localities, Mittun, or Mittuncote, on the south, and Kala Bagh on the north, also suggest themselves ; and I shall now proceed to state the eligibility or otherwise of those different localities as an entrepôt of trade. The whole of them have been particularly described in reports already forwarded, and it will not be necessary to repeat details on the present occasion ; it will only be required to refer to the sketch of the caravan rulers west of the Indus.

4. The highest navigable point of the Indus throughout the year is Kala Bagh, above the latitude 33° north, about 80 miles from Attock, and the same distance from Dera Ismael. There is no doubt that boats can ascend to Attock for eight or nine months of the year, and even to Peshawur ; but the Indus between Attock and Kala Bagh, always narrow, is rapid and dangerous during the swell, though the downward navigation is never interrupted. Kala Bagh, therefore, is the point to which this river can be ascended with advantage, and below it we must seek a site for commerce. That town itself carries great celebrity from its salt mines, but it is situated in a barren country apart from the great caravan roads ; though there is a line of communication from it, or rather Muckud, 28 miles higher up, by Jajee and Toorie, to Cabool, through the valley of Bungush, which is now frequented. Light duties and safety from the Khyberees compensate for the inconveniences of an unfrequented road. This line can only be considered as a partial outlet from the Indus and Kala Bagh, in consequence not adapted for our purpose.

5. Dera Ismael, which succeeds Kala Bagh, has an advantageous position, and is, besides, the market town of the Lohanee merchants. It is, however, a small place, and subject to alteration, from the inundations of the river, which a few years ago swept away the entire town. It is nearer to the great commercial city of Umritsur than any of the other places on the Indus, and lies on the road between it and Cabool. This tract, however, is not much frequented, except in the extensive export of the native fabrics of Jung and Meengana, which consist of carse white cloth. European goods are not in general sent by this road ; for the merchant, besides avoiding the desert tract between the Jelum and Indus, derives the supply of goods for Cabool and Toorkistan from marts below Umritsur. Though Dera Ismael covers the road from that city, it does not on that account possess any paramount advantages ; for the object being to promote a trade by the river, and the present supply being procured from the towns lower down, they possess superior advantages, without casting Umritsur out from the line ; Dera Ismael Khan must yet be considered one of the most eligible sites on the Indus.

6. The town of Dera Ghazee Khan possesses, however, the first importance in the Upper Indus ; it is itself a manufacturing place, and it leads to the commercial towns of Mooltan and Bhawulpore, which adjoin it, and now furnish many articles for the Cabool market. It is about equidistant from Umritsur and the opulent town of Shikarpoor in Sinde, so that it embraces the trade of the Punjab and India, of Candahar and Cabool, and the more remote capitals dependent on them, Herat and Bokhara. The goods of India may be sent to it by rivers as far as Mooltan and Ooch, and the narrow neck of land which lies between these places and Dera Ghazee may either be crossed by camels, which are both cheap and abundant, or the Indus itself may be used as their channel of transport for articles that are bulky, and in which any particular expedition is not sought. From Bombay to Dera Ghazee the water communication is open, and from the Upper Indus the intercourse is equally available. Many roads in former times also led down upon this town from the west, and time and peace will, in all probability, re-open these now forsaken lines, which will thus concentrate in one point

point all that can be desired. In addition, Dera Ghazee itself is a populous and thriving town, agreeably situated in a grove of date trees, and not liable to be flooded by the Indus. With a fertile soil and an open airy neighbourhood, the necessities of life are to be purchased cheaper than in any other place on the Indus, and the supply may be increased from the adjacent districts.

7. Of Mooltan and Bhawalpoor I do not speak as sites for an emporium, since they do not lie on the Indus. They both stand on rivers which can be approached from the north and south, and very near Dera Ghazee, the one being distant but 45, and the other 80 miles. Their vicinity confers further advantages on Dera Ghazee, and were Mooltan situated on the Indus, it would certainly be a preferable locality, but as it stands, it is destitute of the advantages enjoyed by the Lower Dera.

8. There is yet another position, and which at first sight appears the most favourable of all the towns on the Indus, Mittuncote. With this impression, I entered on the subject on which I am now reporting, for Mittun stands at the confluence of the Indus, with the five rivers of the Punjab. An examination of this locality led me at once to abandon every hope of its suiting the purposes intended. The place itself stands about two miles from the Indus on an elevated spot, but the country around is flooded by the inundation, and either under water or a marsh for half the year, when it is both hot and sickly. Mittun is a small town with a population of about 4,000 souls, and though a site not far from it to the west, and much preferable, might be found; still, the objection of being unable to bring boats close up, of branches of the river as well as a damp soil intervening, are positive, and exclude Mittun, however well adapted it may be in a geographical point of view, from being a chosen spot on the Indus.

9. It will be thus seen that Dera Ghazee Khan has advantages above all other places for being the entrepôt of the Indus trade, and that the only other locality which can share the preference, is Dera Ismail Khan: this advantage arising from its upper situation on the banks of the river.

10. Next to the site, the season of the year at which the bazar should be held must be considered. The Lohanee and all other traders descend from Bokhara and Cabool about the month of November, and set out on their return in the end of April. This, therefore, indicates the time of assembly to be between these months, which will fix the cold weather as the season, and the whole of January as the month. A later date than this would prove beneficial in the upward navigation of the river, which, from the nature of the winds, is most readily accomplished in spring and summer, but it is necessary that the merchants should reach Cabool in June; and, besides, taking advantage of the season, and avoiding the heat in the valley of the Indus, all procrastination which would interfere with established usage is to be avoided. A month or two earlier of the fall of the year would suit the inclinations of the western merchants even better than January, for it would relieve them from their anxieties as to procuring what was wanted; since they might still, if disappointed, go into India and return in time for the caravan to Cabool. The delay, after purchase, is to them no very great inconvenience, for their families and flocks are with them and they feel themselves at home. Still January is about the healthiest time of the year; and ensures, in consequence, a regular communication with Shikarpoor and all other places.

11. The interest which the Government of India has always exhibited for the improvement of commerce by the line of the Indus, has been made known to the mercantile community, but the British must appear directly in concert before any fair or bazar can be established with success, the superintendence of a British officer on the spot is imperiously necessary. Dera Ghazee Khan happens to be in a foreign territory, but the ruler of Lahore, if actuated by the spirit already evinced, will certainly make no objection to allow the same system which has been pursued in the Lower Indus to be followed up here. The place should be made neutral ground. The agent will then be invested with powers which will prove of the highest benefit. The protection of property, the police of the bazar, the regulation of its location, cleanliness and supply, the collection of the duties that may be fixed, should all be managed with a competent establishment by him. A military force, probably a regiment of infantry, would be quite sufficient to ensure confidence, and it is immaterial whether Maharaja Runjeet Singh or the British Government furnish it, if its services are left to be regulated by the British officer who superintends. It must also become an especial part of his duty to adjust all disputes that may arise between the traders, and in the event of any one dying

without heirs, to take possession of the property and account for it according to usage, when those entitled to it may make their appearance. A regulation of this description in Russia has given great popularity to the system pursued in that empire.

12. It might be considered premature to enter upon any arrangement for the erection of booths or sheds for the accommodation of the merchant, but in the event of success attending these measures, it will certainly become a necessary duty. This too must be in the hands of the superintendent, who will arrange for their being put up and removed, for the rent leviable and the distribution of merchandise in different quarters, according to the usage in Asiatic countries. It will also be necessary to erect warehouses of a substantial nature to house such property as the merchant may leave behind him either from inclination, inability to transport it, or death; and this establishment will likewise require the vigilant superintendence of the British agent. The neighbourhood of Dera Ghazee presents many places adapted for the purpose, but the site should be between the river and the town, and as near the former as possible. The style of building in these parts is with sun-dried bricks and a wooden frame-work, so that arrangement might easily be adopted which combined economy and utility with beauty.

13. The residence of the agent at the fair should, on every account, be permanent throughout the year, and his undivided time devoted to the subject. All references sent to him from any direction would thus be satisfactorily answered, and in the end might become the means of communicating the nature of the probable demand and the necessary supply so as to ensure a good sale, and the merchants against loss. A watchful vigilance such as this, would materially forward the interests of commerce, and petty quarrels that now arise among the chieftains, such as that which exists at the present time, between Bhawalpoor and Mooltan, regarding indigo, would be no more heard of. Reciprocity would then become general. The very circumstances of the officer's presence will also produce the most happy effects in the neighbouring countries. He will have it in his power to conciliate the hill tribes, the Muzarees and Boogtees, to open a safe road through their country to Shikarpoor, which is to be done without difficulty, for they are friendly disposed to the British Government, and ready to meet its wishes. They and the mountaineers to the west, might even in time, if properly managed, supersede the necessity of the presence of regular troops, for a degree of reliance on these half civilised tribes is almost always rewarded by faithful service, and the Muzarees, once notorious for their piracies on the Indus, may yet become like the Bheels of Southern India, a protection against plunder and robbery. Should these expectations not be realised, it is not to be doubted that the near residence of a British officer will deter them from acts which are at variance with the tranquillity of the country and the well-being of society.

14. The advantages of a resident superintendent being manifest, it seems most desirable that he should be relieved from attending to the navigation or wants of those proceeding by the river in the issue of the necessary papers. Passports may still be granted by him and by the agents at the head and mouth of the river, but the seeing to the execution should be entrusted to a distinct officer, who should, if possible, be a nautical man, and charged with the superintendence of the navigation, as the officer is of the fair. This is a matter of the highest importance, for notwithstanding the arrangements that have already been made, I myself was applied to by one man at Khyrpoor, Bhawalpoor and Mittun, or at three different places, for one passport before he could move his cargo, it having been necessary to withdraw the present British agent to perform a necessary duty near Lodiana. This officer should have free permission to proceed from Attock to the sea, ought to act in concert with the superintendent of the fair, and under the guidance of the agents of the Governor General, while the native officers along the river should be directed to attend to his orders. If it was deemed advisable, and it certainly appears very much so, he could organise an establishment of pilots along the Indus, which would cause no expense to Government, and be hailed as a boon by the community, who would readily contribute to its support. All regulations also regarding the hire of boats should be under him, as well as full permission to examine their condition and reject those which are not river-worthy. The merchant would thus be secure against imposition and loss, and the boatman would take a pride in his vessel, since regular employment and his lawful hire would be ensured to him. In process of time too, we should thus acquire a complete influence over all the people on the Indus itself and along its

its line, and with this, such an accurate knowledge of the river itself as to suggest those improvements which experience never fails to point out.

15. The treaties already made provide for the levy of duties on the Indus, from the sea to Mittun. The navigation from that place to Attock should at once be arranged, and as the distance is about equal, the toll of 240 rupees per boat now leviable may be doubled, sharing the aliquot parts of it, according to the distance which the boats may ascend. If Dera Ghazee Khan becomes the site of the fair, 60 rupees must be added to the 240, so that the total leviable from the sea will be 300 rupees. The additional toll will, of course belong to Runjeet Singh, since the river passes through his territories. This portion of the arrangement is more simple than the adjustment of the duties at the fair. For the first few years these should be trifling, if not altogether remitted, but a scale must be fixed for their ultimate levy. At present, goods pay a tax at Dera Ghazee Khan according to weight, which averages on cloth and indigo an *ad valorem* duty from 1½ to 2½ per cent. This is, however, a mere transit duty, and differs materially from what the State would be entitled to if the goods were disposed of. In Russia, the duties leviable are four per cent. on entering the fair, and one per cent. on quitting it, which might be introduced as the standard at Dera Ghazee Khan if no reasonable objection presents itself.

16. Since it becomes an object of high importance that the merchants proceeding to this emporium should have the means of procuring a return, so that they may avail themselves of the spare tonnage of their vessels; it would be well to consider how far the British Government can afford to admit into its territories the rock salt of Kala Bagh and the Punjab. This is a point on which I cannot be supposed to judge, but it certainly appears feasible enough, and even consistent with the regulations regarding the monopoly, to admit mineral salt into India, imposing upon it like duties. The prime cost of salt at the mine, or on the sea-shore, is a mere trifle; but the one article is far superior to the other, and in course of time, we might see vessels sailing from Bombay, with cargoes partly made up of Punjab salt for the Liverpool and London markets, instead of storing mud and stones to be cast away in road-making at Blackwall and the docks. Salt being a valuable commodity, would hardly appear to require any remission of toll.

17. Grain is an article which the fertile banks of the Indus and Punjab rivers admit of being largely exported; but the present treaties grant no privileges to encourage the transports of this bulky article beyond sea, and are consequently tantamount to prohibition. An arrangement should immediately be entered upon with all the powers to free grain of every description from all but a nominal duty. So long as profit is not derivable, none of it will be exported, except from one section of the river to another; while a revised system will be productive of advantages alike to the community of Western India and the growers in the Indus. Grain, particularly rice, is now extensively exported from the delta of the Indus, and a light toll, never exceeding 24 rupees per boat, is levied; so that it would only be in unison with the already established usage to extend this benefit throughout the course of the river. One per cent. *ad valorem*, would suffice to check irregularity, and be a fair tax on this necessary of life; but even this might be reduced according to the distance from which the grain is brought, since the harvest of the Punjab has to be transported to the delta of the Indus, before it can compete with what is raised so much nearer the market. If an article of value cannot be found, a coarser description furnishes a return which, though it be inferior, promotes the good of trade. This is apparent in the commerce which America now carries on with India.

18. Without instancing other articles in which it would be advisable to lighten the duties, it has occurred to me, as a general proposition, that it would be most desirable to remit one half of the toll to vessels which had already paid the full amount in ascending or descending the Indus. This will place the parties at both extremities of the river on a par with each other and encourage them, instead of breaking up or selling their boats, at the termination of a profitable trip, to set out upon another, even though it be less advantageous. If some such arrangement is not made, many of the boats will return empty, and no duty can be then leviable on their passage, which subjects the rulers to loss, and prevents the scheme coming to maturity. It might, however, be provided, that the upward and downward voyage must be performed in the course of one year, that is in 12 months, to entitle the merchant to the remission suggested.

19. Whatever plan or arrangements may be finally adopted for the removal of obstacle to this trade, it will be necessary not only to promulgate them by means of the gazettes in India, but to have them translated into Persian, Punjabee, Shikarporee, and Sindee, and extensively circulated in the countries themselves. A lamentable ignorance exists among the native merchants regarding the intentions of Government in opening the Indus. Some few individuals, who have had intercourse with the European officers, are aware of the designs in view; but the bulk of the community are informed, and what is further, consider that the regulations as stated, are intended for the benefit of foreigners to their exclusion. The natives of Sindh in particular fear to embark capital, since they believe they would not be entitled to, or rather could not ensure the same protection as a strange merchant from India or the Punjab. This impression would be removed by having the regulations that are fixed upon made public, under the authority of the rulers themselves, followed up further by personal explanation from the agents of the British Government. The Ameers of Sindh, and all the other powers, are guaranteed by treaty from any interference with their usage regarding internal trade; but they are not, on that account, at liberty to prevent the merchants of their country, should they wish it, from profiting by the Indus being opened, which would certainly be an exclusion of the natives in behalf of foreigners. This is a subject which requires explanation, particularly in Sindh.

No. 1.

No. 2.

No. 3.

20. The free navigation of the Indus will be productive of two advantages distinct from each other, the one a more ready supply of one part of its banks with the productions of the other, the next a means of transport by water, for a considerable distance, of the goods of India and Europe, to Cabool and Toorkistan. The first branch of this commerce, or the internal trade, will probably continue in the hands of those resident on the river, and the speculations already entered upon show it to be a profitable kind of commerce. The latter is, however, by far the most important, and which it is our object to encourage. To form a more perfect idea of the articles in demand, two lists are annexed; the first (No. 1), naming the goods which at present reach the city of Cabool from Russia, by way of Bokhara, distinguishing those which are sent on to India; the second (No. 2), descriptive of the articles which are now brought to Afghanistan from India and Europe. I also add a third list (No. 3), detailing the productions which are sent from the Afghan country to India. Many articles not now enumerated may find their way in due time to these lists, but they are, I believe, at present complete, while descriptions and specimens of them, together with the probable profit, have also been prepared for the information of the community in different papers, about to be or already forwarded.

21. In the various proposals which I have suggested it has been my endeavour to avoid all unnecessary interference with the merchant. The principles of trade are, in these days, too well understood to admit of any useless interposition on the part of the State. We may aid it without caressing, and best advance its interests by removing obstructions and leaving it to run its course. If the success of other such schemes is an encouragement, it is indeed to be found in what is now passing in the Russian Empire. Fairs have been founded there in the memory of man, at which business to the amount of 200,000,000 of roubles,* or about 10,000,000/ sterling is now transacted, and this is even on the increase. The removal of the great fair of Maccaire to Nejnei has only served to give commerce a greater impetus, and if Dera Ghaza Khan is not found suitable, on experiment, another site may easily be found. With light duties for the few first years, this fair cannot fail to prosper, and goods will even desert the natural track if their owner can secure a more ready sale and a smaller profit. The continental system of Napoleon led to Russia being supplied with English goods by way of India, Cabool and Bokhara, which is supported by the authority of a Russian writer and the concurring testimony of native merchants. The channel is therefore not new, and as some of the fairs of Russia are, in a great degree, supported by the trade with Central Asia, a part of that trade will certainly be drawn to the nearer mart on the Indus and contribute to the success of this undertaking. A banking establishment may be said to be at hand to aid it. Shikarpore is, at this day, the focus of all the money transactions of Western Asia, and it is but 300 miles distant from the site of the proposed bazar, and between it and Bombay, the

* Mr. Laveau and Captain Cochrane.

the great mart of Western India. Above all, the interest now exhibited by the British Government in encouraging this commerce must prove of the highest advantage. The effect of its having sent a mission to Cabool has already become so apparent that no less than five caravans, with shawls, have arrived from Cashmere since our reaching Cabool, while such a briskness has been unknown for years; and what is still more remarkable, the merchants have come with a knowledge that the duties have been raised sevenfold. They express themselves universally ready to make the additional sacrifice of duty, and publicly avow that the arrangement of Government, in deputing an agent to encourage commerce, has inspired them with this renewed confidence.

22. In conclusion, it is desirable to recapitulate the contents of the foregoing report, and to state briefly the propositions contained in it, which are as follows:—

1st. That the establishment of a fair on the Indus is agreeable to the usage of Asiatic nations, and therefore a very desirable measure.

2d. That the best site for such a mart, with reference to all the branches of trade, is Dera Ghazee Khan.

3d. That the season most suitable is the month of January, during which, or part of it, the assemblage should take place.

4th. That the site should be made neutral ground, and the fair managed, in all its branches, by an agent of the British Government, who should be appointed superintendent, and through whom all duties should be collected, places of accommodation erected, and arrangements made for the security of property of the absent or present.

5th. That the superintendence of the navigation of the river, and the due execution of what is required from the powers on it, should be vested in a different officer, who should, if possible, be a nautical man, and through whom a pilot establishment might in time be formed.

6th. That the Indus should be thrown open to Attock on the principles already acted upon, and the amount of toll and duties fixed according to a given scale.

7th. That if consistent with what is due to the State, the mineral salt of the Punjab should be admitted into British India under certain limitations, its export contributing to the public good as a return trade.

8th. That the toll on boats laden with grain should be revised, and a lighter assessment fixed with the same end.

9th. That half toll should only be levied on all return boats, which would place the merchants at both extremities of the river on a par, and also promote commerce.

10th. That all the arrangements entered upon, besides being published in the gazettes of India, should be translated into the languages of the country and made known to the native merchants: first, through the rulers on the Indus, and then the agents of the British Government; a lamentable ignorance now existing of all that is passing.

11th. That the mercantile community may judge of existing state of the trade, the articles in demand and procurable in return, three lists of them are annexed, the nature of the profit and other particulars being furnished elsewhere.

12th. That the state of the fairs in Russia, the business done at them being on the increase, holds out encouragement to the merchant, that with the facilities existing, and a bank at Shikarpoor, a portion of that commerce will be diverted to the banks of the Indus. This is illustrated by a striking instance of the effects already produced in Cabool from the interest which the British Government has now exhibited in the encouragement of trade.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 18 January 1838.

No. 1.

List of Articles, mostly Russian, found in the Bazar of Cabool, and brought to it from Bokhara.

No.	No.
1. Ducats, tillas, Sommand yammas.*	19. Kimson, a kind of leather.
2. Gold dust.*	20. Kirmiz, or cochineal.*
3. Pistols and muskets.	21. Blue-stone, or sulphate of copper.
4. Gunlocks.	22. Iron trays.
5. Padlocks.	23. Kulabritoon, two kinds.*
6. Knives, razors.	24. Singot.*
7. Wires of iron and brass.	25. Broad cloth.
8. Copper.*	26. Chintz.
9. Russian boxes, snuff boxes.	27. Velvet.
10. Needles.	28. Atlas (satin).
11. Glass, spectacles, mirrors.	29. Khlood-laft.
12. Porcelain.	30. Shirja.
13. Flints.	31. Kaitan, or muslin.
14. Beads and coral.*	32. Nanka.*
15. Fish-bone.*	33. White cloth.
16. Paper.	34. Handkerchiefs (silken).
17. Tea.	35. Chuppuni kurd.
18. Sabel misree.	36. Silk of Bokhara and Koondooz.*

Note.—The articles marked thus * are passed on to India along with the productions of Cabool, given in List No. 2.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

List of European and Indian Articles to Cabool.

No.	No.
1. Jamdane.*	34. Badal Khanee and Hajiani.
2. Muslin.	35. Loongee of Multan.
3. Book muslins.*	36. Embroidered cloth, ditto.
4. Alwan gulnar.	37. Khess - - - ditto.
5. Velvet.	38. Tamur Shah mixture of silk and thread.
6. Abrah.	39. Shuja Khanee ditto - - ditto.
7. Jali.*	40. Hindi, or Dareyái.
8. Chintz of various kinds.*	41. Haider Shah white cloth.
9. Unwashed chintz, ditto.	42. Adarsah - ditto.
10. Dupatta scarf.*	43. Khasah Babar.
11. Broad cloth.	44. Coarse cloth.
12. Moumi.*	45. White of Punjab, different sorts.
13. Long cloth.*	46. Chintz of Joonaghur.*
14. Cambric.	47. Khess of Vazirabad.
15. Durity.	48. Soosee - ditto.
16. Shawls.*	49. Indigo.
17. Handkerchiefs.	50. Multan and Delhi, &c., shoes.
18. Lata, a kind of silk cloth.	51. Looking-glass.
19. English porcelain from Delhi.	52. Razor and scissors.
20. Ditto razors and scissors.	53. Bracelets of glass from Bombay.
21. Ditto needles.	54. Shields.
22. Ditto gunlocks.	55. Pest sgláhira, kind of fur, from Derah.
23. Ditto beads.	56. Cornelian.
24. Ditto spyglass.	57. Ishgár, or saji, from Derah.
25. Ditto spectacles.	58. Swords.
26. Brocade of Banaras,* Indian goods.	59. Ditto hilts.
27. Chintz of Furrakabad.	60. Rags of blankets from Haidree.
28. Buffish of Raw and	61. Cocoa-nuts.
29. Carpets of Umlala.	62. Ivory.
30. Soosee muttane of various kinds.	63. Mina.
31. Dhotar ditto.	64. Spices, pepper, cloves, cinnamon, cardamoms, &c.
32. Chintz on Nusseerkhanee.	
33. Chintz of Hot.	

Note.—The articles marked thus * are in part passed on from Cabool to Bokhara.

No. 3.

List of the Productions, &c., of Afghanistan sent into India.

No.	No.
1. Marbler.	7. Wool and Doodah sheep.
2. Assafetida.	8. Silk, raw.
3. Dried and fresh fruits.	9. Lead, sulphur, zak or zinc.
4. Kussoomba dye.	10. Horses and ponies.
5. Drugs.	11. Bactrian camels.
6. Tobacco and snuff.	

Note.—Those articles which pass in transit from Russia and Bokhara to India are stated in List No. 1.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To Captain *Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

[I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatches of the dates noted in the margin.* The contents of these documents are of much importance, and have received his Lordship's immediate and most attentive consideration.

2. The points in them which are of prominent interest, are the arrival of a Russian agent with letters to Dost Mahomed Khan, from the Emperor of Russia and the Russian Minister at Tehran, with the proceedings of the Ameer and yourself in reference to that officer, and the tenor of the verbal communications which he has been reported to you to have made at an interview with the Ameer; the near advance of the Persian army upon Herat, the proceedings of the chiefs of Candahar, in having in the first instance apparently united their interests with those of Persia, but having eventually dismissed the Persian envoy, Kumber Ali Khan, without the son of the principal chief, Kohun Dil Khan, who had been intended to accompany him; your having previously to the receipt of the intelligence last adverted to, taken on yourself (although you were wholly without authority to hold out any such expectations), the very grave responsibility of promising to the Candahar Chiefs your own presence with their troops, and pecuniary aid from your Government, in the event of the capture of Herat by the Persians and the march of the Persian army towards Candahar; your views, which from all report and observation, his Lordship cannot but consider to be much exaggerated, of the resources and strength of the Government of Dost Mahomed Khan in Cabool; and lastly, the suggestions offered by you as to its being the proper policy of the British Government in the present state of things, to press on an immediate adjustment of the questions open on the Peshawur frontier, to confirm its influence, and form a combination among the different Afghan states, and to aid Cabool or Candahar, with pecuniary grants for the defence of their territory, and the consolidation or extension of their power.

3. After weighing with all the seriousness which the subject demands, the various arguments adduced in your letters, his Lordship directs me to state that he adheres without reserve to the principles of policy by which his proceedings in respect to Afghanistan have heretofore been guided. He must dissent, consequently, from many of the recommendations which you have now submitted to him.

4. It was the essential character of that policy, through the means of friendly persuasion, and the exercise (where there might be favourable opportunity) of our good offices, for the maintenance of peace, to remove those causes of dissension and excitement which had had such injurious effect in facilitating the introduction

* Letter dated 25 November 1837; 3 December 1837; 4 December 1837, two letters; 5 December 1837; 6 December 1837; 8 December 1837; 20 December 1837; 21 December 1837; 22 December, two letters; 23 December, confidential, addressed to the Governor General.

duction of Persian intrigue and interference into Afghanistan. To the degree in which the inducements to court Persian alliance might be diminished, and the general tranquillity promoted, there would to the same degree be advantage to the British Government in the absence of agitation from its frontier, and in the increased encouragement of commerce. There was no hazard of embarrassing entanglements in this policy, for our measures were to be limited to gradually influencing the proceedings of the several states by their own sense of their real and mutual interest, and to the tenders of a friendly mediation. It was our object also to mark our wish for the maintenance, in their actual position of all the chiefs of Afghanistan, as being the most just course of proceeding in itself, and as the existing decision of power among them is felt to be, upon the whole, decidedly the most beneficial for British interests.

5. This policy it was understood could only be partially effective, and it was to be applied in all cases with an especial caution; yet with time and management an useful influence would, it was reasonable to expect, be established in countries the condition of which must always be a matter of concern to the Government of India.

6. Positive engagements to assist opposition to actual invasion from the westward, by arms or subsidies, have not been contemplated by his Lordship. He is not insensible to the evils of such invasion, and he could not and does not seek to anticipate what, under possible, but he trusts very improbable, emergencies, his course of action might be; but measures of such direct interference are in his judgment liable to the most grave general objections. Not to speak of the exceeding inconvenience of political engagements at a distance so great from our resources, those measures might raise questions of serious national difficulty, which ought, if possible, to be reserved for the unfettered consideration of the Government in England; and those questions are of the greater delicacy with reference to the provisions of the treaties still subsisting between the British and Persian Governments.

7. It has been unfortunate that in the course of events, time has not been afforded for the due development of the policy which his Lordship had laid down for himself. The Persian expedition against Herat has been pushed on, as far as his Lordship's information extends, with unexpected rapidity, and some success; and there is at least a chance of the existing political condition of Afghanistan being seriously disturbed; but his Lordship sees nothing in any facts yet reported to him to induce him to run into the dangers of such embarrassment as would attend the course which you have pressed upon him. It is well to ward off intrigue from our frontier, if it can properly be effected; but our main reliance in any more serious difficulties must be upon our own direct power to be exercised upon the field most favourable to us.

8. Applying these principles to the circumstances on which instructions are at present required, his Lordship directs me to state that he would persevere steadily in the course of proceedings which has been already prescribed in respect to Dost Mahomed Khan; and he is satisfied, that unless an entire change take place in the political constitution of Afghanistan, that course ought to be readily successful.

9. Dost Mohomed Khan is now essentially dependent upon our good offices for the removal of his apprehensions from the Sikh power. You state, indeed, that he need not fear the effects of an invasion by the Maha Raja Runjeet Singh; but his own applications to every quarter open to him for succour against this danger manifest the alarm which he himself entertains; and his Lordship thinks that there is no room for doubt, that although it might be hazardous and unprofitable to the Maha Raja to seek to retain possession of a country so difficult, yet in the immense resources at his command, in his wealthy treasury, and numerous and disciplined army, and with so much of weakness and distraction in the Cabool territory, he has the means of over-running it, when he may determine to make the effort, and of consummating at least the ruin of its present ruler. You ought to proceed, in all your intercourse with Dost Mahomed Khan, on this understanding, that the boon which he obtains in consequence of our interest in his favour is no less than safety from the probable destruction of his authority; and representations of the danger which he would incur ought to be made stronger, if dissatisfied with such mediation as we are willing to tender, Dost Mahomed Khan should attempt to form any other political connexions through Persian or Russian agents; for our interposition would then, of course, be wholly withdrawn; Dost

Mahomed

Mahomed Khan would place himself towards us in the position of a person court-
ing hostile alliances, and what he might have to dread would not be an invasion
only by the Sikhs, but such an invasion undertaken under all the influence of our
declared displeasure with and alienation from him.

10. You state with perfect truth that the hazardous position of this chief
compels him to dissipate his resources in defensive preparations, which cripple his
power and augment the discontent of his followers, whom his revenues at no time
admit of his liberally rewarding; and that his best hope of real strength rests on
being at peace with his eastern neighbour, which would enable him to reduce his
undue expenditure, and improve his internal administration. It is this peaceful
and steadfast policy which, along with a true sense of his position, ought to be
always impressed upon him as marking the only course which his Lordship
considers that he can wisely pursue.

11. It has been already intimated to you in different Despatches, and especially
in that under date the 27th ultimo, that the inordinate pretensions and expecta-
tions which Dost Mahomed Khan has appeared disposed to form in consequence
of your presence at Cabool, ought to be decisively discouraged. He should be
made sensible, that in stepping forward, from our conviction of the course of pro-
ceeding the most advantageous to all the powers on this side of the Indus, to
endeavour to induce Maha Raja Runjeet Singh to refrain from prosecuting
further hostilities against him, we have made the utmost demand which our
interest and long-established friendship admit, upon the consideration which that
powerful chief is willing to show to our wishes. In the words of the Despatch
of the 27th December, his Lordship would repeat, that "in the precarious
position in which Dost Mahomed is placed, our good offices for the peace and
security of his remaining territory should be thankfully accepted by him."

12. His scheme of obtaining possession, on any terms, of the Peshawur territory
for himself marks, to his Lordship's mind, the ambitious and restless views with
which he is disposed to use our assistance. That scheme has never been proposed
to Maha Raja Runjeet Singh, from a feeling that it would not for a moment be
entertained by him. If he would ever consent to relinquish Peshawur to other
hands, the brothers by whom it was formerly ruled have the strongest claims upon
him. You say that Dost Mahomed Khan might "perhaps in the end be satisfied
with the plain of Peshawur being given to any Barukzye;" but I am desired to
remind you that his Lordship has always treated this as a question wholly to be
decided by the Maha Raja himself. It would be gratifying if he would resolve to
restore Peshawur to the immediate government of the members of the family by
whom it was previously held; but Dost Mahomed Khan must make his overtures
of peace, without insisting on the fulfilment of any such expectation.

13. It would be becoming, in the position in which the Chief of Cabool is
placed, to seek in the first instance to appease the feelings of the powerful
sovereign whom he has offended, by such demonstrations of a desire to court
the renewal of amicable terms with him as may be consistent with a fair and
reasonable regard to his own remaining rights; and you and he ought to feel that
until this peace between him and the Sikhs shall have been established on the
firmest basis, every scheme for the aggrandisement of Dost Mahomed, such as
those which you seem to favour, even if not otherwise liable to manifold and
insurmountable objections, would have the effect of accumulating means of offence
against the more ancient, the more powerful, and the more faithful ally of the
British Government.

14. His Lordship would under any circumstances be glad that, at a proper
opportunity, these views should be stated with all frankness to Dost Mahomed
Khan, for he greatly fears from the tenor of your late Despatches that he may
have been led to take an erroneous view of our own situation, and of his Lordship's
views; and it is of all things most important to act towards him with a clear, good
faith, and whatever may be his own trust in his independent means of defence, the
British Government can deal with him on no other understanding. It may be the
more necessary to make this statement if the Ameer should be disposed, as the
alternative to our compliance with all his requests, to bring forward any idea of a
political connexion with Russia through the agent, who has, it appears, arrived
at Cabool.]

15. His Lordship attaches little immediate importance to this mission of the
Russian agent although he will bring all the circumstances connected with it to

the notice of the Home Authorities, as it undoubtedly marks a desire which has long been known to exist on the part of the Russian Government, to push at least the influence, of their name to our Indian frontier; and the proceedings, especially of the Russian Envoy at Tehran, in regard to it, are open to much observation. [It would be satisfactory if you could obtain and forward the original communications from Count Simonitch, for transmission to England, or at least that you should see and be able to certify them.]

16. His Lordship is much gratified at the deference to our views shown by Dost Mahomed Khan, in requesting your advice as to the reception of this agent, and he entirely approves your having sanctioned his being admitted to the presence of the Ameer, and treated with becoming civility. If he be not already gone from Cabool, you will suggest to the Ameer that he be dismissed with courtesy, with a letter of compliments and thanks to the Emperor of Russia for his proffered kindness to Cabool traders. His mission should be assumed to have been, as represented, entirely for commercial objects, and no notice need be taken of the messages with which he may profess to have been charged.

17. This course will be recommended by you in the event of the Ameer being firmly disposed to abide by our good offices. If he should, on the other hand, seek to retain the agent, and to enter into any description of political intercourse with him, you will give him distinctly to understand that your Mission will retire, that our good offices with the Sikhs will wholly cease, and that, indeed, the act will be considered as a direct breach of friendship with the British Government. It has been before, at different times, stated to you that the continuance of our good offices must be entirely dependent on the relinquishment, by the Ameer, of alliances with any power to the westward.

[18. His Lordship, although anxious, as has been mentioned, to act towards the Ameer with all frankness, would not press upon him with undue harshness (such as might be implied by the formal delivery to him of the accompanying explicit announcement from the Governor General) the views which have been explained with regard to the position which he holds, in the opinion of the British Government, relatively to Runjeet Singh. If, however, from the state of things at Herat, from his position in regard to this Russian agent, or from any other cause, he should ask for an explicit statement of our sentiments and intentions, it will be right that that statement should be given to him; and in that event, or when it may, otherwise, from any motive (such as the paramount one for our honour, of removing existing misunderstandings) appear to you advisable, you will deliver to him the letter referred to; and you will always, whether the letter be delivered or not, be most sedulously careful to conform in every case to the spirit of these, as of your preceding instructions, and to refrain from encouraging any expectations for which you have not full authority. A copy of the letter of the Governor General, with the English version of it, are forwarded for your information.]

19. Should the Ameer prefer to incur all the hazards of his position, rather than to accept our good offices upon the only terms which seem to us just in regard to Maha Raja Runjeet Singh, your Mission will in that case also solicit its dismissal, and retire upon Peshawur. But his Lordship trusts that Dost Mahomed Khan will judge better for his own interest than to compel you to that proceeding.

20. It is with great pain that his Lordship must next proceed to advert to the subject of the promises which you have held out to the Chiefs of Candahar.

21. These promises were, as has been said, entirely unauthorised by any part of your instructions. They are most unnecessarily made in unqualified terms; and they would, if supported, commit the Government upon the gravest questions of general policy. His Lordship is compelled, therefore, decidedly to disapprove them.

22. He is only withheld from a direct disavowal of these engagements to the Chiefs of Candahar, because such disavowal would carry with it the declaration of a difference between you and your Government, and might weaken your personal influence, and because events might in this interval have occurred which would render such a course unnecessary. But the rulers of Candahar must not be allowed to rest in confidence upon promises so given; and, should affairs continue in the same uncertainty as that which prevailed at the date of your last Despatches, you will endeavour to set yourself right with the Chiefs, and will feel yourself bound

bound in good faith to admit that you have exceeded your instructions, and held out hopes which you find, upon communication with your Government, cannot be realised.

23. After what has been stated, his Lordship feels that he need not enlarge on his strict injunction that you in future conform punctually in all points to the orders issued for your guidance.

24. While it has been his duty to record these sentiments upon one part of your proceedings, his Lordship directs me at the same time to express to you his cordial approbation of the diligence and ability with which you have applied yourself to collect and lay perspicuously before him, the full and interesting information which you have transmitted on the subject of the state of affairs in the States of Central Asia generally. You will continue to cultivate your friendly correspondence with Bokhara and Koondooz. The tenor of your reply, reported in your Despatch of the 25th November, to the letter of Maha Raja Runjeet Singh, is entirely approved; your letter was correctly forwarded by Lieutenant Mackeson, to be delivered through Captain Wade.]

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

Camp at Bareilly,
20 January 1838.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

IN my communications of the 20th, 22d, and 30th ultimo, I reported, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the arrival of an agent of the Russian Government at this city, and all the information which I had collected regarding him, together with the opinions entertained of it.

2. Though a month and upwards have elapsed since Mr. Vickovich reached Cabool, and my suspicions were from the first excited regarding his real character, I have been unable to discover anything to invalidate the credentials which he brought, or to cast a doubt on his being other than he gives himself out, and this too after much vigilance and inquiry.

3. The first suspicious circumstance which occurred to me was the circuitous route by which he had arrived in Cabool, when he might have passed with such ease by Bokhara and Toorkistan to Cabool, a much nearer road, and one with which Mr. Vickovich himself is in part familiar. It is, however, to be observed in the Ameer's letter to the Emperor of Russia, that he seeks for an alliance such as Persia is favoured with, and it was but natural for the Russian Government to secure, in addition to letters from itself, an introduction from the Shah of Persia, which Mr. Vickovich brought along with him.

4. It next occurred to me that the Persians, in seeking to advance their objects in Afghanistan, had recourse to the expedient of getting up a Russian agent to despatch into this country, for it is quite evident from various conversations that I have had with well-informed individuals, that Persia herself, and all her friends here, attribute the disconcertment of their plans to the presence of a British Mission in Cabool. This view of the case, however, if correct, would seriously commit the Shah of Persia, and prove his being a party concerned, for there is no doubt entertained of his Majesty's "rakeem" being a genuine one, and the people of his country are of course much better judges of the authenticity of a letter from an eastern than an European ruler.

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5. Mr.

5. Mr. Vickovich himself has experienced but little attention from the Ameer, and as yet received no reply to his communications. He has been accommodated in a part of a house belonging to Mirza Sumee Khan, and is entertained at the public expense. He paid his respects to the Ameer on the 12th of January, or on New Year's day, old style, and has had no other personal intercourse with him. He has been urging the Ameer to send some agent to Count Simonitch to receive the presents of the Emperor.

No. 1.

6. One circumstance which throws a little light on what is passing is exhibited in the annexed letter. It is a note from one of the agents of the Chief at Candahar to Mr. Vickovich, under the travelling name of Omar Khan, which Mr. Vickovich himself told me he had adopted since entering Afghanistan; the note was brought by one of my own messengers, and as he was unauthorisedly made the bearer of it, I took the liberty of detaining it, and seeing its contents. He seems at all events to have established a channel of communication at Candahar.

7. In the absence of any immediate and apparent cause for an interference on the part of Russia in the affairs of this country (for I cannot believe she contemplates the invasion of it), explanation may be perhaps sought in what is passing in Europe and Persia. The British Government have done all in their power, and have further been aided by France, to check the growth of Russian supremacy in Greece, Constantinople, and Tabrez, and in all of which they have succeeded. In Persia, also, the zealous ability of our Ambassador has prevented the influence of Russia being so paramount as she could desire, though it is much more paramount than could be wished. We may naturally, therefore, infer that Russia, by her simultaneous appearance in this new field, hopes to embarrass our measures and excite distrust and suspicion of them. I venture to record these opinions with great deference, and though they may prove of small value, I do not withhold them, as they may perhaps furnish a guide to solve the Russian intrigues now carrying on in Afghanistan.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alexander Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 22 January 1838.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Nuzur Mohamed Khan to the address of Mohomed Omar Khan (i. e. Mr. Vickovich), Russian Agent, Elchee at Cabool.

A. C.

It is a long time since you have gone to Cabool, and you have never let me know about your welfare, the cause of which I trust will be satisfactory.

I beg you will give me an account of your transactions at Cabool at full length.

If you have any business or object to be accomplished in this place, write to me freely, and it will be done according to your satisfaction.

(True translation.)

(signed)

Alexander Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed)

H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

I do myself the honour to append, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, three letters explaining the progress made by the Persians in their attack on Herat. The intelligence is much more favourable than what I transmitted on the 11th instant, and Kamran and his people seem to be making a gallant defence. The retreat of Sher Mohomed Khan Huzara beyond the Moorghab serves to explain the consternation in Toorkistan reported by Mr. Lord, but the effect of it would appear to have been advantageous to Herat, since it has detached

detached a body of Persians, who confess their roads to be cut off in all directions but Meshid.

2. The communication, No. 3, is a letter from Yar Mahomed Khan, the Vezier of Herat, to the Chief of Candahar, the original of which has been shown to me. From the document, which must be considered very authentic, the minister must be dispirited, for there is a blood feud between Herat and Candahar, and he still implores assistance. I am, however, disposed to believe that the sole object of the communication was to prevent the Candahar Sirdars joining Persia, of which Kamran is in more dread than of the Persians themselves. There is now no fear of this contingency, as appears in my letter of yesterday's date.

3. There is yet another letter in Cabool stating that Kamran had written to his Soonee neighbours on the north to quicken their movements, or he would be compelled to accept the offers of the Firingees (Europeans) to adjust his differences with Persia. The belief consequent on this letter is, that it is Russian good offices he is to receive, but from what passed at Tehran, I infer that it is a mediation tendered by the British Government.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alexander Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 22 January 1838.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Herat, from Bikload Khan Barukezye, to the address of Sirdar Kohur Dil Khan, Chief of Candahar, dated 27th Ramzan, and received at Cabool on the 16th January 1838, 22 days old.

A. C.

You had despatched Meer Huzar Khan, a man of Sirdar Rahim Dil Khan, to pick up some information of Herat, which I write to you myself.

The Persian army is computed at 40,000 men, out of which there are 15,000 cavalry; the troops of Kamran only amount to 15,000; 10,000 Dooranee, and 5,000 of different tribes, and the battle is every day between them. Two gates of the city are opened, and the others blocked up. We caught 1,000 camels of the Persians loaded with provisions and gunpowder, which we threw in the water. We attack their batteries every day, and bring in their mules, ponies, &c., as booty. The Persians are very much distressed.

The Hazarabs are on the river of Bala Moorghab, and say they are coming to assist us, but none of them have as yet shown themselves.

Six thousand troops of the Tymunees are come to Obeh to assist us, but Shumsooddeen Khan with 10,000 Persian cavalry, went to check their progress; on this Yar Mahomed Khan, with 2,000 good horsemen, went out and overtook Shumsooddeen. They fought, and many fell on both sides. He and Yar Mahomed came back to Herat. The Tymunees are yet at Obeh.

The 20,000 families of the Afghans who occupy the country of Herat have their eyes towards you, but it is a great misfortune that you do not move from your place; if you come as far as Furrah nobody will oppose you, and the gates will be opened to you.

There are 60 families of the relatives and servants prisoners at Ghorian with Sher Mahomed and Mahomed Halim Khan. Ghorian has been given to the Chief of Cayan. The Persians procured two lacs rupees in cash, and much corn, &c., at Ghorian.

Three sons of Kamran are at Furrah and one in Isfeyar; Kamran has sent to them a message with Ibrahim, that they should go and meet you (the Sirdars) at Bukwa, if you come from Candahar, and also go to Gurlung, for it is impossible for us to oppose the enemy in two forts and be besieged in two places.

(True translation.)

(signed)

Alexander Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

EXTRACT of a Letter from Sirdar Mihr Dil Khan to the Ameer of Cabool, received 15 January 1838.

YESTERDAY the 9th of Shavul, 18 days ago, Syud Tak Khan came from Herat, and gave the following particulars.

The Persians have dried up the water of the ditch of Herat, then filled it with wood, &c. to enable them to ascend the walls. When the citizens saw this, they burned some oiled cloth and threw it on the wood in the ditch, which was reduced to ashes. The endeavours of the Persians to fill up the ditch were useless. After this the Persian camp was attacked every night; on the first, the people of Herat killed about 40 or 50 Persians, and brought a booty of 60 matchlocks; on the second, 10 matchlocks, and they massacred 15 soldiers. The third night

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the expedition was undertaken by the son of Kurnal Alokezye, who was at the head of 100 men; he killed many Persians, and brought with him one of the guns, which he threw in the ditch. The people of Herat attacked the Persian camp for eight successive nights, and dammed up the cut in the ditch to fill it with water again. The citizens were quite hopeless for 12 days, but have now regained their spirits. Some Persians are every day taken prisoners.

Intelligence was brought to Yar Mahomed Khan at Herat, that the provisions are coming from Meshid to the Persian camp. On this he sent 600 horsemen, who intercepted the provisions, and took 100 Persians prisoners, besides those they killed in opposition. The victorious Afghans possessed 500 camels along with 100 ponies loaded with ammunition, burnt the gunpowder, and threw away the lead. After this they came back to Herat.

Sher Mahomed Khan Hazarah bravely opposed the Persians who went to fight with him in his country. He left his fort or killah now, and crossed the river Moorghab; the Persians followed him, and after a halt of eight days on the bank, forded the river to overtake Sher Mahomed Khan. After being joined by the people of Maimumee he opposed the Persians, and harassed them very much. The Persians have written to Mahomed Shah about their sad condition, and asked him to give them leave to go to Meshid, otherwise they will all lose their lives.

Shumsooddeen Khan, who had lately gone over to the Persians, deceived the Syuds, who were opposing the Persians in the fort called Nujufee. They came out of the fort. He imprisoned 40 Syuds and then advanced to Shufian to bring the provisions. The head men of Tymumee tribe, who were coming to assist Kamran, met him, and a battle ensued between them; they killed 10 of his men and took back 100 mules to Herat.

Sher Mohamed Khan along with Mahomed Halim is a prisoner in the Persian camp, and their families are still at Ghorian.

(True extract.)

(signed)

Alexander Burnes.

On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 3.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Mohamed Khan, the Vezier of Kamran, to the address of the Candahar Chiefs.

A. C.

IN religious transactions, it is incumbent on the faithful to forget internal animosities, and annihilate the enemies of Islam. Now the enemies of true religion, as well as of the honour of all Mussulmans, hoping to injure the believers of Mahomed, have come to conquer Herat. It is reported that this enemy will not be satisfied by possessing Herat and ruining us, but as he knows Herat to be the foundation and key, he has therefore first resolved to snatch it from our hands. God forbid that these infidels (Persian) should become the masters of Herat, if so, it is to be feared that they will cause the destruction of all these countries of Islam. Besides this, all the Dooranee nation is connected with Herat, and the time is come that we should put away internal differences, unite, and boldly drive the enemy from the country, and not destroy ourselves by disunion.

You should imitate the Shah of Bhokara and Khorasan, the people of Toorkistan and the Toorkmans who are coming to gain the honour of martyrdom. Before their arrival it would be advisable that all the religious brothers should unite, the number of 30 or 40,000 people, and drown themselves in the blood of the enemy.

By the grace of God, and the activity of the champions of faith, it is hoped that the enemy will not be able to take Herat, but it was incumbent on me to inform you of this critical event, and I have sent with this letter the respectable Gufoor Khan and Syud Aga, to explain to you fully, that you may not blame me hereafter. It depends on your own pleasure to come or not, for every thing will happen according to the decrees of God.

I beg you to behave in such a manner as not to lose the country of the Dooranees, or I should not write to you this. Come quickly and save the honour of the nation.

(True translation.)

(signed)

Alexander Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed)

H. Torrens,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE now the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, a reply to my last communication to the Chiefs of Candahar, and a further illustration of the hopes and fears of these personages, as explained in a letter from Sirdar Mihr Dil Khan to his brother the Ameer.

Nos. 1 and 2.

2. These communications will be viewed as satisfactory since they both exhibit a further change for the better in the minds of the Candahar Sirdars. They have fully seen the futility of the treaty tendered to them by the Persian elchee, and their last communication with the Shah regarding Ghorian bears no other construction than a wish to avert the evils of too precipitate a break with his Majesty, who, of course, would never surrender Ghorian to the Chiefs of Candahar, and which will, I trust, for ever terminate their intercourse with Persia. It will also be seen that they no longer expect the security of the English Ambassador (well knowing that would not be granted), and that they ask only that of Russia; this is the flaw which I pointed out in their first treaty.

3. There is also no chance of its being necessary to aid the Chiefs of Candahar in resisting Persia, for they will receive through Mr. Leech a clear explanation of our policy, and have, as I hope, the good sense to remain quiet. By my last accounts Mr. Leech was close on Candahar, and his approach had given great satisfaction. The anxiety to meet an agent of the British Government is again forcibly depicted in the letter of Mihr Dil Khan to the Ameer; and from the tender of our pecuniary aid, we may claim their gratitude, and consequent yielding to our wishes.

4. I would also draw particular attention to the contents of the letter from Mihr Dil Khan to the Ameer, which has had the effect of renewing the intercourse between the families at Cabool and Candahar, and naturally given high satisfaction to Dost Mahummud Khan, since he has brought over his brothers to his own view of the case, and the bad policy of turning to Persia so long as a hope exists from the British Government in India. As far as Persia is concerned, and the increase of our influence here, this intelligence is most favourable.

No. 1.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alexander Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 21 January 1838.

No 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Sirdar Mihr Dil Khan, of Candahar, to the address of the Ameer of Cabool, received 15 January 1838.

A. C.

YOUR kind letter has reached me, and I was delighted to read it. You wrote to me that nothing has been yet settled with Mr. Burnes, and you will not fail to inform us of the settlement which may take place hereafter. You further told me that it is an important time, and requires great deliberation to weigh the matters, and that I should also come to consult with you on the subject. On the arrangement which you may make with Mr. Burnes, I beg to say, that you have more ability to carry through the business than any other man, and nobody can make objections to the arrangements you may make with him about the welfare of the Afghan Government. Believe me that I will never fail to keep well with you, and do every service to satisfy you as long as I live. We have not sent Mohomed Omar Khan to the Shah in company with Kumber Ali Khan, for all the arrangements he had made with us have proved false. He told us that the Shah would not move from Tehran until he supplied us with troops and money to take Herat, which we were to keep in our possession. Now the Shah has taken Ghorian, and besieged the city of Herat in person, which is all contrary to the articles of the treaty made with Kumber Ali Khan.

We have desired Kumber Ali Khan, without his baggage, to proceed to Mahomed Shah, and sent Ali Dad Khan Bux Doorane along with him on our part. We have sent a message to the Shah, that his Majesty has thoroughly contradicted the arrangements which his agent, Kumber Ali, had made with us, and that if his Majesty is still desirous to keep up friendship with us, he should deliver Ghorian in our possession, leave troops and money in our charge, the Russian agent at Herat being the security for all this, and go back himself to Meshid. If all this is done, the Sirdars will proceed to take Herat, and thence send Mohamed Omar Khan to his Majesty.

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Kumber

Kumber Ali Khan has promised to send an answer to the above message during the course of a month, out of which there are eight days more remaining. I will let you know if any fresh intelligence comes here.

I beg you will inform me of what arrangements you have made with Mr. Burnes; in case nothing is yet done, then there is no necessity for any of us coming to Cabool as you write.

The respectable Kohin Dil has asked Mr. Burnes to come himself, or send any of the officers with him to Candahar, that we may learn each other's object; it will be no harm if you endeavour to induce Mr. Burnes to do so.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from the Sirdars of Candahar, Kohin Dil, Rahim Dil, and Mihr Dil Khan, Chiefs of Candahar, to the address of Captain Burnes, received at Cabool, 16 January 1838.

A. C.

WE have received your kind letter with pleasure, and understood its contents.

You have written to us about sending Mohomed Omar Khan to Mohomed Shah, told us that the Afghans and Persians have never been friends, and the British Government is the well-wisher of the Afghans, and would furnish means to keep off the enemy (Kajars) from Afghanistan; that you with the Ameer would also come here in case the Kajars take Herat, and advance on Candahar, which will be beneficial to us; and in that case I should consider myself attached to the English Government. In reply, we have the pleasure to write to you as follows.

Our object in sending Mohomed Omar Khan to Persia, was to keep off Mahomed Shah, to ruin Kamran, and to make ourselves the masters of Herat; it was not from fear that his Majesty would invade Candahar. I have now postponed the departure of Mohomed Omar Khan, hoping that evil will befall Kamran.

There are many things which we cannot write in this letter, they depend on an interview with you.

I trust that the English Government, and also yourself, are the well-wisher of the Afghans, and wish good to our family; but we have not yet come to know each other's object as they ought to be. If you have leisure come yourself, or send one of your trusty men to this quarter, and we shall speak minutely on the matter.

If your Government will do us the offices, according to our station, then we will consider ourselves attached to the welfare of the British Government.

(True translation.)

(signed)

Alex. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

[I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 25th of November and 2d of December last, which reached me about the same time, and conveyed the views of the Right Honourable the Governor General] regarding the overtures made by Dost Mahomed Khan for adjusting his differences with the Sikhs, and the apprehension that the Maharaja would not be disposed to surrender Peshawur on those terms, but be more likely to restore it to Sooltan Mohomed Khan, its former governor. I lost no time in making known these circumstances [as well as the sentiments of his Lordship on them], and the policy which it would be advisable for the ruler of Cabool to pursue.

2. After listening with considerable attention to what I impressed upon him, the Ameer proceeded to make his own comments on what was recommended. He said that he felt satisfied that the British Government was actuated by the most pure and upright motives in making known its sympathy with the sufferings of

of the Afghan nation, and that, in seeking to apply some remedy to them, it only followed the generous course for which it was celebrated throughout Asia; that there were, however, obstacles and objections to what had been recommended, which [the Government of India might not know, and which] it behoved him to unfold [for its deliberation] before any adjustment of differences, on such terms, was carried into effect.

3. "In offering to render tribute, horses, and apology to Runjeet Sing, and to hold Peshawur under him," continued he, "I was actuated by no motive of hostility to Sooltan Mohomed Khan; he is my brother, and though we have differed, the rancour is on his side, and not on mine. I stated that I would secure to him and his brothers the jagheers they enjoy, and this, with what would have to be paid, would not have rendered it a very profitable appendage to my power; but these were precautionary measures to secure myself in Cabool and prevent injury befalling me. Of Runjeet Sing's power to invade me in Cabool I have little fear; of his power to injure me if he reinstates Sooltan Mahomed Khan in the government of that city, I have great apprehension, for in it I see a Mohomedan ruler instead of a Sikh; and had the Maharaja been more conversant with the politics of Afghanistan, and bent on my destruction, he might have, ere this, succeeded, had he not displaced Sooltan Mohomed Khan from Peshawur, and supplied him with funds to corrupt those about me who are inimical, and envy the rise to my present elevation."

4. "At the present time many of the chiefs who belong to Peshawur and their retainers are subsisted by me. They have fled from their country on its invasion by the enemies of our religion, and on my brother becoming a servant to them. It cannot be supposed, with my limited revenues, that I can either give to these persons what they are entitled to or what they received in their own country; but, at this moment, I expend about 90,000 rupees annually in giving them bread. When Peshawur is restored these individuals will, of course, leave me; and, along with them, will proceed every one who may take offence at his merits not being appreciated as he considers they deserve; and thus, instead of being freed from enemies, I shall be lowered among my countrymen far below my present situation, and far from being free from danger, as at present, have that situation most certainly endangered. I think, therefore, that I see in the contemplated plans for altering the arrangement for governing Peshawur a rectification of the errors of the ruler of Lahore, and that his designs are sinister, and his object to draw the British Government unawares into them."

5. "In the friendly expression of the feelings entertained towards the Afghans by the British Government, I see clearly that it would not permit itself to be made a party to my destruction. If you are not disposed to strengthen my hands, and raise me above the rank which I at present enjoy, it cannot be your intention, with offers of sympathy, to bring about my ruin. On that point I am at ease; but in separating us all one from other, in seeking to keep the chiefs from being dependent on one another, you are certainly neutralising the power of the Afghan nation, and sowing the seeds of future dissension. Your object is to prevent harm; you will also prevent good; you will secure to yourselves the gratitude of Peshawur, of the Euzoofzyes, the Khuttuks, and the tribes near the Indus; but as for myself, you open a new door of intrigue against me, and, as you saw injury likely to accrue from the Chief of Candahar entering on an alliance with Persia, I see injury to myself in Sooltan Mahomed Khan, when restored to his chiefship of Peshawar, being in alliance with Lahore; and above all, what security am I to have that the chiefs of Peshawur and Candahar will not join to injure me, and be aided in their designs by Maharaja Runjeet Sing?"

6. To these arguments I opposed the views of the British Government, and said that it would ill tally with its wishes to find new causes of quarrel arise consequent on an adjustment of the differences between the Sikhs and Afghans; that as the Ameer had renounced his connexion with Persia, we had, in return, hoped to do him a good office by entering into a negotiation with Runjeet Sing, on the differences existing between them; but that if he was thoroughly sincere in his belief that the restoration of Peshawur to Sooltan Mahomed Khan was positively injurious to him, it was proper to state most decidedly that we had no such design, [and would be a party to no measures of such a tendency. I then pointed out the various advantages which must arise from the Sikhs withdrawing themselves to the other side of the Indus, and I dwelt upon the increase of reputation which must follow to himself, on his having contributed by his determined

opposition to the release of his brothers, their wives and their children from the hands of the Sikhs; to have once more in possession of the family the burying place of its ancestors, and to hear again, in a country inhabited by Mahomedans, the summons to prayer (izan), and secure the permission to follow the usages of Islam, and their mosques from defilement and spoliation.

7. Giving every weight to what had been urged, I proceeded to lay before him (the Ameer) the positive advantages derivable from an altered state of things in Peshawur. The number of troops entertained by you will become unnecessary; your increased exactions from the merchant and the cultivators will cease, because war with the Sikhs will no longer engage your attention; decrease of expense will be tantamount to increase of revenue, your resources will be improved, your power concentrated and strengthened; and as to the charge brought forward of our raising up many chiefs in Afghanistan, he was to recollect that those chiefs were his brothers, that Candahar, Cabool, and Peshawur would thus be in the possession of one family, the sons of one father, who had a common interest against the enemies of their house, and whose family differences, whatever they were, might be made to disappear when they ceased to be threatened by a powerful ruler like Maharaja Runjeet Sing; that as to the neutralisation of the Afghan nation of which he complained, it was certainly no part of the policy of the British Government to injure any of the present holders of power in this country more than himself, and that we looked to the general good of all parties; that the Ameer no doubt understood better than we did what injured and what availed him, but it appeared to me that he had too exaggerated a view of Runjeet Sing's designs; and that it would certainly be taken into the Governor General's consideration, if this subject proceeded further, how far he should receive security against the plans of Lahore to be compassed by means of his brother in Peshawur, and also the nature of the counteraction which would be used to prevent his brothers at Peshawur and Candahar combining to do him injury.]

8. To this Dost Mahomed Khan replied, that there were no doubt many advantages in prospect, and that the arguments adduced had both foundation and solidity, but that the advantages were chiefly on the side of others; that he had hitherto been able to stand on the defensive against Runjeet Sing, and to do it with some effect; that that ruler's withdrawal was more injurious to him, on the terms proposed, than his continuance at Peshawur; that he himself now received a degree of respect which he could then no longer command, and that it was better to leave things as they were, in the hopes of some future change, than to shackle himself by being party to an arrangement which did him little good and seemed fraught with danger, and in return for which things might be expected of him which he would not perform. "Peshawur," said he, "has been conquered by the Sikhs; it belongs to them, they may give it to whoever they please; if to Sooltan Mahomed Khan, they place it in the hands of one who is bent on injuring me, and I cannot therefore acknowledge any degree of gratitude for your interference, or take upon myself to render services in return. [I admit that it will be highly beneficial, in many ways, to see the Sikhs once more eastward of the Indus, but I still can dispense with none of my troops or my precautionary measures, as equal, if not greater anxieties will attach to me. I have unbosomed myself to you, and laid bare, without any suppression, my difficulties. I shall bear in lively remembrance the intended good offices of the British Government, and I shall deplore that my interests did not permit me to accept what was tendered in a spirit so friendly, but which, to me and my advisers, has only seemed hastening my ruin. To Runjeet Sing your interference is beneficial, as he finds himself involved in serious difficulties by the possession of Peshawur, and he is too glad of your good offices to escape from a place which is a burthen to his finances; but by that escape a debt of gratitude is exactible from him and not from me, and if your Government will look into this matter they will soon discover my opinions to be far from groundless, and my conclusions the only safe policy which I can pursue.]"

9. The Nawab Jubbar Khan followed his brother, and said that it was undoubtedly true that the Ameer had not mistaken the evils which might ensue to himself from the entire restoration of Peshawur to Sooltan Mahomed Khan; but that the Afghan nation could not afford to lose the sympathy which had been exhibited by the British Government, and an arrangement might be made on the basis of a treaty which Runjeet Sing had once entered into with the Ameer and his deceased brother, Yar Mahomed Khan, which was to divide Peshawur between them, and receive equally at their hands a fixed tribute. Such an arrangement might

might now be made, and the Ameer would be free from fear of injury, and Runjeet Sing receive from him and Sooltan Mahomed Khan conjunctly the amount on which he was disposed to surrender it. The Ameer added, that such an arrangement would remove his fears, and he should wish no other person placed there but the Nawab himself, and one or two of his own agents under him. [These observations, coming from the Nuwab Jubbar Khan, are the more remarkable, since he is devoted to his brother, Sooltan Mahomed Khan, and would rejoice to see him restored to Peshawur. They consequently carried with me a conviction that the Ameer's fears are not groundless, and that they will deserve all due consideration before Government enters upon any measures for attaching this chief to its interests.]

10. To the proposition of the Nuwab, and the observations of the Ameer which followed upon it, I made no further remark than that plan would also be taken into consideration; but before proceeding further it was incumbent on me to ask one categorical question. [I had stated that the British Government considered itself conferring an everlasting favour on the Afghan nation by prevailing on the Sikhs to withdraw from this side the Indus; that I, who had seen this country, considered this act as one of the greatest possible blessings which could happen to this people. I had, however, heard from the Ameer that he did not appreciate this service as we did, and] was I [then] to consider that he would rather have the Sikhs in Peshawur, [with all their exercise of prejudice, and all the disgrace that it entailed,] in preference to Sooltan Mahomed Khan's being restored to his government in that city.

11. The Ameer replied that this was certainly placing the matter in an extreme light, and that he found a difficulty in answering the question; [he admitted fully the advantages of getting rid of the Sikhs, and was far from depreciating the good offices of removing them if it could be done; but] he would candidly ask in return, if the mode of accomplishing an act generally beneficial were proved to be detrimental to himself, who had the most substantial share of power in the Afghan dominions at this time, could it be said to be applying a remedy to the difficulties under which the Afghans laboured; and if in return for it the British Government could reckon on those acts which all powers naturally looked to in return for benefits conferred:—"I ask you not to aid me in achieving a supremacy throughout this country, but I do ask to be allowed to stand in the position in which you have found me; if I can be protected from intrigues in Peshawur, I will then consider myself benefited; but without such a plan as that which the Nuwab has stated, or some such other that places a Barukzye there, which the Governor General must devise, I foresee evils which cannot have entered into the minds of those who are my well-wishers."

12. ["As an instance in point, I have at this moment been made acquainted with an intrigue that has originated in Peshawur, and, as I believe, with Runjeet Sing, which will convey to your Government juster notions than any expressions of general apprehension. Sooltan Mahomed Khan has just sent an agent to the ex-King at Lodiana to offer his services to combine against me, and to secure my brothers at Candahar in support of this coalition. What security am I to receive against a recurrence of such practices? As for the ex-King himself, I fear him not; he has been too often worsted to make head here, unless he has aid from the British Government, which I am now pretty certain he will never receive. If my brother at Peshawur, however, under a promise of being made his minister, and assisted with Sikh agency and money, appears in the field, I may find, in expressing my satisfaction at his restoration to Peshawur, that I have been placing a snake in my bosom, and I may then, when too late, lament that I did not let the Sikhs do their worst, instead of replacing them by another description of enemies."]

13. I have thus placed before the Right Honourable the Governor General the opinions and views entertained by the ruler of Cabool, and the nature of the arguments which I have opposed them. [It has appeared to me that they call for much deliberation. It will be seen that this chief is not bent on possessing Peshawur, or in gratifying an enmity towards his brothers, but simply pursuing the worldly maxim of securing himself from injury. The arguments which he has adduced seem deserving of every consideration, and the more so when an avowed partisan of Sooltan Mahomed Khan does not deny the justice of the Ameer's objections. It will be for his Lordship to judge how far the British Government will agree to interference, through its agents, that will prevent the Chief of

Peshawur from caballing against his brother in Cabool; and if this could not be brought about by the plan suggested, of placing the Nuwab Jubbar Khan there on the part of the Ameer, and on the terms proposed. It would give Runjeet Sing tribute from both the Ameer and Sooltan Mahomed Khan, and thus gratify him, while the known good feeling of the Nuwab towards the British Government would give confidence to Runjeet Sing in the arrangement, and secure to the British a great reputation in these countries. In the event of this arrangement being also rejected, it does certainly appear to me that we are bound, in some way, to protect the Ameer from the cabals of Peshawur and Candahar, without which this country will become a scene of strife, injurious alike to our commerce and our politics. Those chiefs will acknowledge the ruler of Cabool as the head of the family, and respect him accordingly; but they do not admit being dependent on him, nor is it desirable to make them so. If we stand aloof and do not encourage Runjeet Sing to secede, the Ameer of Cabool will hold his present ground, since he is the most powerful of his family. If we interfere we endanger his supremacy, such as it is; and, consequently, it seems incumbent on us to prevent such interference being detrimental.

14. Under such circumstances, it might be urged that all interference had better be avoided; but this, as it appears to me, would be, under the existing state of things, a very doubtful line of policy, unless it is intended to put forth the ex-King at Loodiana, secure through him a footing in these countries, and sweep the present rulers from their authority, which has happily never been contemplated. Besides the very questionable nature of such a proceeding, it would not gain the objects of Government, for we should then be unable to balance one chiefship against another; and, though we might be sure of him whom we advanced to the throne of his fathers, we may experience in his successor all the evils of a powerful Mahomedan neighbour. With the Barukzye family in the three eastern divisions of Afghanistan, we have to deal, as it were, with but one house, and we have the certainty of their goodwill and services for these good offices, which will keep them stable as they are, and prevent their injuring each other. In time, when one chief found that he could not destroy another, the family differences will be allayed, and we shall thus fuse into one mass materials which are less incoherent than they appear, and have all that is wished on this important frontier of our Indian empire.

15. I have not hesitated, while reporting on a question of this magnitude, to give expression to sentiments which have been adopted after much reflection on the scene of these distractions. Since arriving here, I have seen an agent of Persia, with alluring promises, after penetrating as far as Candahar, compelled to quit the country because no one was sent to invite him to Cabool. Following him, an agent of Russia, with letters highly complimentary and promises more than substantial, has experienced no more civility than is due by the laws of hospitality and nations. It may be urged by some that the offers of one or both were fallacious; but such a dictum is certainly premature, and the Ameer of Cabool has sought no aid in his arguments from such offers, but declared that his interests are wound up in an alliance with the British Government, which he will never desert while there is a hope of securing one. It is evident, therefore, that in this chief we have one who is ready to meet us; and from what is passing in Central Asia at this moment, it is anything but desirable to exhibit indifference to the solicitations of one whose position makes him courted, and whom aid may render powerful for or against us.

16. As this letter contains matters which may materially affect an adjustment of the differences between the Sikhs and Afghans, I have sent a copy of it specially to Captain Wade. I am not in possession of his letter to you, handing up the first overtures of the Ameer of Cabool, and I cannot in consequence give my sentiments thereon, which will be received as an apology for my not having touched upon them in this letter. Captain Wade and myself have, I am sure, but one object, which is to gain the ends of Government by using our most strenuous endeavours respectively at Lahore and Cabool; but I most respectfully entreat that Dost Mahomed Khan's views be subjected to strict scrutiny before they are pronounced to be a mere "gratification of his personal resentments." Did I believe so, I would not transmit this letter; but this chief is perfectly aware of the policy that we have marked out for ourselves in this country, and his conduct has been already, in some degree, put to the test by Persia and Russia. With regard to the latter, the importance of it has now become manifest by the
arrival

arrival of an express from the Bombay Government, conveying to me the Despatches of our Ambassador in Persia, which prove all previous conjectures to be well founded, and that Mr. Vickovitch is what he has given himself out, an agent from the Emperor of Russia. The necessity for a good understanding with this chief has thus become more than ever apparent, as the dangers from such an alliance are now no longer imaginary, but fairly developed.

17. I have just received a letter, as I finish this, from the Ameer to the Governor General, which I enclose, with its translation.]

I have, &c.

(signed) A. Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 26 January 1838.

(True copy.)

(signed) H. Torrens,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esquire, Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, the accompanying letter, dated the 18th instant, from Lieutenant Leech, at Candahar, reporting his proceedings at that city.

No. 1.

[The clear and judicious mode in which that officer has unfolded to the chiefs the views which the Government entertain regarding them will, I doubt not, prove very satisfactory; and I have assured Mr. Leech that he has entirely acted up to the spirit of the instructions which he received from me.]

2. With reference to [the third and fourth paras.] of the letter now forwarded, his Lordship will see a further confirmation of the views put forth [in my letter of the 20th of October last], regarding the commercial advantages contemplated by Russia in establishing her influence over Herat and Candahar. That the correspondence with the Russian Ambassador entirely related to commerce, I have lately discovered the best grounds for disbelieving; for it seems that the Sirdars of Candahar sent blank letters by their agent, with their seals affixed, to Tehran, and requested Abbas Khan to have them filled up in a manner that would do them most service with Russia; and certainly if a Russian resident being located at Candahar is the result of these communications, the widest latitude has been taken in filling them up.

3. The report which Mr. Leech gives of the communications made by Captain Vickovitch, on his passing through Candahar, is important, as we now know what has passed there as well as in Cabool. It has occurred to me that whatever be the ulterior views of Russia in these countries, the immediate design of sending this Russian agent to Afghanistan was to prevent our thwarting the present Persian expedition on Herat by leading the Afghans in a body to render assistance. It is known to Russia that there is a British mission in this country; and if it had acted thus, as they supposed, the attack on Herat would have been hopeless. The reports of having strengthened the detachments east of the Caspian, and of Persia being protected by Russia in the Shah's absence, have been widely spread by Mr. Vickovitch, and countenance the opinion above given.

[4. From a passage in a private letter of Mr. Leech to myself it is not improbable, in the course of his intercourse with the chiefs of Candahar, that they will try and revive their claim on Shikarpoor, in Sinde, which they held some years ago. I have written to Lieutenant Leech to give an unqualified negative to the claim immediately it is raised, and to inform them that Sinde is under British protection. This will have the effect of showing to them and their Russian correspondents, if they still have such, that our influence extends closer upon them than they might have supposed.]

5. With reference to Shikarpoor, I am aware that the state of affairs on the Indus prevented us, with a due regard for national character, from accepting the tender made by the Amirs of Sinde to station an agent there in 1835, and repeated in 1836; but could the presence of an agent, if troops were objection-

able in that neighbourhood, be secured, it would prove highly beneficial to our commercial plans, and the tranquillity of the countries bordering on the Indus, and shut up at the same time a means of intrigue by a city which is justly considered one of the "Gates of Khorasan."

6. I am sorry to perceive that the chiefs of Candahar have taken alarm at Lieutenant Pottinger's presence in Herat. I had previously had the same report made to me; but I have no doubt Lieutenant Leech will remove it by a candid statement of the circumstances, that I did send money and letters to that officer, who was surprised while residing in Herat by the arrival of the Persians, and detained in consequence.

7. The late intelligence of Herat is satisfactory and encouraging.

I have, &c.

Cabool, 29 January 1838.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

P.S.—2 February 1838. As this packet is being despatched, your letter of the 27th of December has just reached me. It is satisfactory to think that in deputing Lieutenant Leech to Candahar I have but anticipated his Lordship's wishes, and, as it appears, the spirit of your communication now acknowledged. In explanation of the correspondence regarding Candahar, it is proper to observe that that chiefship could not resist Herat, if it were free, and attacked by it, for a month; its support, therefore, depends upon its union with Cabool; but I have steadily kept in mind that its integrity must be preserved, though I have shaped my proceedings so as not to separate it from Cabool, which would defeat all our ends. The Ameer does not contemplate the capture of Candahar; in 1833 he might have appropriated it to himself, and did not.]

(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*

To Captain *Alex. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

Arrival at Candahar.

Conversation with Sirdar Mehir Dil Khan.

Sirdar Mahomed Omer Khan.

Herat pledged to Candahar.

Our reason for wishing to put a stop to the Persian advance.

Persia marching contrary to our advice.

Interview proposed between the Shah and the Emperor.

I HAVE the honour to report my arrival at this city, which I entered on the 15th. I was received with every distinction by the Sirdars, who granted me an immediate interview, and apportioned a part of the premises of Sirdar Mehir Dil Khan for my residence. [This Sirdar is allowed by all to be the most intelligent, talented, and well-educated of the three brothers, and appears anxious of possessing the favour of the British Government; and with him I have had several important and interesting conversations.

2. Regarding the Despatch of Sirdar Mahomed Omer Khan to the presence of Mahomed Shah, he assured me that his brothers and himself were well aware of the proverbial infidelity of Persian friendship, and of the frailty of their promises, and that the Sirdars were influenced by fear of losing their small chiefship, should Mahomed Shah get possession of Herat, which he certainly would if the place were not succoured from the east; that the Sirdars of Candahar were, unfortunately, not on good terms with their brother of Cabool, and were, in themselves, not strong enough to afford that succour; that from the English they had no encouragement; that the letter received from you led them to believe you were coming to Cabool and Candahar for merely commercial objects, and were consequently not concerned in their foreign political alliances. That the Persian elchee, Kumber Ally Khan, had pledged Herat to them in the name of the Shah, for their co-operation against it; and on their not professing faith in this promise, Kumber Ally Khan promised to return, with the guarantee of the Russian Government to that effect, and that he was expected every day. As these Sirdars had already involved themselves with Persia, and courted its alliance, I saw it was impossible to request an abrupt termination of their intercourse, or a promise that they would not receive Kumber Ally a second time; but I put Mehir Dil Khan in mind of the substantial pledge of assistance and friendship received from you, and told him that we had taken up their cause at their own anxious request, and on an assurance of putting it entirely into our hands; and that if they held any other than unmeaning complimentary intercourse with Persia, our friendship must suffer a considerable diminution, which would be a subject of regret to us, and, God forbid! a subject of repentance to them. I impressed upon his mind that our desire to put a stop to the Persian army's advance was not from any apprehension for ourselves, for the power of the Persians we regarded as inferior to that of Runjeet Singh, but that it arose from a desire to uphold the independence of the Afghan Chiefs, with whom we have long had friendly intercourse.] He said it was well known that Persia had marched against Herat contrary to the advice of the British Ambassador at Tehran; that it was well known that Persia had not the power to act by herself, and that the Shah had been put forward by the Russians; [that the Emperor had desired an interview with Mahomed Shah, which the latter consented to grant, at the same time saying that by it his preparations against Herat would be thus retarded, and that the Emperor answered he would by no means wish the meeting at that

that cost. I endeavoured to inspire him with a confidence which I myself did not feel, as to the unlikelihood of the Russians being in the background of this campaign, by telling him that the Russian Ambassador had publicly given his advice against the Shah's undertaking the campaign, and that we had assurance from the cabinet of St. Petersburg of their having no designs in this quarter. Mulla Abdul Rashid Khan, the confidential adviser of Mehr Dil Khan, assured me that it was in the last degree improbable that Kumber Ally Khan would return.

Pledges we had received that Russia was not concerned.

Improbability of Kumber Ally's return.

3. With regard to the intercourse with the Russian Ambassador at Tehran, Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan assured me that it merely extended to propositions regarding commerce; that the English Ambassador had written to divert their intercourse with Persia, which for several reigns had been carried on by friendly letters and presents; that they directed their next subsequent elchee, whom they sent to Mahomed Shah, to wait on the English Ambassador; that this offended the Shah so much as to induce him to slight the elchee; that the latter had subsequently waited on the Russian Ambassador, who had proposed to the Sirdars to send a man of respectability to him at Tehran; and that he would make such arrangements regarding their commerce as would make their country a second Cashmere; that the last letter the Russian Ambassador had sent them had miscarried.]

Intercourse of Candahar with Russia.

4. Regarding the Russian officer now in Cabool with a letter from the Emperor, Mehr Dil Khan informed me the following were his messages from the Emperor. That if they would make friends with Ameer Dost Mahomed, the Russians would assist them with money to make war on the Sikhs, and regain Mooltan and Derajat, and that they would also aid them in regaining Sind; that Mahomed Shah owed them one and a half crores of rupees, and they would give an order on him, the money to be divided between the Ameer and them equally, as also the countries thus gained; that the Russians could not furnish men, but would furnish arms; that they in turn expected the Sirdars to become subservient (farman bardar), and to receive a Russian resident; that they were to make war when desired, and make peace. This officer told them that the English had preceded the Russians in civilisation for some generations, but that now the latter had arisen from their sleep, and were seeking for foreign possessions and alliances; and that the English were not a military nation, but merely the merchants of Europe. Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan also informed me that several merchants had seen that officer in Bokhara, but were ignorant of the object of his visiting that city.

The agent of Russia now in Cabool. His messages.

5. With regard to the active part that Russia is taking in the movements of Persia, the Sirdar assured me he had good authority to state that Russia had taken measures to keep the kingdom of Mahomed Shah tranquil in his absence, by letters where they were feared, and by troops where they were not.

Measures adopted by Russia to co-operate with Persia.

[6. With regard to the increase of Russian power in the East, I told the Sirdar that it was a custom among the nations of Europe to combine their powers for self-protection against the ambitious designs of an overgrown neighbour, and that there were examples of this policy now in Europe as well as India.

Russian advance, how regarded in Europe.

7. In speaking to the Sirdar of the regret with which the British Government looked upon the unfriendly feeling existing between the brothers, I assured him that the States of Cabool and Candahar were regarded as distinct. He said that it was in the power of the British Government to reconcile them; that they all looked up to Dost Mahomed as the head of their family, but feared his ambition; that "if the lesser kissed the feet of the more powerful in obedience, it was fit that the latter should in return confer honour on the former."

Difference between the Barukzai brothers.

8. The Sirdar said that whatever hope the Amir might have of recovering Peshawar, he had none, as it was well known the Amir would not consent to its being held by Sultan Mahomed Khan; the Sirdar said there was a report, and a strong one, that Sultan Mahomed Khan in his interview with the Commander in Chief at Lahore had procured a grant of Peshawar to himself and family. I assured him he might rely on this being an untruth; that however friendly we were to Sultan Mahomed Khan, as one of the Barukzai brothers, we would never offer such a gross insult to our old friendship with the Maharaja. The Sirdar expressed his surprise that the Peshawar question was not yet settled. I explained to him that our mediation was an extremely delicate and difficult task, and that we had to avoid the suspicion of having our own interested views. These conversations were held at my residence, where the Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan does me the honour of a daily morning visit. I lost no time in requesting a private interview with the brothers in company, that these topics might be discussed in the presence of all three to avoid the jealousy of any one taking offence. I accordingly attended the Durbar, and took occasion to explain to them the circumstances under which Lieutenant Pottinger found himself detained in Herat; for I had discovered that the presence at this crisis there of that officer had excited considerable alarm, especially as he had avoided Candahar in his way to and from Cabool. I assured them he was not there on the part of the British Government, but by mere accident, in the course of a tour prompted by his own curiosity. Sirdar Kohun Dil Khan asked me what we expected from Dost Mahomed Khan for our good offices in establishing peace between the Afghans and Sikhs. I said we expected he would value our friendship more than that of those who had done less for him, and abandon intercourse with those who were not our friends, and that our expectation was partly fulfilled. He asked if Dost Mahomed had in that part given security that the Sirdars of Candahar would act as he did. I said that we did not ask for the security; that although they had bound themselves to every agreement their elder brother might enter into with us, you had no intention of treating separately with Dost Mahomed Khan on any subject relating to the family

Peshawar question.

Explained the delay in the settlement of Peshawar.

Interview with the three brothers.

Presence of Lieutenant Pottinger at Herat.

Return expected from the Amir for our mediation.

The Amir giving security for Candahar.

Our intercourse with the Amir gone through.

The original object of the mission to Cabool.

Feeling of Government regarding Herat.

We were prevented taking any measures for the safety of Herat, and why.

Latest news from Herat.

Sher Mahomed Khan Hazara.

Saloo Khan joined the Persians.

as a whole; that during our residence in Cabool of three months, the Peshawar question was the only topic agitated, except the contingency of Mahomed Shah getting possession of Herat, and that in that instance they well knew we had first made provision for the safety of Candahar.

9. I explained to the Sirdars the original object of your mission, and the circumstances under which it became political. I also informed them of the ignorance we were in of the manner in which our Government intended to act when they should hear of Herat being actually besieged; but they might rely that the capture of that city would be unwelcome intelligence to that Government; that although you were confident that this was the feeling of Government, you were unable to take or suggest measures to prevent such a misfortune, as there was by all accounts an accredited officer on the part of the British Ambassador in the camp of the Shah, to arrange any treaty, and to mediate if necessary between Prince Kamran and the Shah, and that Persia had authorised us by treaty so to interfere when a difference between those powers should arise. I said I had hopes that the Shah would withdraw, and in that case, or in the worse one of Herat being taken, they might rely on our assistance, if they preferred it, to keep their possessions in safety.

10. The latest news from Herat is, that there are only two gates open to the north, the Khushk and Kaloochak. The intelligence was brought by a cousin of Meerza Khan Achakzai's, four days ago, from Subzawar. The brother of this man had gone to Herat himself. This man also brought news that there had been no engagement between Sher Mahomed Khan Hazara and the force detached against him by the Shah. Another man, however, Sultan Khan Achakzai, arrived from Lash on the evening of the 18th, with intelligence that the ashif of Meshid Allaiyar Khan, who had been sent against Sher Mahomed Hazara, had engaged the latter at Killainon, and had lost 2,000 men; that he had sent to the Shah, either to be speedily reinforced or to be recalled. Mahomed Shah's mother has arrived in camp with 5,000 men. The part of the kungra (parapet) that had been battered down has been repaired; a gallery that was being driven on near the ditch has filled with water.

11. Deen Mahomed Khan, a nephew of Wazeer Yar Mahomed Khan, made a sally, and surprised 300 camels *en route* to the Persian camp, with ammunition and provisions, which he destroyed. Shah Pasand Khan, *alias* Saloo Khan Isaezai, formerly the Naib of Shah Kamran, whom the latter besieged in Lash, has accompanied Kumber Ally to the Persian camp. The messenger from Lash left the place eight days ago, and brought letters for the Sirdars from Kumber Ally Khan. He left Lash eight days ago, and hoped to reach the Persian camp in 12 days.

12. I have the honour to forward copy of a letter addressed by me to Sher Mahomed Khan Hazara. By the same messenger I forwarded your letter to Mr. M'Neil and Captain Stoddart, and a copy of the last Government letter regarding Herat and Candahar.]

Candahar,
18 January 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) R Leech, Assistant.

(True copy.)

(signed) H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To Captain A. Burnes, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 27th ultimo, on the subject of the unauthorised publication of information from your Mission in the Bombay papers; and in reply to observe, that his Lordship willingly accepts and fully relies on your assurances that the practice objected to will in future be guarded against.

Camp at Bareilly,
31 January 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) W. H. Macnaghten,
Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

(True copy.)

(signed) H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the dates and on the subjects noted in the margin.*

2. With regard to the communication of the first-mentioned date, I am desired to observe that the Governor General must repeat his disapprobation of the offer of pecuniary aid which you have made to the Candahar chiefs; and his Lordship trusts that the expectation expressed in your letter to Lieutenant Leech may be realised, "that such promise will require no active measures, and be as a dead letter." You have been already informed that it must not be acted upon. With the above exception, I am desired to acquaint you that your proceedings now reported are entirely approved. Your deputation of Lieutenant Leech to Candahar is considered to be a judicious measure, and the general tone of your instructions to that officer seems to be well conceived and appropriate.

3. The Governor General would fain cling to the hope that the rumour of the fall of Ghorian may require confirmation, as you have not stated the authority on which the information rests, as communicated by you in your letter of the 30th ult.; but the question will doubtless be set finally at rest in a few days.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

Camp at Simlah,
31 January 1838.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

IN a communication, under date the 20th of October last, I did myself the honour to lay before the Right Honourable the Governor General of India a report on the views of Russia towards maturing her designs in Central Asia. I confined myself to the proceedings of that empire with reference to her encroachments on Khiva, her arrangements with Bokhara, and the ulterior benefits which she sought to derive in Herat and Candahar from her proceedings generally in Toorkistan.

2. I have of late gathered, from unquestionable authorities, a variety of particulars on the encroachments of Russia in another direction, on the Khanat of Kokan, to the eastward of Bokhara, that have been conducted with the same designs to push forward her commerce, and which may involve much more serious consequences than seem at first likely to flow from any proceedings in that remote part of Asia.

3. Kokan is now an Uzbek chiefship, situated on the Sir or Jaxartes. It possesses considerable celebrity in being looked on as the capital of Afrasiab, and is historically connected with the campaigns of Gengiz and Timour; but it is better known as the birthplace of Baber, from which he raised himself, first to the throne of Cabool, and ultimately to that of Hindoostan. The present chief, Mahomed Ali Khan, succeeded about 14 years ago to his father Omar Khan, and it is more than suspected that the son removed his parent by poison.

* Letter, dated 20 December 1837, reporting the deputation of Lieutenant Leech to Candahar in consequence of the rapid change of feeling in that country, and enclosing copy of the instructions furnished to that officer; acknowledging letter of the 13th November, and stating that a copy of it, relating to Candahar, has been furnished to Captain Stoddart, who is supposed to be at Herat on the part of Mr. M'Neill. Letter, dated 30 December 1837, reporting that Ghorian has surrendered to Persia, and Herat besieged, but no impression yet made upon it.

poison. To the time of Omar Khan, the principality of Kokan had sunk in importance ; but that chief ruled with equity and justice, and his son, though a parricide, reaps the advantage. By some Kokan is declared to be superior in power to Bokhara ; by all it is now pronounced equal, so that the once fertile kingdom of Ferghana has again taken its place among the nations of Toorkistan.

4. In the time of Omar Khan there was little or no intercourse with the Russians at their settlement of Kuzzuljur or Petropolosk, which lies nearly due north, and in about the same meridian as Kokan, from which it is separated by a steppe. The Russians held sway over a portion of the Kuzzuks (Cossacks) who inhabit this part of Asia, and Kokan established an influence over those wandering tribes which adjoin her territories. On the death of the Khan, anticipating, from the circumstances attending it, a less inquiring attention, the Russians gradually advanced from their frontier, building small square forts at each station as they proceeded, dug two wells, stored a supply of grain, and planted a detachment of from 100 to 150 Russian infantry, with the further protection of some 400 or 500 of their Kuzzak subjects in the neighbourhood of each. About the year 1833, such had been the progress of Russia, that she had arrived within 12 stages of Kokan, and the nomade tribes declared their inability to render any further tribute, from their pasturage lands being invaded. The Khan, alarmed at such an announcement, as well as for his own safety, resolved to resent this invasion. Having assembled all his own troops, and directed the Kuzzaks, under their chief Roostum Tora, to join them, he placed the whole under one of his most distinguished officers, the Beglerbegee, with instructions to destroy the settlements south of a certain line, which anciently marked the dominions of Kokan.

5. The army set out from the capital of the country, and marching by Tashkend to the town of Toorkistan, finally quitted the cultivated land beyond that place, and proceeded into the steppe a journey of 20 days. The congregated force is said to have amounted to 40,000 men. The small detachments of the Russian forces could offer no resistance to such a horde ; from the first fort they fled, from some of the others they offered resistance, and shut their gates ; but seven of these settlements were in succession captured, along with some of the Russians who garrisoned them. In the attacks, a few lost their lives, but the Khan of Kokan had previously given instructions to his commander to set all the Russian prisoners free, declaring that his attack was not aggressive, but simply to protect the frontier of his dominions. The last fort which fell into his hands is described to have been on the verge of Siberia, where the Kuzzaks, subject to Russia, are both numerous and formidable. It was not therefore consistent with prudence or the policy of the Khan to enter territories undoubtedly Russian ; and the Kokan army returned to its country, levelling all the forts that had been captured, and filling up the wells which supplied them with water. On their route back they made a "chupao" (foray) on a Kuzzak chief, and put him to death, since the encroachments of Russia were attributed to his having rendered assistance.

6. This enterprise of the Chief of Kokan must be considered very spirited. Forage, that is grass, his troops could procure in abundance ; and cows, sheep, and horses for food ; but the supply of grain was transported along with the army. He has for a time enjoyed the reward of his bravery ; and as yet the Russians have not sought to renew an erection of the forts which have been destroyed. It is a universal opinion among the natives of Toorkistan that the Russian Government, by this advance on Kokan, sought to possess themselves of the country. Their commercial roads further to the west are often interrupted by the enmity which the Khan of Khiva bears towards them ; and they did not hesitate to avow that they aimed at gaining a safe route into Toorkistan, which should give confidence to the traders of their own and that country, though their mode of procuring one did not seem of a pacificatory nature.

7. Foiled in this attempt, the Russian Government set about compassing by other means the objects which it contemplates ; and shortly after the Kokan army was withdrawn, despatched an agent to the Khan to remonstrate on what he had done, and to suggest future arrangements which should benefit both. The agent was familiarly known to the people by the name of Alexander, but with his surname they are unacquainted. The Khan, dreading the power of Russia, treated the agent with much civility, and being disposed to enter into
views

views which advanced the prosperity of his chiefship, sent a return mission along with the agent to Russia, who was most graciously received by the Emperor.

8. The result of the intercourse between the Government of Russia and this small state has been the establishment of a frequent and regular traffic with Kokan. The road is said to be so superior that carts and sledges can be and are employed between Kuzuljur and Kokan in the transport of goods, instead of camels; and Kokan, now no longer supplied from Bokhara, sends many articles of commerce to that city. Russian merchants come in person to Tashkend and Kokan without fear or disguise; and though the Khan still entertains the same fears of their ultimate designs, he makes no objection, but, on the contrary, affords encouragement to this new commercial intercourse. Russia has thus, as far as commerce is concerned in Kokan, secured the objects which she had in view in this part of Asia.

9. There is much, however, to lead to the belief that her views at Kokan include political as well as commercial ends. A single glance at the map exhibits the importance of Kokan among the states of Toorkistan. It is in fact the key of the country; and history distinctly informs us that the various conquerors who have subdued Central Asia emanated from this locality. At this moment, Russia has at her command innumerable wandering races, the elements which composed the armies of those successful invaders; and besides these, she has a portion of them converts to Christianity, who have been disciplined as regular troops. It is not then remarkable that those who adjoin this gigantic empire, as well as those at a distance, should consider that they see in these advances of Russia injuries likely to flow in upon themselves.

10. But Kokan is not only the key of Toorkistan; it is on the high road to the Chinese settlements of Cashgar, Yarkund, and Khoten, with which it carries on a very considerable traffic, and where the Khan exercises much influence, as will be hereafter noticed. Nor is this all; there is an open and regular communication from Yarkund to Cashmeer and Ladak, so that, with an influence in Kokan, the ramifications of commerce become infinite, extending into Tartary, China Proper, and even India. The value of Herat as an emporium further to the south and west has been already described, as well as the designs of Russia to convert it to its own purposes. The site of Kokan, if examined, will appear not less useful, and account for the anxieties which have likewise been here displayed in establishing Russian supremacy. Herat has been stated to be the entrepôt of Persia, Toorkistan, Cabool, and India. Kokan will be found to be an emporium of Tartary and China, of Russia, and the northern frontiers of Hindoostan. But for the energy of the present Khan, Russia would have ere this secured a footing in this important mart.

11. In briefly sketching the events which have of late years taken place between the Chinese and the Khan of Kokan, I shall better exhibit the influence which an establishment here could exercise. The Khan does not possess power to expel the Chinese from their conquests, though most of their subjects are Mahomedan; but the various rebellions in this part of the Chinese dominions have dictated to that jealous people a line of policy both wise and considerate. Though they have taken the precaution to station their troops in forts where no Mahomedan is permitted to reside, and they here transact their commercial affairs, they have allowed an agent, on the part of the Khan of Kokan, to be stationed in each of their towns, and conceded to him the duties leviable by law on all dealings of Mahomedans coming to trade from the west: all debtors too who may flee here from their creditors are forthwith given up. The Khan has become, in consequence, interested in the tranquillity of the Chinese conquests, since he is permitted to derive a considerable revenue, without affording any protection to them. His understanding with the Chinese is therefore good, and he lately sent an Ambassador to Peking, who was received with unusual honours by the Emperor of China. The name of this individual was Alum Khojee, whose adventures would be interesting, but cannot be here related.

12. Attached to Kokan, it will be thus seen that there is a political influence subsidiary to commerce. At this time, the Russians trade to Chinese Toorkistan, by the towns of Eela and Aksoo, from a place called Shunnye, in Siberia, and situated 25 days' journey N. E. of Kuzuljur; but this intercourse is carried on by Mahomedans, no other Russian subjects being admitted into this part of the Chinese territories. Christians are, however, found at Yarkund, but they

are subjects of China, and, from what I can understand, Armenians. Though some of the Kuzzaks of Shunnye are described to be wealthy men, Russia desires to introduce into these countries, as she has now done into Kokan, her other subjects, who would then secure their passage into Cashmeer and Tibet, and extend the national influence and importance of the empire. The shawl fabrics, which now pass by so circuitous a route into Russia, would thus find a directer passage; and as their sale in Russia is steady and improving, goods to some extent might be thrown in return into that and the neighbouring countries. Natives of Cashmeer, now settled in Tashkend, Kokan, Yarkund, and all these districts, would facilitate this commerce, and the direct trade from Cashmeer and Ladak to this part of China would become much brisker, by an agency more active and superintending than that by which it is at present carried on.

13. In looking back upon the rapid progress which Russia is thus making in the improvement of her commerce throughout Central Asia, we are struck with the singular success which seems invariably to attend her plans. Without going beyond the subject of the present communication, we see her first strive to gain her ends by force; and, when foiled, secure them by diplomacy. In all her arrangements she seems to be a winner, and in the course of time we shall see her influence increase in Kokan and Toorkistan generally, so that the resources of these countries, whether she seeks to subdue them or not, will be entirely at her disposal. The Khanat of Khiva is at present her only opponent, and it cannot be believed that that petty state can long resist the power of such a neighbour. The affair of the merchants of Khiva, who have been detained in Russia, is not yet settled, and continues to give cause for great dissatisfaction in Toorkistan. I venture, therefore, respectfully to state, for the consideration of his Lordship the Governor General, that this is a very fitting opportunity to present some counteracting measures to our great commercial rivals. An increased attention to the arrangements for improving commerce, by way of the Indus, either by means of a fair, the details for which were given in my letter of the 18th ultimo, or by some other such plan, would most probably succeed better at this than a future period. In a short time the detention of the Khiva merchants will be forgotten, affairs will assume their old state, and we may, perhaps, lose a highly favourable opportunity for advancing our commercial prosperity.

Cabool,
1 February 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(A true copy.)

(signed) H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

THE present state of affairs in Herat has induced me to draw up a paper descriptive of them and the condition of the neighbouring countries, under an expectation that it will be found useful at this time, and which I have the honour to enclose, with a request that you will be pleased to lay the same before the Right Honourable the Governor General.

2. Though the subject of this communication is necessarily political, I have also embodied in it some geographical particulars not to be found in any of the writers on these countries, and which, while they illustrate the subject treated of, may, I also hope, prove generally useful.

Cabool,
7 February 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

NOTICE on Herat, with a Sketch of the State of Affairs in the surrounding Countries.

WHILE Persia prosecutes her designs against Herat, it is desirable to take a cursory view of the state of affairs in Herat itself and the countries adjacent to it, as well to understand the resistance which they can offer as the facilities which they afford to an invading army. The variety of subjects treated only admits of this document being a sketch, in which I give it. Object of the report.

2. Herat has been already described by so many travellers that any minuteness would be superfluous. It is situated in one of the richest countries in the East. It is a walled town with a citadel, surrounded by a deep wet ditch, which is supplied by water from springs in it, and may also be filled from the river. The ditch is in good, and the walls in tolerable, repair. The size of Herat has been greatly overrated. The limited space occupied prevents its having the population assigned to it, and it is not considered half the size of Cabool. Asiatics are not good judges of the number of people in a city, but in comparing one place with another they may be relied on. The importance of its situation is very great, and it has always exercised considerable influence over the affairs of Central Asia. "The most polished court in the west of Europe could not, at the close of the 15th century, vie in magnificence with that of Herat."* Herat.

3. Kamran, the present ruler, is the last remaining scion of the Sudoozye princes in Afghanistan. He is a man of bad passions, cruel and dissipated, entirely in the hands of Yar Mahomed Khan Alekozye, an Afghan, who has raised himself to eminence at Herat by getting rid of all the other chiefs. He is now Vizier, and would remove Kamran himself, or substitute a son in his stead, were he not afraid of the great Hazara chief, Shere Mahomed Khan, who resides to the north, and is a devoted supporter of Kamran's interests. The great tribe of the Berdooranees, who were removed from Eastern Afghanistan, to Herat, by Nadir, are nearly extinct. In Herat, of 3,000 families about one-fourth remain, and their chief, Mir Sadik Khan, has been lately put to death for real or supposed intrigues in Persia and Candahar. Shumssoodeen Khan Populzye, who distinguished himself in the last war with Persia, and had the government of Furra, has now gone over to that power in disgust, an unfortunate and ill-timed defection. The chief of Lash, Shah Pusund Khan, has also repaired to the Persian camp. Its government and politics.

4. The garrison in Herat consists of about 10,000 men. The vizier and his family muster 1,500, and the dependents of Kamran 200 more. Six thousand Dooranees and other Afghans have been removed from Furra into the city, and besides these are 3,000 foot, known by the name of "doutulub;" these are also Afghans, and a description of troops first established by Ahmed Shah Dooranee. They were obliged to furnish a horseman for every pair of ploughs, but Kamran last year converted the levy into foot, fixing two individuals for each plough. It caused a great deal of dissatisfaction, but this it is believed is now removed. The Kuzzilbash or Shiah inhabitants have been either sold by the minister or fled the country, with the exception of about 1,200 families, who have been removed to a place called Jakera, outside the city, to prevent treason. Many of the Soonee residents have been also sold, but the rest remain. Provisions have been plentifully stored, and to this time the city cannot be correctly said to be besieged, since two of its gates are open. There are but ten guns at Herat, and none of any calibre. The strength of the place consists more in its position than garrison. In 1833, when the present Shah of Persia, then Mahomed Mirza, attacked Herat, the operations were interrupted by the death of Abbas Mirza, and the Persians made a disastrous retreat to Tehran. Garrison.

5. The Persian army has been before Herat for the last 60 days without making any impression upon it. Ghorian, the frontier town, and a strong place, was betrayed into their hands; and this has enabled them to procure provisions and make good their footing, otherwise the subsistence of the army would have been very Siege of Herat.

* Erskine's Baber.

very difficult ; as it is, the defection of Shumsoodeen Khan and others had been most fortunate for them. The season chosen for the attack is favourable to Persia in one respect, because it prevents Kamran being succoured by the Khivans, Toorkmuns, and other natives of Toorkistan. If Herat can hold out till the equinox (nouroz), it is supposed that this aid may be procured, as will be hereafter stated. If the Persians are obliged to raise the siege, it will prove most calamitous to them ; if Herat falls, the power of the Afghans as a nation will be much broken. In Ghorian, Persia has secured a great stronghold, which may hereafter enable her to hold her position and contribute to her ultimate success.

Extent of Herat,
revenue, trade.

6. At the present time the chiefship of Herat extends eastward to the Khaush-rood, a river half way to Candahar. To the north it has but a few miles of territory, the country in that quarter belonging to Sher Mahomed Khan Huzara. To the west lay the district of Ghorian, which before its capture exercised an influence over the Persian canton of Khaf. To the south Herat is bounded by the Helmund and Seistan, Kamran having subdued this latter province about four years ago. Herat has four districts called "willayuts," and nine "belooks." The "willayuts" are Obe and Ghorian on the east and west ; Kurookh, or Kilai, on the north ; and Subzawar on the south. Its "belooks" are the lands cultivated by so many canals, and bear their names. Two-thirds of the produce is generally taken by Government. It is doubtful if the revenue amounts to 13 lacs of rupees, but Kamran is rich in jewels and hoarded treasure. Tyranny and trade do not exist together.

7. The territories of Herat need not be further described. I shall commence from the south, and give in succession an account of the circumjacent countries. Seistan, though now a province of Herat, will deserve a short notice from its former fame. The ruling family of this province, descended from the line of Kyanee, has lately lost its power. To Behram Khan Kyanee a son succeeded to the government, and ruled over three chiefs, two of whom were Seistanees and Shiahhs, the other a Belooch. A brother rebelled, and sought the assistance of the Belooch chief, the son of Khan Jan by an intermarriage. The rightful heir died or was put to death, and the Beloochees ill using the rebellious brother, he fled to Herat, and sued for the aid of Kamran. He immediately invaded Seistan, plundered it, and drove off 6,000 of its inhabitants captive, whom he sold into slavery, or exchanged to the Toorkmuns for horses. He assigned to the Kyanee family the town of Jahanabad, south of the Helmund, where they now reside, and fixed his own government at Chuknusoer, north of the river. Little regular revenue is derived from Seistan, except camels, cows, and sheep ; it is thinly peopled, and altogether a poor possession.

Geography of
Seistan.

8. The most remarkable feature of this old province is the intersection by the Helmund and its tributary rivers. In summer all these are greatly swollen, and it has been said that they form a lake called "Zurrah ;" but the natives whom I interrogated were unacquainted with this name, and described the rivers to be lost in a vast swampy region, full of reeds, called "Hamoo." Many of the places on the map are also quite unknown, but this will be sufficiently accounted for when it is stated that ancient forts are often laid bare by the blowing away of the sand, while modern ones are overwhelmed. This is to the people a constant source of wonder, and castles of a former age are said to show themselves as newly from the hands of the architect. The singular disappearance of the waters of the Helmund, and this changeable face of nature, would account for the many fabulous descriptions of Seistan. Among innumerable ruins which I heard of, one in particular, that of an old city called Zaideen, in the "Loote" or desert, yields many antiquities, rings, coins, &c., which are taken by the finders to Furra for sale. One curious property of the climate is, that the horse cannot live in it, and probably there are not 100 of these in Seistan. Kamran lost nearly all his cavalry in his campaign, most of the horses dying from a disease of the digestive organs contracted in it, which makes it very unfavourable for military operations ; but the camels of Seistan are celebrated.

Lash.

9. To the north of Seistan, and south of Furra, one of the governments under Herat, is the small district of Lash, held by Shah Pusund or Suloo Khan, a Sadozye Dooranee. Lash itself is a place of considerable strength in those parts, being a fort on a scarp'd hill or rock, which has resisted all Kamran's endeavours

endeavours to take it. It is situated in the Furra road, and with seven or eight small forts forms all the possessions of this chief. Kamran, unable to seize it, destroyed its karezeees or watercourses. This hostile disposition has driven Shah Pusund Khan from his natural friends, the Afghans, to Persia, with which he is leagued, in hopes of warding off danger from himself. The chief is well spoken of in these countries. He received the ex-king, Shooja ool Moolk, after his last defeat, at Candahar, who fled there in hopes of support from Kamran; but though these members of the Sudoozye family exchange presents with each other, there is no cordiality, since on the success of either, one must fall, and at present Kamran has power, of which Shooja has been deprived.

10. Kayn is the first Persian province to the west of Furra, and lies on the frontiers of the kingdom. It is entirely inhabited by Shiahhs, which has led the Toorkmuns to seek for slaves in it during their "chupaos" (forays). The inhabitants are a timid race, and live in small forts, the number of which is very great. Kayn is a country badly watered, and the bair tree, which always flourishes in arid countries, is common. Birjind and Kayn are the principal places, and the district is ruled by a Governor of its own, whose subjection to the Shah, however, is complete, since he furnishes a quota of 3,000 or 4,000 infantry when called upon. They form part of the force at present before Herat. The chief of Herat had designs on Kayn, and in a difference between that and the neighbouring canton of Tubbus, which arose six years ago, Kamran lent his aid to the Governor of Kayn, but the dispute was adjusted. Kayn was never subdued by Kamran, and it refused also to accept a Governor of Abbas Mirza's appointment in 1832. It is now held by a son of Meer Alum Khan, its former Governor. Kayn.

11. Adjoining Kayn, and further to the west, is Tubbus, which is also subject to Persia, and inhabited by Shiahhs; its principal places are Tublus, Toon, and Goonabad; of them, Toon is the largest. It has its own Governor, Meer Ali Naghee Khan, and very much resembles Kayn in soil and productions, though the orange tree is not found in any other part of Khorasan. Its quota of troops is also furnished in infantry, and both places are noted for the carpets, which form part of their tribute. Tubbus.

12. North of Tubbus is Toorskish, a district which is well watered and peopled, yielding good fruit. It is smaller than Kayn, and furnishes about 3,000 troops to the Shah, and has a Governor appointed over it. It lies north from Meshid. Toorskish.

13. Between Toorskish and Herat, and south of the road which leads from Meshid to that city, is the district of Khaf, a miserable tract, with a climate very uncongenial from high winds. It has been nearly depopulated by the Toorkmuns. The principal place is Killa Rohee, which is held by Nussur olla Teimoree, who is a Shiah. Khaf could scarcely be said to be dependent in Persia till the present campaign. The Shiah population is also outnumbered by the Soonees, who are Teeimorees. Kamran's Minister had, in some degree, subdued Khaf, and very imprudently garrisoned the frontier tower of Ghorian by its natives, who were Shiahhs, which led to its being betrayed into the hands of the Shah. Khaf.

14. The hilly country between Meshid and Herat, on both sides of the high road to within 40 miles of that city, has been subject to Persia since 1833, and is held directly under Meshid. Previous to that period many petty chiefs, who were robbers, occupied the tract. Of these Mahomed Khan Kuraee, of Toorbut Hyderee, was the most notorious. He is now in the service of the Shah, and Toorbut and Sungan, his strongholds, are garrisoned by Persians. Toorbut-i-Sheikh Jan, a place of pilgrimage, was held by the Huzarees, as also Mahmoodabad and Shurh-i-Now. On the approach of the Persians, the population was marched further east, and the few residents in these places only cultivate within a gunshot of their villages, from fear of the Toorkmuns. Water and forage abound. Toorbut Hyderee, &c.

15. North of this tract, and about 100 miles from Meshid, lies Shurukhs, long the seat of Toorkmuns, who plundered Khorasan. In 1832 I saw it rich in the spoils of others, but in a few months after it was surprised by Abbas Mirza in person, who either captured or killed its entire population. Those Shurukhs.

which were ransomed returned to Shurukhs, but in the following year the Khivans, who claim some power over it, insisted on their removing further into the Desert to Merve, where they are located. Shurukhs has abundance of cultivable land on the banks of the Tijind, but the excesses of its population scared away the traveller and the merchant; and if not now the residence of robbers, it lies on the route by which these sons of the Desert issue to plunder on the frontiers of Persia.

Moorghab and the
Soonee Huzaras.

16. Immediately on the north of Herat lies the country of the Soonee Huzaras, and that portion of the tribe ruled by Sher Mahomed Khan, of Killa-i-Nou, an adherent of the chief of Herat. This country includes Obe, and extends to the Moorghaub. On the last invasion of Herat he removed about 4,000 Tajik families from their seats nearer Herat, to the more fertile lands east of Punjdeh, on the bank of that river, that if his enemies triumphed over him, near Herat, he might still have subjects. This chief has great power in these countries, and, besides his attachment to Kamran, has connection with the Khivans, Toorkmuns, and chiefs in and about Maimuna, all of whom would only assist Herat through him. He plunders the country of its property and inhabitants as far west as Meshid and Nishapoor, and the petty chiefs of Khaf, Toorkish and Tubbus are glad to send him annual presents, to spare in some degree their people. He is a man about 45 years of age, and of a better disposition than his cruel occupation would lead to the belief. He is a nephew of Mahomed Khan Beglerbagee, and now holds that title. He can take the field with 6,500 horse; 2,000 of these are constantly present; and 2,000 more from his "ooloos" are to be assembled in a few days; 1,500 are furnished from the Feerezkohees, who are his subjects; and the Jumsheedee Eimaks, who are his friends and coadjutors, will send 1,000 more. He can also command 2,000 or 3,000 horse from Maimuna; and in the former invasion of the Persians, all the Toorkmuns co-operated with him. Without the aid of Sher Mahomed Khan, Herat could have no hope against Persia; but that chief will not aid Kamran against Candahar or any other power. Though cordial with Kamran, he is inimical to his minister, whom he considers to have supplanted him in authority.

Maimuna.

17. Across the Moorghab, and towards Balk, which city is in the territory of the King of Bokhara, lie the small states of Maimuna, Andkho, Shibbergam, Siripool and Akchee; a connection, as I have before stated, subsists between them and Herat, but since they are divided against each other, their aid is of small avail, as a minute account of them will better exhibit. All of them are engaged in the slave trade, and independent, though they send presents of horses both to Herat and Bokhara. Maimuna is the most important of the whole: the chief is Mizrab Khan, an Uzbek of the tribe Wun, and his country extends from Maimuna to the Moorghab, and adjoins that of Sher Mahomed Khan Huzara. Maimuna itself is an open town, or rather village, of about 500 houses; but the strength of the chief consists in his "ils," or moving population, who frequent Ulmur, Jankira, Sorbagh, Kaffir Killa, Khyrabad, Kusar, Chuckaktoo, Tukht-i-Khatoon, and other sites, which can scarcely be called villages. He also numbers Arabs among his subjects, many of that tribe having been long settled here. With his whole adherents drawn out, he could muster about 6,000 horse and three small guns, but he could not quit his territories with half the number, as he is on bad terms with the chiefs of Siripool, who is much feared, though less powerful. Mizrab Khan is about 40 years of age; he succeeded to his brother about six years ago, whom he poisoned—a common mode of disposing of people in these countries, and a fate which his own father also met.

Andkho.

18. Andkho, or Andkhoe, is ruled by Shah Wulee Khan, an Afghan Toork, who settled here, with others of his tribe, in the time of Nadir. They were then Shiah, but are now Soonees. The "ils" of the chiefs, besides his own race, are Arabs, and he can furnish 500 horse, and is on good terms with Maimuna. Andkho has a larger fixed population than Maimuna, being in one of the high roads to Bokhara, but there is a scarcity of water in this canton. It is here that the wheat is a triennial plant. Andkho is the place where Moorcroft perished.

19. Shibbergam belongs to an Uzbek chief, named Roostum Khan, who has a character for moderation; he can muster 500 or 600 horse, and is on good terms with

with both Maimuna and Koondooz. Shibbergana is considered to be a very ancient place, being given to the days of the Kaffirs (Greeks), and still the strongest fort in these parts. The "ark" or citadel is built of brick and mortar, and surrounded by other walls of mud. Kalick Ali Beg, the late Chief of Balk, besieged it for seven years without success, but it must only be understood to be strong against Uzbeks, who are badly supplied with artillery. Water is conducted to it from the rivulet of Siripool.

20. Zoolfkar Shere, an Uzbek of the tribe of Achumuelee, governs Siripool, and is known as a brave and determined man; he is on bad terms, both with Koondooz and Maimuna, and though he has only 1,000 horse he resists the attacks of both, and plunders all around; his feud with Maimuna arises on account of his daughter, a wife of the former Chief, being seized by Mizrab Khan. His "ils" are in Sungcharuk, Paogan, Goordewan, and Daghdrah, and if he can enlarge their number, which is not improbable, his power will be increased. Siripool itself is as large as Maimuna. Siripool.

21. Akhchar is a dependency of Balk, and held by a son of Eshan Khoja, the governor of that once vast city. It is consequently tributary to Bokhara. The Governor of Balk, through fear, lately permitted Moorad Beg, of Koondooz, to establish himself on one of the canals of Balk; but the King of Bokhara sent a force of 8,000 men, and has just dislodged him. Half of this body was raised in Balk, and the rest from Bokhara. The Koondooz Chief offered no resistance to the King. Akhchar and Balk.

22. All of these Chiefships are situated in the plain country, which in general is well watered by rills or canals, and has abundance of forage for camels and horses, which are numerous. The soil is dry, but there are many gardens near the towns. The style of building, from a scarcity of wood, is that of the bee-hive shape. There is a good open caravan road from Meshid to Balk, which is a journey of 16 days; thus, from Meshid to Shurukhs, four; to the Monghul, three; to Maimuna, four; and to Balk in five days. This is much the nearest route to Cabool from the west. Supplies, roads, and nature of these chiefs.

23. Between Herat and Cabool, and south of these Chiefships, lies the mountainous country of the Hazaras. The journey between the cities has been performed in 12 days by Shah Zuman, with a body of horse, and is said to be passable for artillery of small calibre. Caravans also travel it in summer, but the ascents and descents of innumerable hills are such that it is very fatiguing to the cattle, and the roads from Cabool, by Maimuna or Candahar, are always performed. Towards Herat the Hazaras are Soonees, while those near Cabool are Shiahhs, which is a singular reversal, since the people of Cabool are of the former, and those of Persia of the latter persuasion. About Khujir Chist, east of Obe and Herat, the Teimorees are partially submissive to Sher Mahomed Khan, and will assist Herat. Those who are near Maimuna, and the adjoining states, are plundered by them, while Moorad Beg, of Koondooz "chupaos" the country to Yakonbung, over three of the passes of Hindoo Koosh, and near Bamian. The eastern portion about Bamian, and west of the road between Ghuzni and Candahar, are subjects of Cabool, and pay a regular tribute. They are the Hazaras of Besoot, Dihzunggee (in part), Kara Bagh and Jughoree. The Kuzzibashs of Cabool have orders given on the greater part of this tract for their allowances, the people being Shiahhs, but the revenues of Besoot are generally collected by one of the Ameer's sons. The Hazarahs of Faloda, Hoojuristan, which is west of Jughoree, as well as those of Dih Koondie, secure independence from their remote possessions. The whole race is without a head, or it might prove very formidable; at present they are driven off in every direction, and sold like sheep. At no period did the Kings of Cabool derive so much revenue from them as is now procured by Dost Mahomed Khan. The eastern Hazaras are bigoted Shiahhs, and devotedly attached to the Persian party in Afghanistan.

24. South of the territories of the Hazaras we have the Chiefships of Candahar, but its affairs require a more extended notice than can be here given to them. It will be sufficient to observe that if Herat were not crippled by Candahar.
1—Sess. 2. S Persia,

Persia, Candahar could not resist an attack from it without the aid of Cabool. The position of Candahar is isolated, and its cordial union with Cabool is therefore necessary for its existence and preservation. The Chiefs themselves are perfectly aware of their danger, and in seeking an alliance with Persia have no sincerity in their solicitude, but the object of security against Herat. Their position is further endangered by differences, which are unhappily too frequent, among the ruling brothers, and which foreign threats do not always extinguish.

Probable effects of
Persian invasion
and ascendancy.

25. Having thus passed in review the state of Herat itself, and the countries around it, they certainly would not appear to be in a condition likely to offer much resistance to a power which had any consolidation. If Persia fails in the present attack, the result may be disastrous to her, but if enabled to establish an ascendancy in Herat, she could in course of time bring under subjection the petty states to the north; she could never advance a step further east without paralysing or conquering them. The Afghans themselves view with concern, and many of them with despair, the present invasion by Persia; the whole resources of that country, say they, have never of late years been arrayed under the Shah, and that this attack differs in consequence from all others. If it prove successful, they anticipate the removal of the Afghans round Herat into the interior of the kingdom, according to the usage very common in these countries, which will let in upon its fertile plains the neighbouring Shiah subjects of Persia, and thus fix its supremacy and support the feelings of the Afghans, in religion and policy, by those of Persia. Should these opinions turn out well founded, the result of the campaign will be most calamitous to the Afghan people, though the progress of Persia towards Cabool itself would even in that case be still impeded by the number of Chiefships, though that number and their disunion would ensure their ultimate fall. It is fortunate that the Huzaras about Herat are enemies in creed to Persia, and that the whole country to the Indus is inhabited by rigid Soonees; still, with a tolerant policy that interfered not with their religion, any power might overrun and maintain the region lying between India and Persia. Had Runjeet Sing, in the outset of his career, permitted the Mahomedans to pray aloud and kill cows, he might have possessed himself of the entire kingdom of Ahmed Shah Dooranee. But Persia is not likely to pursue more enlightened views, and the present reigning family in Afghanistan, the Barukzyes, may avail themselves of the opportunity to secure their possessions by submitting to his power, for since Persia cannot govern them herself they may do it under her. Should, however, the Afghans, circumscribed though they now are by narrow limits, be freed from apprehension on the East, instead of following the destinies of Persia on the fall of Herat, they might without difficulty be united, when their country would form a barrier not to be forced by future aggressors. The materials are by no means so incoherent as they at first sight appear, but without measures that will ensure their union as a nation (whatever independence may be allowed to each Chiefship), this country must sink under one of even inferior resources.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*

On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool,
7 February 1838.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report on an intrigue or conspiracy, encouraged by Maharajah Runjeet Sing, to overthrow the government of Dost Mahomed Khan, which has been discovered in a curious manner, by the melancholy assassination of one of the parties concerned. A few words will suffice to explain its origin.

2. After the affair of Jamrood, the Ameer of Cabool gave the government of Ghuznee to one of his six sons, displacing his nephew Shumsodeen. Sooltan Mahomed Khan, from Peshawur, fomented as much as possible the bad feeling to which this step gave rise, addressed letters to Shumsodeen and to his own sisters at Cabool, to incite their husbands to conspire against Dost Mahomed Khan, promising them in return, and in his Highness's name, great rewards from the Maharajah. On this account various letters were addressed to Sooltan Mahomed Khan, who passed them on to Rajah Dhyan Sing, and the steps taken by the ruler of Lahore on the occasion have now come to light in the annexed documents.

3. One of the Ameer's brothers-in-law, Sadoo Khan, a Barukzye, being, as it is supposed, conscience struck at his treason, revealed it to the Ameer, greatly to the dissatisfaction of his wife, a lady of imperious disposition, who had long been ill used by him, and against whom she had often complained to her brother, the Ameer. Dost Mahomed Khan took no further notice of what he had heard than to inform all parties of his knowledge of their conduct. On the night of the 5th instant, as Sadoo Khan was returning home from dining with the Ameer, he was shot through the body, in the bazaar, by three balls. The assassin was immediately secured, and, horrible to relate, stated that he had been bribed to do the deed for 20 tomans (200 rupees) by the man's wife. Sadoo Khan lingered till next day, when the Ameer ordered the murderer to be executed and his body divided into parts, to be gibbeted in the city. The Ameer's sister confesses her guilt, and gives her husband's ill treatment of her as its cause.

4. In making an inventory of the deceased's effects, the letters appended were discovered, and they do indeed bear out the ruler of Cabool in the suspicions expressed in the third and fourth paragraphs of my letter of the 26th ultimo, that the ruler of Lahore seeks now to compass the Ameer's destruction, by means of Sooltan Mahomed Khan. While the Maharajah is addressing the Governor General to the effect that "no one will be able to foment disturbances" in Cabool, and "what power have Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan and others that they should offer any pretext;" and while his Highness "expresses himself in terms of cordiality and readiness to act in consultation and harmony with our Government in respect to Afghanistan," he has at that very time conferred the title of Meer of the Afghans on Sooltan Mahomed Khan, counselled his being placed over all the first men in the country, and actually made a move towards the Attok to "check-mate," as he calls it, the Chief of Cabool.

5. I have seen the originals of the letters now transmitted, and retained copies of them. They certainly carry a conviction that the Ameer of Cabool sees well into what is passing; he handed them to me with a note, saying he looked to the British Government as a sick man did to a physician, and that though the family circumstances which had brought these papers to light were not matters for him to dwell on, it corroborated all he had previously stated.

6. The expression of Russian agent or "Naib i Oorooossee," given to one of the individuals named in the Maharajah's letter to Dhyan Sing, is not without
1—Sess. 2. s 2 its

its importance at this time, and shows that if his Highness did really consider the individual in question an agent of Russia, he did not on that account think it necessary to abstain from seeking his aid and co-operation.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*

Cabool, 10 February 1838.

On a Mission to Cabool.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Rajah Dhayn Sing to the address of Sirdar ~~Sooltan~~ Mahomed Khan, the Meer of the Afghans.

A. C.

YOUR kind letter, containing the happy tidings of your welfare, and the faithful services which you are performing for his Highness the Maharajah, reached me in a fortunate moment, and I fully understood its contents. As there were many important subjects in your letter, I lost no time in laying it before the Maharajah, who has highly approved of them, and of your attachment and fidelity.

I rely, and thoroughly trust, that the Maharajah will honour every one of the chiefs and nobles who shall wait on him, in the month of Kartak (November), with suitable "Jagheers," and I have obtained the order of his Highness to this effect, a copy of which I enclose for your perusal.

You must now endeavour to further promote the power of the Maharajah, and bring over Sirdar Mahomed Afzal Khan, the son of Dost Mahomed Khan, with 2,000 horsemen; Sooltan Ahmed Jan, the son of Azim Allah Khan, and Moolla Momin, and every one of them will receive the favours of the Maharajah and gifts of land, according to his station. They will also get a suitable sum of money to maintain their dignity.

Do not be at all concerned for yourself; the title of "Meer-i-Afghan," or chief of the Afghans, which the Maharajah has lately bestowed upon you, will become celebrated, and crowned by fresh favours of the Maharajah. By fulfilling the services pointed out, there will be three benefits arising to you: first, the bonds of your loyalty and attachment to the Maharajah will be strengthened; second, your name will be known to every Afghan in the country; third, the nobles and chiefs who will wait upon Maharajah by inducements from you, will be grateful to you, and consider you the Meer of the Afghans.

I hope you will send your messengers in all quarters, to every one, and assure them of the favours of the Maharajah in case they come in this month of Kartuk (November).

You should also write to Sirdar Khojah Mahomed Khan (his son), and to Sirdar Rahim Dil Khan (of Candahar), to come with 2,000 horsemen to the Maharajah, who will graciously give him a handsome salary to maintain his dignity and equipage. It will make the friends of Kandahar happy, and the enemies sorry.

You should also write to Sirdar Shumsodeen Khan, the son of Mahomed Ameer Khan, to hold out in Ghuzni with bravery, and send his agents to the Maharajah, who will honour him with the highest favour. In this case he will have no fear from Cabool (Dost Mahomed). We will also send a bold army to Peshawur; and Dost Mahomed Khan, being surrounded with difficulties, will be like the king on a chess board, checkmated in Cabool.

You yourself must also sow the seeds of friendship with the rulers of Bajour and Kooner, and obtain their confidence.

It is well known to you that the Maharajah is extremely fond of horses, so you must induce the nobles who intend to wait on his Highness to bring fine horses and swords, and his Highness will thus be more kind to you.

Continue to write me always, since a letter is considered half a meeting.

TRANSLATION of the Enclosure, being the Letter of the Maharajah Runjeet Sing, to the address of Rajah Dhayn Sing.

A. C.

Since you are my confidential and principal wellwisher, I give you notice of the following arrangements.

You know that Sirdar Afzal Khan, son of Dost Mahomed Khan, with 2,000 horsemen, and Sirdar Rahim Dil Khan, with the same number of troops and five horses, as well as Sooltan Ahmed Jan, son of Azim Khan, Moolla Momin Khan, &c., with 200 horsemen, Hajee Khan Kokar, Abdool Summund, Naibi Roosee (agent of the Russians), Nabobs Jabbar Khan, Zaman Khan, and Usman Khan, have desired, through Sirdar Sultan Mahomed

Mahomed Khan, to wait upon me. I therefore inform you that any of these Sirdars who may come with presents of good horses and swords will meet my favour, and, in lieu of his homage, receive a handsome salary.

You should also write to Sirdar Shumsodeen, the son of Mahomed Ameer Khan, to rely on my kindness, and be happy in Ghuzni. He ought to send his agent to me, who will be treated kindly.

(True translations.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward, for the information of the Right Honourable, the Governor General of India, a letter from Lieutenant Leech, under date the 28th ultimo, reporting the progress of the Persians against Herat, and continuance of his communication with the Chiefs of Candahar.

2. It will be seen that the impression entertained at Candahar is, that Herat will fall by the vernal equinox if not succoured. In the 5th paragraph of the Report, accompanying my letter of the 7th instant, it is however believed that if it can hold out till then it will receive assistance from the Toorkmuns and other tribes of Toorkistan.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 12 February 1838.

To Captain *Alexander Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that since my last, dated 18th instant, there have been no news received from the west regarding the progress of the siege of Herat; my own cossid has not had time to return. Kamran is described as in a state of insensibility to his danger from constant debauchery, and the opinion here is, that unless succoured (of which at present there is little hope), the place will fall by the festival of Nouroz, about the 1st of April.

No news from the west regarding the siege.

2. The Sirdar called on me on the 21st. He seemed anxious that some immediate step should be taken to secure Herat; he said that he and his brothers would collect 50,000 men, and that their moving on to Furrak with this force would raise the siege of Herat; that it would be too late to seek for safety of Candahar when that city fell, that it was the gate of Afghanistan; he mentioned there was an elchee of Kamran's in the city, who had come to offer money to the Sirdars if they would move on to Furrak, and that they had delayed, in expectation of assistance from us. He then read a letter from Newab Jubbar Khan, in which they were led to hope that everything they wished would be done by me, and he wished to know in what way the British were willing to befriend them. He said Mahomed Omer Khan had not been despatched to conciliate the Khujurs on account of fear for their own possessions; that they were not always powerful enough to resist Kamran, and that if Persia threatened them they would tender their allegiance, and to save themselves they had intended sending to conciliate the Shah, that they might keep him out of Afghanistan, get rid of Kamran, and secure Herat for themselves, and in the hands of Afghans. I said we were prevented going farther than in promising them assistance in case of the fall of Herat, and Candahar being threatened on account of the presence of a British agent in the Persian camp, and that we were ignorant what instructions he had from Government, and in this ignorance we could not act in this quarter for fear of counteracting the views of our own Government; that a few days must bring us the views of that Government on the present crisis of affairs in this quarter, as the fall of Herat had been proposed as a supposition for their opinion two months ago, and that until we heard from the officer in the Shah's camp or from Calcutta, we could give them no other kind of assistance than already promised. They offered to forward any letter to the Shah's camp for me, with a man of his own, to whom he would give as a subterfuge letters for Kumber Ali Khan; the Sirdar said that of course the Sindians would be pleased at the success of the Persians, as they were in their interest.

Conversation with Mehr Dil Khan.

Raising the siege of Herat.

Object in sending Mahomed Omer Khan.

Offer to forward letter to the camp.

Conversation with
Sirdar Rahim Dil
Khan.

Cause of our dif-
ference with Persia.

Second conversa-
tion with Mehr Dil
Khan.

Opening for an
enemy made by
their alliance with
Persia.

Afghans averse to
peace.

Interview with the
Sirdars in company.

Object in coming to
this country.

Whether commer-
cial or political.

3. On the 23d, I requested an interview with Sirdar Rahim Dil Khan at his residence. In speaking of the comparison of our friendship with that of Persia, I said the latter had certainly promised them Herat; that we could not do that, but by securing their country from foreign enemies would give them time to administer the internal affairs of their own country, and increase their revenue; that we were on good terms with Kamran, and were till now with Persia; that we disapproved of her designs in this quarter; that we had disciplined her army, and were ready to officer her troops, if employed in other quarters. Persia had offered them Herat. It was for them to consider whether she had the power to fulfil this promise, and protect them from the enemies that this allegiance to Persia would create.

4. On the 24th, Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan again called on me. I said he best knew what advantage or disadvantage would arise from their connexion with Persia, but that the world saw one disadvantage, that it was well known that if a cry was raised in the country at present against the Sheeah Persians, thousands of ghazees (crusaders) would rise and consent to be led against their enemies for a bare subsistence, and if they allied themselves with those Sheeahs, an opening was left for any Soonce enemy of theirs to raise that hue against themselves in their own country.

5. He said that the Afghans were a nation that were unwilling to receive the blessings of peace, their country was poor and their population could not be contained in its present bounds and exist. I said that with peace their commercial connexion with neighbouring countries would increase; that in those countries there was now a demand for the natural products of this, which by peace being established would increase, and employment might be found for the warlike spirits he had mentioned in the armies of their neighbouring friends.

6. I yesterday had an interview with the Sirdars in company, and explained away to their satisfaction some expressions in a letter addressed by yourself to Kohin Dil Khan, which had slightly displeased him. I explained to him that the letter contained the serious advice of a friend, putting him on his guard against what appeared an imminent danger, and that his own friendly letters had authorised that offer of advice. Kohin Dil Khan asked me the object the mission had in coming so far from our country. I explained that the English had grown powerful by their commerce; that to increase that, and to encourage merchants, we had been deputed from Hindoostan to seek to conduct to our own markets by the river Sinde, the productions there in request of the countries to the right and left of that river. That these were the original objects of the mission. The Peshawur question had fortuitously arisen, and since, the Herat one, though far from being anticipated on our departure from Hindostan. He asked whether our objects were commercial or political in these countries. I told them they would continue commercial so long as the west was quiet, but when that ceased to be the case they would become political. He said that in our letters the word "parwarish" had often been used, and by that word he understood advancement, and asked by what means we proposed to advance him. I said, I was not aware of that word having been used; he said "parwarish" was the training of a shrub till it became a tree; that the growth of our trees took many years. They (the Sirdars) were anxious for the present, not for the future; they did not care what happened after their lifetime. I said that this commencement of friendship was the seed of the tree, and before rearing it, it was necessary to know what fruit it would bear, but these were subjects for future discussion; that the present "parwarish" we offered was security against their enemies. Rahim Dil Khan said, this was not "parwarish;" they said they desired the acquisition of increased power, and they were afraid that if they made friendship with us, we could check their attempts at conquest by claiming the threatened country, as connected by bonds of friendship with us. I told them explicitly that we would certainly interfere if they attacked a state with whom we might have a defensive treaty, or if they disturbed any state on our frontiers, so as to injure our trade, and thus ended the interview.

Candahar, 28 January 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) R. Leech, Assistant.

(True copy.)

(signed) A. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

AFTER I had despatched my packet of this day's date, I received the accompanying letter from Lieutenant Leech, which brings down our intelligence from Candahar to the 5th instant. The Persians seem to prosecute the siege of Herat with vigour, but as yet, happily, without success.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 12 February 1838.

To Captain *Alex. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward the following pieces of intelligence brought from Herat by Sayad Noor Shah, who arrived last evening from that city after a journey of 11 days, with letters from the Vizier of Shah Kamran to the Sardars, suing for their assistance, and appealing to them as professors of one faith (the Sunnee).

2. The whole Persian force consists of 70,000 infantry and cavalry, 63 guns and seven mortars; 20,000 of these with 11 guns were detached under the Ashif of Meshid against Sher Mahomed Hazara, whom he defeated; but the latter being joined by the chief of Maimuna, subsequently gained advantage in different actions, killing 2,000 Persians. Mahamad Shah has detached 3,000 men and several guns (3) to reinforce the Ashif. Sher Mahamad has written to Kamran, to say he would after two days venture a general action; if the event was favourable, he would hasten to his assistance, if not he must trust to his good fortune. Kamran is reported to be suffering in health. It is thought that if Sher Mahamad should gain a victory over the Ashif of Meshid, Mahamad Shah would be glad to treat with his enemy, otherwise he vows to emulate his predecessor Nadir Shah. The garrison of Herat is 12,000; 2,000 are set apart for sallies, and 4,000 for night duty, and during the day the whole garrison is on duty at once. In the city wheat is sold at half a rupee the maund, and in the camp half a rial the maund. It was before sold at two rials the maund; but Shamsodeen, since his arrival, has disclosed and appropriated the secret granaries of the neighbourhood for the besieging army; he is out all day on forage; the western fronts of the city are invested; the Persian works have been carried on there to the crest of the glacis; and Mahamad Shah has ordered his younger brother from Tabreez to invest the eastern fronts. There is a Persian detachment at Meer Daoood, 12 miles to the east of Herat. Saloo Khan has not joined the Persians. Shamsodeen has put to death 25 Sayads, and offered indignity to their wives. An elchy has arrived from Orgunge promising the aid of 24,000 Uzbaks. Several mines had been driven by the Persians, which were all countermined, or otherwise destroyed, except one driven by a Russian in the Shah's employ, which was successful in breaking a tower, and an assault was made by the Persians, which proved unsuccessful, they losing 3,000 men killed, 500 taken prisoners, 500 matchlocks and 2 guns. No more than 25 of the inhabitants have been killed by the shells thrown into the town. Parties from Farrah and Sabzwar surprise and bring off camels, &c. &c. from the Persian camp.
3. A man of the Sirdars has arrived, 22 days from the Shah's camp, with a letter from the Vizier. I have not seen it, but I hear its contents are, that the Shah is indifferent to the presence of the Sirdar's son in his camp, or to their friendship, since he hears they do not intend to send Mahamad Omer Khan; that his elchy, whom they detained six months, has informed him that they could only muster 4,000 men, and he now appreciates their consequence.
4. On my arrival here I had some doubts of the Sirdars having given up their connexion with Persia; however, two days ago I received a message from Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan, saying he was one with the British Government and his brother at Cabool, and had desisted from all connexion with Persia. I requested to hear this from the Sirdar's own mouth. To-day was appointed for our interview, but owing to the arrival of some letters from Herat, the interview has been postponed.

Persian force.

Sher Mahomed Hazara.

Reinforcement.

Treaty.

Garrison.

Wheat.

Saloo Khan.

Elchy from Orgunge.

Breaks and assaults.

Intelligence from the Persian camp.

Message from Kohin Dil Khan.

I have, &c.

(signed) *R. Leech*, Assistant.

Candahar, 5 February 1838.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 1st instant, transmitting extracts from letters from Mr. Lord, reporting the reception which that officer and Mr. Wood met with from the Chief of Koundooz.

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2. In reply I am directed to observe, that his Lordship has been much gratified with the account which you have furnished of this interview, evincing as it does the respect in which British officers are held in a quarter where the existence of such a feeling, in the present state of affairs, cannot fail of being advantageous.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,

Secretary to Government of India with the
Governor General.

Camp at Begumabad, 14 February 1838.

(True copy.)

(signed) H. Torrens,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 11th ultimo, reporting latest intelligence of Herat, received by way of Koondooz and Candahar, which are corroborative of Shah Kamran's being in an alarming situation, and stating your impression as to the cause of a Persian force entering Toorkistan to be scarcity of forage near Herat.

2. The Governor General is disposed to concur in the conjecture you have formed as to the cause of the reported expedition, but his Lordship will await with much anxiety the receipt of further intelligence regarding the operations of the Persian army.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,

Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

Camp at Begumabad, 14 February 1838.

(True copy.)

(signed) H. Torrens,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, extracts of an extremely interesting nature, from a private letter of Mr. Lord at Koondooz. It will be seen that the disease under which the Chief's brother labours is hopeless, but that the melancholy fact has made no change in Moorad Beg's treatment of the party.

2. The communications which have passed between the Chief of Koondooz and Mr. Lord regarding commerce, and the furthering of it in those countries, cannot fail to prove acceptable; and, at this time, the light in which he hold the Persian invasion of Herat, must also be considered valuable. I have requested Mr. Lord to draw up an official report on the state of Koondooz, for the information of Government.

3. The progress of Mr. Wood is satisfactory, though the winter is severe. He has been to the source of the river of Budukhshan, and by last accounts was 12 days' journey east of Koondooz. His field books, &c. have reached me, and contain much that is novel and interesting; but, in their present state, I do not transmit them to Government.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,

On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool,
17 February 1838.

EXTRACTS of a Letter from Mr. *Lord*, at Koondooz, to the Address of Captain A. *Burnes*, dated Koondooz, 30 January 1838.

YOU will be prepared to hear that I have given up my patient's case as hopeless; but the resignation with which this destruction of all his hopes of regaining his sight has been borne, both by himself and Meer Murad Beg, is far greater than either you or I could have anticipated, and, in fact, is such as to do high honour to the Uzbek character. I had from the first declared the case to be one of extreme difficulty, and latterly told him that one after another of my remedies had proved ineffectual, and that the slight hope I originally might have had was daily becoming less. My final announcement he anticipated by sending me a message on the evening of the 17th, to this effect: He felt it was written in his destiny that he was not to recover his sight; he was satisfied I had done everything possible, but that he was now resigned to the will of God, and content to go back to his own house, convinced that a cure was not to be expected. These were so nearly my own sentiments on the matter, that I did not offer much opposition; I said, if he wished for my advice it was this: that he should persist in his remedies 20 days longer, within which time, if there was no amendment, I was hopeless; but that if he determined on going now, I had little to say against it, as my hopes of ultimate improvement were now very slight. I added, it would be well he should think it over for the night, and that in the morning I would call and hear his decision. With these words I dismissed the mission, which consisted of Mousa Yessawul (the Governor of Khanabad, at which we were), Zohrab Khan (the Governor of Inderah), and a Meerza.

About 8 p.m., having heard that the Meerza had finally determined on submitting to his fate, I went over to take leave of him, and offer such consolations as might occur to me. He expressed himself in every way satisfied with the exertions I had made, and said he was under obligations which he never should forget, and begged I would continue his guest as long as it suited me to remain in the country, every part of which I was at liberty to visit. He added numerous other expressions of kindly feeling, and explained that he had given orders to Mousa Yessawul that all my wishes were to be attended to. He then reverted to his own melancholy condition, and, losing all composure, burst into tears, accusing himself loudly of the many crimes he had committed, and acknowledging the hand of God in the judgment which had now overtaken him. The scene was a strange mixture of the pathetic and the ludicrous. I could not help sympathising sincerely with the poor old man and his son, a fine lad of 15, who shared deeply in his father's grief; but then every broad-faced Uzbek about the room, seeing his chief in tears, thought it incumbent on him to blubber a little also. After the first burst of grief was over, I took on me to be comforter. I said he had undoubtedly committed crimes, as all men had, but then he had also done much that was good; he had cherished the ryot, distributed justice, and I had with my own eyes seen that the people who lived under him were contented and happy. I added, that God had taken away one blessing, but had given him many—lands, houses, children, wealth, and power; that it became him to look on these, not on what was taken away, and to be thankful. I further advised him to have the Koran constantly read to him, and to reflect on the instability of this world; and having so said, I got up and went away.

Next morning the old man returned to Koondooz, and I started to pay my long-promised visit to Moorcroft's Syud.

The village of the holy man is about six miles at the other side of Talikan; in all, 30 miles from Khanabad. I reached it about four in the afternoon, and in dismounting was conducted to a small neatly carpeted apartment, where I was told to expect a visit from the Syud as soon as he should have finished his afternoon devotions. In about half an hour he came. I stooped to kiss his hand in acknowledgment of his sanctity, when he gently raised and embraced me. I then endeavoured to express to him the obligation which I, in common with all Feringees, felt to him for the service he had rendered our ill-fated countryman, Moorcroft, and added, it was a favour none of us should ever forget. I explained to him this was the very first day I had been disengaged since my arrival in Murad Beg's territories, and that I had impatiently awaited the opportunity it afforded me of expressing to him these the common sentiments of my nation. He appeared much gratified, but modestly disclaimed any merit, saying it was not in his power to do much for Moorcroft. He added, it astonished him not a little to find that so trifling an action, as it had appeared to him at the time, should have reached a country so remote and so great as ours. After a little further conversation, in which I had said I had been charged to add your acknowledgments to my own, he retired, and soon after slaves made their appearance, bearing several trays of pitoas and sweetmeats, to which my long ride inclined me to do ample justice.

After dinner he again came, and sat with me nearly an hour. The conversation ran chiefly on politics and commerce as connected with India and Persia. Knowing his influence over the mind of Murad Beg, I took occasion to explain to him the objects of your mission, and more particularly the intentions of our Government to establish a great annual fair on the banks of the Indus, and showed the benefits which must arise from this to the Meer, whose country would necessarily be the grand line of communication between Hindoostan and Turkistan. He seemed perfectly to comprehend all my statements, and made several inquiries that evinced his intelligence. He then inquired what I meant to do with myself until the road back should be open. (I had informed him that I had relinquished Mahomed Beg's case as hopeless.) I replied, that if the Meer would permit me, I wished

to travel a little about his country, as it was the custom of the Feringees to observe every thing that came in their way. He said he had heard this from Moorcroft, and thought I would find no difficulty here.

Before going away he again expressed his astonishment at our being acquainted with what he had done for Moorcroft. "Is it really a fact," said he, "that this is known in Firingestan?" "Wulla bella," said I, "the very children take the name of Syud Mahomed Kusim, the friend of the Feringees." He did not attempt to conceal his satisfaction. "God is great!" said he; "feel my pulse." "Shuki alhum dullillah," said I, "what strength and firmness! If it please God, one-half your life is not yet passed." We stroked our beards, said a "fatha," and the old man departed.

I saw him again in the morning when I was about to return. He had been praying from cockcrow until past nine o'clock. He stopped for a few minutes as he passed my door, said a few words of inquiry, asked for some medicines for his eyes, and having ordered breakfast to be brought me, took his leave.

On proceeding to mount I found a handsome young horse, which he had ordered to be presented to me in return for some articles I had given him. A man was also in readiness to show me the salt mines, which I had expressed a wish to see.

Having visited them, I thought it well to make my salaam to the heir apparent (Atalik Beg), as I was in his vicinity. He received me in the same distinguished manner his father had done, standing outside his own door, with all his court drawn up around him, placed me in the highest seat, and at my departure presented me with a horse and khilut. The first two tricks being thus clearly won, I thought it proper to lose no time in going to Kundooz and ascertain my fate there.

The day after my arrival (22d January) I had visits from Atma and Meerza Budeear, who both assured me that the Meer's friendly disposition towards me was not in the least altered by the result of his brother's case, which he said was his destiny. Atma further added, that Mahomed Beg, my patient, in passing through, had spoken of me in the highest terms, as not only possessing professional skill, but as being perfectly acquainted with good manners, and as having paid him every possible attention. This is all as it should be.

I had explained to both my visitors, separately, the views of our Government respecting the fair on the Indus; but as I wished it more particularly to be brought to the attention of the Meer, and to elicit his views respecting it, I presented Meerza Budeear with this plain statement of the advantages which such an event would bring to his master: "3,000 camel loads go annually from Bokhara to Russia; the value of the goods they carry is 32 lakhs. If these went to our fair in the Indus they must pass through your master's country. His present rate of taxation is 12 rupees; a camel would levy him in 36,000 rupees annually, and he would have the same in the returns made from India; or if he took a 'chehil yek'* on the above declared value; then it will amount to 80,000 rupees cash; and this without any expense, trouble or difficulty to the Meer, save that his rate of taxation should be moderate, and his part of the road kept free from robbers, as it in fact already is. As for the rest," I said, "our friendship with the rulers of Kabul and Kandahar, the Punjaub, Bhawalpore and Sindh made all safe, and our extensive command of shipping and facilities of manufactures, insured our being able to supply the merchant with better and at a cheaper rate than he now procured them from Russia, after a painful and hazardous journey." After some parley the Mirza perfectly understood the account, and asked "If my master is accountable for the safe passage of goods from the duria i Punj (Oxus) to Bunnucan, will your Government then become answerable for the rest of the road?" "Undoubtedly," said I, "if you ask my private opinion; but it is a question which I have no public authority to answer. Sikunder Burnes has; and, if your Meer wishes me, I will send it to him and get an answer, which shall be sure."

I then said, as I was then unemployed, I would, if it was the Meer's pleasure, go for a few days to Khooloom, and afterwards to Kolab, where I understood coal was to be found.

Next morning Meerza Budeear returned. He said he had, at a private audience, explained to the Meer our views in establishing the bazaar on the Indus, the great resort of merchants it would bring to his country, and asked how far it met his views, and how far he would be answerable for the goods passing through his dominions. The Meer, he said, expressed his entire satisfaction, and added that if one "pool" (the lowest copper coin) were lost from Muzar to Bameean, he would replace it.

He said I was at full liberty to visit Khooloom or any other part of his territories, but he demurred about Kolab, as he said the people were "very dogs," and he did not like to trust me into their hands; but he sent me a specimen of the "black stone" which I was anxious to see, and which he had got from that country, without knowing its use. The specimen seems to be of the kind termed "compact wood-coal" (a variety of the Bavey coal of England); distinctly shows the fibrous texture; burns with a strong bituminous smell; emits much heat, particularly if broken small and made into cakes; is heavy; leaves much ashes; and though not itself a first quality coal, yet affords strong presumptive evidence, particularly if viewed in connexion with the geological facts after mentioned, that better may be found in its vicinity.

The Mirza also brought me a message to say that the Meer wished to pay all the travelling expenses I had been at in coming here. I replied, that was out of the question. I had come here to evince the friendly disposition of my Government towards him; if friendship between the two States resulted, my end was gained; expense was no object.

Having thus prepared the way, I thought I might venture on a visit to the great man, and

and on doing so, had the satisfaction to find my reception exactly the same as usual. After a few general inquiries, the Meer said, "Well, so Mahomed Beg's case is hopeless; you have done everything that could be done, but we see it is not in his destiny. Don't feel uncomfortable (khufa) about it." I acknowledged his kindness in taking this view of the case, and we then spoke of the Syud of Talikan, on whose piety and kindness to myself I enlarged. He asked if there were any such men in my country. I replied, there were but few such men in the whole world.

We then turned to mines, and I expressed my astonishment to learn that he derived no revenue from his salt mines. Runjeet Sing, I said, made six lakhs a year of his; and explained that he had shut up all that were in his territories, except one, which he himself worked. "Ah!" said the Meer, "but I fear God too much to do that." I observed, it was singularly great "ryot purwarish,"* very much to his honour.

He asked about the black stone he had sent me. "It promised well," I said, "but it was not sufficient that I should see a specimen; I must see how it lies in the ground before I could give an opinion as to whether it was in proper quality and quantity or not." "Ah!" he said, "but it is in Kolab, and the men there are great 'haramzādahs,' rogues. They would gladly seize you, as they think all Feringees can make gold, and so I should be disgraced, for now you are my guest." I made my acknowledgments, and he continued: "No, don't go there, but anywhere else in my whole dominions; some of the mines are now covered up by snow, but in spring I'll show them all to you, and wherever you decide it would be profitable to work, half shall be yours and half mine." I returned all due thanks for this offer, but declared the credit of finding them was all I required, and that the profit should be all his. As for myself, I said I was a servant of my King's, who paid me amply, and who had sent me here to evince his friendly feeling towards the Uzbeks. This was received most graciously; and I mentioned my wish, if I had his leave, to go for a few days to Tush Koorghun. He immediately assented, and said he would send a man with me, as the road was sometimes infested by the Sukhais. He asked when I intended to start, and I said not for four or five days, as I would remain here until I received letters from Bulk and Kabul, which I was expecting.

* Cherishing of the subject.

Two days after my visit, Meerza Budeear came to me with a long string of interrogatories, and, at the risk of being tedious, and to avoid the worse evil of not being explicit in everything relating to a new people, I must tell them to you.

"You know," said the Murza, "I always tell you whatever the Meer says, and last night he said, 'How is this? The Feringees have sent and made friends with Dost Mahomed Khan; why have they not sent to make friends with me?'" "This," said I, "is very easy. Dost Mahomed Khan has, for several years, been most anxiously soliciting our friendship; has written several letters to the Governor General, and has done everything to evince a friendly disposition towards us. Your Meer has never written to ask our friendship; how, then, should my Government know that he wishes it?" "However," said I, "my presence here is a full proof that we are one, as I am merely a servant of Government, and could not have come here without orders." "The answer is good," said he, "I will tell it to the Meer."

He then made some inquiries, as if he wished to elicit whether we had any views of extending our territories in this direction. "Wulla billa," said I, "if your Meer were to offer us his whole country as a present, we would not take it." I found considerable difficulty in satisfying him on this point, until at last I said, "What does your Meer get from Wochan?" "Nothing," said he. "And why?" replied I. "Because they very distant." "For the same reason," said I (spreading before him a map, and showing the situation of Hindoostan and Koondooz), "we should never get anything from your country which would make it worth the trouble of taking or the expense of preserving 'khoob.'" "Well," said he, "now I understand perfectly."

He next inquired what benefit Dost Mahomed Khan was to receive from our friendship. "One obvious benefit," said I, "that he is already relieved from the war with the Sikhs." "But if the Persians came," said he, "would you help him?" "That entirely depends on the treaty to be made with him," said I, "of the nature of which I know nothing; but if we declare ourselves his friends, it is not likely the Persians will attack him." "Why should the Persians mind you," said he; "what could you do?" "Do?" said I; "if there were necessity, of course we could send an army that would soon drive the Persians back." "Pho!" said he, "your army would take six months or a year to come." "If it pleased God," said I, "we could send you one in six weeks." "Owu!" said he, as if completely taken aback by this information; "for God's sake, how?" "You have heard," said I, "of ships that move by steam and can sail without wind." "Yes," said he. "Well," resumed I, again referring to the map, "15 days will bring such a ship from Bombay, which you see here, to the mouth of the Indus, which is there, and 25 more from that to Dera Ghaze Khan; so that in 40 days our army would be in readiness to act."

I have since had no further questions, but if you now cast your eye over the above, and connect their obvious tendency with the mental dread of the Persian invasion, which is at present felt through all these countries, you will, I think, clearly see that they have been casting about for a resource in case of the worst; and the idea of the bare possibility of an alliance with the Feringees having once entered into their contemplation, though it may lead to no immediate result, is yet, I think you will agree with me, a step of no slight importance gained amongst a people so rude and hitherto so hostile to our very name.

And now, as regards these Persians, I am mortified beyond measure at having nothing

This is confirmed
eight days after.
(signed) *A. Burnes.*

to send you beyond the reports of this place. These bear that a Persian force is undoubtedly at Meemuna, and that the Meer, unable to resist, has made a treaty. The terms of these are stated in a twofold way; one, that it merely goes to establish the boundaries to be observed between Meemuna and the Persians when they have taken Herat; the other, that, in addition to this, the Meer has ceded to the Persians a free passage through his dominions to Bulk. This latter, I am inclined to think, is true, and so does Morad Beg, for he has been engaged these last ten days in mustering his troops, while all his Surdars are doing the same at their several head quarters.

My old friend Meerza Rahmut tells me that an elchee is every day expected here from Bokhara, to propose a joint attack on the Persians: "And what is to be your answer?" said I. "If they'll give us Balkh," said he, "we'll join them, and fight; if not, we'll stay at home, and defend our own country when it is attacked."

I have not yet heard of the coal you mention in Budukhshan, but I have got coal from a much better place, from Kolab, not one day's journey from the opposite bank of the Oreus. And better still, the whole country about here is of the red marble formation, the same in which the great coal fields of England occur; and, still further, the hill from which this coal is brought is immediately backed by the rich and valuable lead mines of Buljearan, exactly as the lead measures of Northumberland back the coal measures of Newcastle. You may suppose how impatient I am to get across the river.

(True extracts.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE not addressed you since the 22d ultimo regarding the Russian Agent at this city; not that I have been inattentive or indifferent to his proceedings here, for, [by expresses from yourself and Mr. M'Neill, dated respectively the 1st January and 31st of October,] I find that there is no doubt of Captain Vickovitch's real character, and that all the early surmises regarding him have been thus confirmed.

2. The interval has not, however, passed without the most strenuous exertions on the part of Mr. Vickovitch to draw from the Ameer of Cabool some answer to the credentials and letters which he had brought. He urged that if a decided answer were called for by him, it might be held unreasonable; but that he had now been here for a period of nearly two months, and that it was due to those from whom he came to acknowledge the receipt of the letters which he had delivered. Dost Mahomed Khan sent for Mr. Vickovitch on the 10th instant, when he repeated his reasons for wishing replies, and which, [as I shall shortly show,] the Ameer agreed to give.

3. The mode of forwarding them naturally formed the first subject of conversation after the Ameer's consent to reply, and he pointed out the route of Bokhara as the speediest and best line of communication; but to this Mr. Vickovitch objected, saying that they could be much more rapidly transmitted through Mr. Goutte, in the Persian camp at Herat, who, besides being his countryman and personal friend, was an accredited agent of the Russian Government. To this the Ameer saw no objections, but he decided not to address the Shah of Persia.

[4. The Ameer then proceeded to state to Mr. Vickovitch the honour which had been conferred upon him by the receipt of a letter from the Emperor of Russia, but that an equal honour he had also received from the Governor General of India, who had previously sent a mission to this country; that the object of that mission, if successful, was all that he could desire, since peace would be restored, and he would no longer be menaced and disturbed by the bitter enemy of his power, the Ruler of Lahore. As yet, however, nothing had been settled; and when the result was known, it would be time enough to arrange for Mr. Vickovitch's dismissal, when he would send a trusty person along with him to acknowledge the compliment.]

5. The Ameer next inquired of Mr. Vickovitch if he had received any intelligence from the Russian gentleman at Herat; which he had not. He then stated

stated his own views regarding Herat, that it must certainly submit in the end to Persia, for Kamran had no such promised assistance to oppose the Shah as would avail him. Mr. Vickovitch replied that the Persian army was not a very efficient body, but that it had an excellent park of artillery, and that the fall of Herat was very probable, and the more so, as the Shah was secure in his possessions behind him, and that the Government of Russia had further added to that security by throwing troops east of the Caspian Sea, to keep the Toorkmuns in check. The Ameer replied, that with such protection, even the Shah of Persia could not have succeeded but for the supineness of himself and his brothers at Candahar, for they had it in their power to succour Herat; [but the British Government, by which they wished to be guided, had given them no encouragement or advice to do so. I need not add that this conversation, and the repetition of the auxiliaries of Russia having been thrown to the east of the Caspian Sea (which I see Mr. McNeill contradicts), goes far to confirm Dost Mahomed Khan that Herat will not hold out.] The interview then terminated.

6. I further learn [from Mirza Samee Khan], that Mr. Vickovitch has been discoursing at length on the policy of Persia herself, and of the British Government in that country. He stated that the English, by disciplining the troops of Persia, had hoped to injure Russia, but the very opposite consequence had resulted; that Persia had attacked Russia, and been defeated, which had enabled her to possess herself of some of her best and frontier provinces, and to establish a complete influence over the kingdom; that Russia had no desire, however, to make any further conquests in Persia, or to allow the Shah to extend his power beyond Herat, for she wished to keep Persia in check, and not that she should become too powerful. He further told the Mirza to inform the Ameer on these points, and that he and his brothers might feel assured that this Persian expedition against Herat would stop there, and not prosecute its march farther to the east.

7. [The Ameer sent Mirza Samee Khan to report all that had passed, and] I took the opportunity to request that he would inform the Ameer that if Mr. Vickovitch spoke on the authority of the Russian Government, it had certainly misunderstood our proceedings in Persia; that we had never sought to injure Russia, through Persia, or aught but to make Persia strong in herself, for which purpose we had from time to time given her munitions of war and officers, but we had never countenanced her invading either Russia or Afghanistan; and he saw in our present disapproval of the siege of Herat a proof of the correctness of these facts. [The Mirza assented, and he said that the Ameer would likewise do so to our views. Mirza Samee Khan then produced the letters No. 1 and 2, in original, that had been addressed to the Emperor of Russia and Count Simonitch, the Russian Ambassador at the Court of Persia, which I received without any particular remark, wishing to have time to weigh and consider the course which I should follow on such an occasion, rendered more than delicate by the absence as yet of all instructions as to how I should shape my proceedings.]

No. 1 and 2,
English and Persian.

8. After having carefully translated into English the letters in question, it did appear to me that they were objectionable in several ways. After a lapse of two months I did not well see how the Ameer could refuse to acknowledge the receipt of the Russian letters, which were certainly more than complimentary; but the avowal of sending a return agent, though it was only what every independent chief would think it his duty, was not a very palpable averment under the present state of affairs with the British Government. It was true that the Ameer had told Mr. Vickovitch that we had it in our power to do for him all that he desired, and that, when that was done, he would be bound to the British, and it would be then easy for us to inform him that any communication whatever with Russia could on no account be permitted. The present, however, was not the time for me to take that course, as if I had been unsuccessful in my remonstrance, it would have only gone to alienate the Ameer from us, and gain for Russia what she desired.

9. Under these feelings I sent for Mirza Samee Khan, and proceeded to put the matter in the light of our being indifferent as to what the Ameer wrote to the Russian Government, but that it would be well for Dost Mahomed Khan to consider how far the reply which he had made might not prove injurious to him, and alienate those who were his well-wishers; for, after the promises given, he would offend Russia if he did not send the agent at the appointed time,

and if he did then send him after the British Government had befriended him, he would offend it; that as a well-wisher of his Government and that of his brothers, it would be, in my opinion, a much more prudent course for the Ameer of Cabool to suspend his communications with Russia, as he had already done with Persia, till he learned the final views of the British. It was certain that Russia and England would not both assist him, and by any precipitate act he might find himself insulted and deprived of the good offices of both. If courtesy required an acknowledgment of the Emperor's letter, of which the Ameer was the best judge, he might confine himself simply to acknowledging its receipt, and saying that he had detained Captain Vickovitch on account of the roads being blocked up by snow; and thus, when winter had passed over, he might take those measures which a maturer weighing of the matter dictated; and, finally, that if the Ameer, by his present letters, sought to quicken the Governor General in his proceedings, he was acting under impressions of a very erroneous nature, and which were calculated to operate, in all probability, in a manner contrary to what he expected.

10. Mirza Samee Khan assured me that nothing would give the Ameer greater pain than to take any step which would be displeasing to the British, and that the friendly part which I had acted in pointing out what was exceptionable in the letters would, he was sure, be duly appreciated. The promise to send a return agent with Captain Vickovitch was struck out of the letter. The Amir sent him to inform me that he had also ordered all that portion of it which relates to Peshawar and the differences between the Afghans and Sikhs to be removed. The importance of these alterations will best appear in the letters annexed, where I have most particularly marked them. The only part of the message which the Ameer sent to me that requires further notice was, that he could not really be answerable, under the state of excitement which existed in these countries, beyond nowraz (the equinox), and he trusted that a definite answer by that time would be given to him, that he might know how to shape his course, and act as best suited his interests.

11. Ever since the arrival of the agent of Russia, and more especially since the announcement of the views of Government regarding Peshawur, and the delays in coming to an adjustment upon it, the Kuzzilbash faction have redoubled their exertions to instil doubt into the mind of the Ameer, and alienate him from us. After the news of Herat, which arrived on the 12th instant, two of them, Mahomed Khan Byat and Aga Hoosein (who, though not very influential men among the Juwansheers, are still Shiah, and the Ameer's counsellors), pointed out to him "that the British Government meant to do nothing, as was evident in their delay; that but for the presence of a British agent in Cabool, all his ends might have been gained; he could have assisted Mahomed Shah, and got, in return, assistance at Peshawur, with many other benefits, probably including the cession of Herat itself, all of which had been neutralised by Captain Burnes' presence; and that this was the more remarkable as that officer had made no promises whatever, but simply stated the sympathy which his Government entertained, which might mean nothing." I have been well aware, from various channels, that such was the scope of argument taken up by this faction, for I had it from the Nawab and several of the frequenters of the Durbar, but I relied on the good sense of the chief to keep him in the course that he was pondering.

12. When discussing the contents of the letters to Russia, Mirza Samee Khan told me of what is stated in the preceding paragraph, and that a few days ago the Ameer had privately asked him his opinion regarding these sentiments of the Kuzzilbash faction, stating at the same time, though it was true he might reap advantages from going over at the present time to Mahomed Shah, that his better judgment led him to cling firmly to the British, and the more so as their agent was here by his own solicitation, and that he had every hope and reliance in his differences being adjusted, though it was lamentable to sit by and see the bulwark of the Afghan nation broken down at Herat, without a struggle or an effort on the part of a people who had always successfully resisted Persia.

13. Mirza Samee Khan, though himself of Persian extraction, informed me that he assured the Ameer that the Kuzzilbashes sought to make him a dependent of Persia, and that the British had no such design, which of itself formed a very great difference between the value of the alliances. He further brought to the Ameer's remembrance the style of address which the Shah of Persia had assumed towards him in finding his "rukum" or order as a proof of the vassalage which

which would be expected; to which the Ameer replied, that such was certainly his own opinion. From the mortification of pride which Dost Mahomed Khan has experienced by this blunder (for such it must be considered) on the part of Persia, in her mode of address to an independent chief, I should not be at all surprised if the Kuzzilbash faction had made it known to the Shah, that it may be rectified. Were it to be so, the Ameer would lose one of his best arguments in combating those who encourage him to lean upon Persia for assistance.

14. Under all these circumstances it may be naturally expected how anxiously I look for the commands of Government to guide me. Captain Vickovitch informs the Ameer that the value of the rarities sent to him by the Emperor amounts to 60,000 rupees; and the opposing faction have not failed to contrast this with the few trifles which I presented to him, and to adduce it as a proof of the indifference of a nation famed, and above all in Afghanistan, for its liberality. I could tell them that my gifts were as from myself, and as such by no means unworthy, nor, till Captain Vickovitch made his appearance, were they thought so; but, perhaps, as the public man is never separated from the private individual in these countries, my arguments might silence, but still want weight.

15. I have only in conclusion to report, that I have had no further communication with this Russian agent than asking him, a few days after his arrival, to dinner, in return for his call. I found that he expected I would visit him, and etiquette may have required it; but I saw that an importance was attached to the visit, and it might lead to misconstruction, to a belief of our halting between two opinions, of our wishing to conciliate Russia, when, as I hope and believe, we shall openly resist her in all her intrigues and attempts upon this country. At the hazard, therefore, of failing in what society requires of its members, I have thought it advisable to shun every appearance of intercourse with Mr. Vickovitch; and I do not attribute too much when I state that this humble endeavour has gone far to discredit him with many in Cabool, and, except in the reply to the letters which he has now got, led almost to slight on the part of Dost Mahomed Khan.]

Cabool,
18 February 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

[TRANSLATION of a Letter from Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, the Chief of Kabul, to the address of the Emperor of *Russia*.

A. C.,

IN a most precious time I had the honour to receive the highly valued letter which your Imperial Majesty had graciously sent to me through your trusty agent, Captain Vickovitch.

I was greatly rejoiced by learning its auspicious contents, which exhibited your Majesty's kindness and sympathy towards me. It gave me every reliance upon, and hope from, your Imperial Majesty. Truly your dignified Government and exalted mind are the sources of this praiseworthy generosity and the friendly recollection with which you have recently honoured me. These welcome and happy tidings have been spread throughout the whole of this nation.

Before the arrival of your Imperial letter, the respectable Captain Alexander Burnes came to Cabool, on the part of the English Government, and is endeavouring to adjust matters, and make peace and settle boundaries between Runjeet Singh, the ruler of Punjab, and myself, so that the Sikhs should leave Peshawur and this side of the Indus in future to the Afghans, and that they, the Afghans, likewise should not interfere with the other side of that river. Nothing is as yet settled, but the result must be known about the vernal equinox.

The underlined part has been struck out.

If it please God, after the winter is at an end, and the roads are open, I will dismiss your Majesty's agent, Captain Vickovitch, along with my own man, who will inform your Imperial Majesty of all circumstances.

I do not presume to say anything more, except that your Imperial Majesty may long live to adorn the Throne of your celebrated empire.]

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, Chief of Cabool, to the address, His Excellency Count *Simonich*, the Russian Ambassador at the Court of Persia.

A. C.,

YOUR friendly letter, [along with that of his Majesty the Emperor (Imperatoor)], was delivered to me by the respectable Captain Vickovitch, and I was delighted to read this your second epistle.

If I were to thank [the Emperor] for such kindness, it would be as impossible as to confine the river in a small vessel, or to weigh its water with stones.

I fully understood the messages which you had sent to me through Captain Vickovitch, and confidently expect that your Imperial Government will support and defend my honour, and, by doing so, it will be easy to win the heart of friends.

I thank you for the offer you made to arrange my affairs, and further, for your informing me that you do not merely tell me so, but that you will fulfil your promise. I expect much more from your friendly Government, and my hopes have been increased. Though the distance between us is great, it does not prevent our approach in heart. My mind is put in peace by your friendly messages, and I hope it will continue so.

Before the arrival of the agent of your Government (Captain Vickovitch), the English Government had deputed Captain Alexander Burnes, and who is now with me in Kabul. That officer is sowing the seeds of friendship between Runjeet Singh and myself, [and it is expected that the Sikhs, leaving Peshawur to the Afghans, will not in future cross the Indus (Attok)]. Nothing is yet settled, but let us wait the result.

On the winter ceasing, and the roads opening, I will despatch Captain Vickovitch, [along with my own agent,] by any road that he prefers. At present, on account of the snow, I have postponed his departure.

I hope you [will kindly send my letter to his Imperial Majesty, the Emperor, and also that you yourself] may continue to enjoy happy days.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

* I LOSE no time in reporting, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, that Maimuna is in the hands of the Persians, and that the whole of the small states west of Balkh, and in its neighbourhood, Shilbegaum, Andohee, &c., have also submitted to that power. I received a messenger in the course of yesterday from Khooloom, and late at night an express from Dr. Lord, dated the 8th inst., with two other letters from people in my service, corroborating the information, and stating that there had been an action between the Persians and Shere Mohomed Khan Huzareh, when the latter was defeated with great slaughter, which opened the road to Maimuna, on which the Persians immediately marched.

2. The same express brings information that Kamran sent his own son to implore the aid of the King of Bokhara, who has declined to assist Herat, and desired the prince precipitately to leave the city. The Khan of Orgunge has, however, left Khiva, and is understood to have taken direction of Herat.

3. The object of Persia in seizing Maimuna is apparent enough, since it was one of the quarters on which Herat could rely for aid. The state of that petty chiefship was described in my report of the 7th inst., and that it, and those adjacent to it, should have fallen so easy a victim was to be anticipated.

4. Herat is thus deprived of all aid from Bokhara, Maimuna, &c., and Koondooz, Cabool, Kandahar, also can render it no assistance, for the Shah marched in the expectation that they would assist him; they contribute to his success in some degree, since he is freed from apprehension of their opposition.

5. Putting

5. Putting all these things together, it is the general opinion in this city that the ultimate fate of Herat is inevitable, and, from what has taken place, I fear these surmises will prove well-founded. Mr. MacNeill doubted at the outset if the Shah could reach Herat. Colonel Stoddart described the dissatisfaction of the army after it had reached Khorasan, and, in face of all this, the Shah has made good his march, invested Herat, and destroyed all hope of its being succoured. Its fall, therefore, is now a matter of time: Nadir Shah took 14 months to capture it; but he had a less serviceable park of artillery than Mahomed Shah, which is, perhaps, the only really efficient part of his army: the reason is obvious; it was equipped by British officers, and chiefly furnished, I believe, by the British Government: I saw it in the autumn of 1832, when in Khorasan; and this arm, so important in a siege, struck me as very superior.

Cabool,
20 February 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)
(signed) H. Torrens,
Depy. Secy. to the Govt. of India, with the Govr. Genl.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your important express of the 23d ultimo, from Barielly, which arrived in the course of yesterday evening. The explicit instructions therein conveyed, have been received by me at an important juncture, with a satisfaction in proportion to the regret that any part of my proceedings should meet with the disapproval of the Governor General. This has occasioned to me the most deep concern.

2. When I made the proposals which I did to the Chiefs of Candahar, I was aware that they would be as a dead letter, and the contents of my despatch of the 21st ultimo, which contained a reply to them, will have removed every anxiety upon that subject, and left things in the state as if no promises had been made, without compromising my superiors or myself. I have, however, considered it due to Government to do away with impressions which such offers have possibly left in the mind of those chiefs by addressing to them the letter No. 2, now annexed. It will be seen that it is in reply to a most extraordinary communication, No. 1, on the part of the Sirdars of Candahar, sent through me to the Ameer, which, if they had not of themselves declared pecuniary assistance unnecessary, would in itself have justified its being withheld, even had it been the policy to grant it. I need not trouble Government with any remarks on this unmeaning communication further than what I have said of it in writing to Candahar; and that I expressed my surprise at its contents to the Ameer, who had perused it with feelings very short of indignation.

3. I beg to assure his Lordship that I shall strictly conform to the instructions which have been issued to me regarding Candahar, as well as Cabool. I now know that it is on another field, and the one most favourable to us, that our power to ward off danger must be exercised. I saw around me many agitating and difficult circumstances, and I attached a high importance to keeping Candahar in our interests, as well from the near approach of Persia to it, as the intrigues which the Russian and Persian Governments had both set on foot at that chiefship. I entertain the belief, that if we keep our footing in Cabool, and Herat falls, the presence of Mr. Leech alone will prevent the Shah of Persia from attacking Candahar, which is an important point gained; but I did not see how I could have deputed that officer there without having made some such promise, or at least offers of protection to the chiefs; though I must humbly observe that I by no means bring forward this excuse in justification of what has not received the confirmation of the Governor General. If Candahar escapes, we shall owe it to the moral influence which we possess in these countries, and the belief that we have made some arrangements with its chiefs—an impression which Mr. Leech's presence will give rise to, and which may be encouraged without committing us.

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4. On

No. 2.

No. 1.

4. On the other matters contained in your letter regarding Cabool, &c., I shall shortly address you.

Cabool,
22 February 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from the three Chiefs of Candahar to the Address of the Ameer of Cabool, received 21st February 1838, and sent through Captain Burnes.

A. C.

WE have lately written to you all the circumstances of Herat, which we hope you have perused. If succour is not quickly given to Herat, all endeavours will prove useless hereafter. Make the arrangements shortly with Captain Burnes, as there is no more time to deliberate.

We have had conversation with Lieutenant Leech on the affairs of this country, and told him that if Peshawur falls into the hands of Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed, we, along with you, (the Ameer) will subdue the countries of Herat, Shikarpoor and Sinde, and divide the revenue between you and ourselves, and consider you the head of the family, and also the commander of our troops.

In case Peshawur comes into the possession of you (the Ameer), then we must be left sole masters of Shikarpoor, and its dependencies. In the other countries we will do according to your commands, and you will also get a share of their revenue.

You should not fancy that we make the proposal on account of the small revenue of Candahar; but we have reflected on some other consequences, which we believe you know very well.

Let us know always of your health and circumstances of that quarter.

(True translation.)

(signed) *A. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

LETTER from Captain *Burnes* to Sirdars Kohin Dil, Rahim Dil, Mihi Dil Khan, Chiefs of Candahar, dated Cabool, 22 February 1838.

A. C.

A FEW days ago I had the pleasure to write to you, and I heard yesterday from Mr. Leech all which has passed between him and you. I also received the letter which you there enclosed for the Ameer, and understood its contents. I have instructed Mr. Leech to tell you several things in reply; but what you state regarding Sinde, and Shikarpoor, and Herat, I make no concealment in telling you that it is totally impossible any such wishes can be listened to. The rulers of Sinde are our friends, and we sympathize with the misfortunes of the brave Afghans of Herat.

I formerly wrote to you that if the Persians attacked Candahar, and you became our friends, we should protect you; I did this from my own reflection, as I truly sympathized with you, and believed it would not displease my masters. In reply to my letter, you informed me that you were in no fear from the Persians, and required no money on that account. This is fortunate; for had I given you the money, I find that I would in doing so have exceeded the instructions of the Governor General, and that I have held out hopes which his Lordship does not approve of. This is not the mode in which the British Government can best serve you.

Mr. Leech, who is with you, has told you that the result of my final settlement between the Sikhs and Afghans must prove of great benefit to you. If it does not take place, the result may be ruinous to all Afghans. There is no comparison between the power of the Kájars and Sikhs. The British Government have no design of subverting your power for the benefit of another: it wishes to see peace in this country, and that one chief does not molest another. All your designs on other places, and all your reliance on other powers, must therefore be abandoned, if you wish its friendship, and you must repose confidence in its good offices alone: if you do not, it cannot serve you.

I have received a reply from the Governor General regarding Peshawur. It will not be given to the Ameer; and its being restored to Sooltan Mahomed Khan and his brothers, depends upon the disposition which the Ameer and yourselves show to be grateful for our good offices with our old and faithful ally, Maharaja Runjeet Singh.

(True copy.)

(signed) *A. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Depy. Secy. to the Govt. of India, with Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

[I HAVE now the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, the result of my proceedings, as far as they have gone, consequent on the arrival of your express of the 20th ultimo, which I yesterday acknowledged.

2. The mode in which the Ameer of Cabool received the views of Government concerning Peshawar, as reported in my letter of the 26th ultimo, and the proceedings of the Russian agent, as stated on the 18th instant, rendered the arrival of his Lordship's instructions more than satisfactory; for the time had arrived for a very frank and clear explanation with the Chief of Cabool, and I lost no time in coming to an understanding with him.

3. It will be seen, in the 10th paragraph of my last Despatch (dated the 18th instant) regarding Captain Vickovitch, that the Ameer had professed his inability to wait longer than the vernal equinox, if an adjustment were not made regarding Peshawur, and that this too had been stated in reply to my observations about sending a return agent to Russia. Had I followed my own inclination, I would not have sat down for a day under such a declaration, but I was ignorant of the light in which Government would view Captain Vickovitch's presence at Cabool; and affairs to the west were getting every day more complicated, the Persians having not only held their position before Herat, but overrun Maimuna and the adjacent States, being now actually without any people between them and Cabool itself, excepting the Huzarees, who are all of the Shiah persuasion, and linked by religion and alliance to the Kuzzilbash faction in this city.

4. Any withholding of what were his Lordship's decided views regarding Cabool, would have been as unjust to the Ameer as to ourselves, and] I had become meanwhile informed of the further communications of Captain Vickovitch, which went to inform the Ameer that the Emperor of Russia was supreme in his dominions, and could act of himself with promptitude, and without being delayed by consulting others, while the British Government transacted its business by a council (punchyet), which gave rise to procrastination, and would show to him the advantage of allying himself to Russia, where no such inconvenience existed, and further, that the Emperor's good-will towards him would never then let Persia encroach in this quarter. [If these sentiments had any weight with Dost Mahomed Khan, it followed that our position here was of little value, and that every day's delay rendered it less so, setting aside the valid objection that the Ameer could never be permitted to play off Russia against us, in any terms that he might make.

5. Under these circumstances, I resolved at once to deliver to him the Governor General's letter, since it contained an explicit statement of our sentiments and intentions which he had so much courted, and on the absence of which he founded his grounds for retaining Captain Vickovitch at Cabool. I sought an interview with the Ameer, and was immediately invited to the Bala Hissar yesterday, when the explanation took place.

6. I at once informed Dost Mahomed Khan that I had come to communicate with him on matters of grave importance. I briefly ran over the events which had brought me to Cabool, and the primary objects connected with it; how we sought to improve his and our own commerce by friendly intercourse; how an unfortunate conflict had meanwhile taken place between Maharaja Runjeet Sing and himself; how that chief had been disposed to act in harmony with the British Government regarding a removal of future differences near Peshawar, though that was a question to be decided wholly by the Maharaja himself; how the Ameer had received this proposed alteration, and the offers he had in consequence made. During the deliberation which these matters required, continued I, the Persians have invaded Khorasan, invested Herat, and disturbed men's minds in these countries, of which the Kuzzilbashes in Cabool had availed themselves to give counsel that was certainly injurious to his interests, and which, if I inferred, as I had a right to do, from what had passed in answering the letters from Russia, had some influence over him, since he had spoken of it, the vernal equinox being the limit to his delay, and after which,

he would transfer hopes to the messages which Captain Vickovitch had delivered to him.

7. With regard to what the Kuzzilbashes had urged upon him, I would remind him that we were a nation freed from religious prejudices, and that we regarded Shiah and Soonees alike, but that the Afghans were a people strongly imbued with the tenets peculiar to the latter, and that he should suspect those who advised acts at variance with national feeling, and suspect them the more when I, who told him so, was a servant of a Government on good terms with Persia, and which was disposed to be on an equally good footing with the Afghans. If it had been to him a source of regret that he must take some measures after the equinox, it was doubly so to me, for we were disposed to intercede in behalf of the Afghan nation, with their formidable opponent the ruler of Lahore, to prevent further strife; but that such good offices did not appear to be appreciated as they deserved. From the affairs of Peshawur, continued I, you have gone suddenly to those of Herat, and what with Persian and Russian emissaries, it is pressed upon you to look to that quarter, and perform a service which would gain for you your objects in Peshawur. These, continued I, are opinions fraught with error and ruin. Could you leave Cabool to aid or to resist the Shah of Persia, with a Sikh force in Peshawur amounting to 35,000 men? It is impossible, and the advantages of cultivating an alliance with the British are apparent from the very fact that this formidable power in the eastern frontier had ceased to molest him the moment its agent had entered Afghanistan. I had therefore now to tell him that delay till the vernal equinox was perfectly unnecessary; that he would find the views of the Governor General in the letter which I here presented to him, and which, as his friend and well-wisher, I begged him to read and weigh with the attention they deserved.

8. Before the letter was opened, the Ameer assured me that he placed the alliance of the British Government in no sort of comparison with that of any other nation; that it was true there were those who advised him, as I had stated, but that he put it to me if, in all my frequent intercourse with him, he had of himself uttered such sentiments, and if he had not altered the letters to Russia the moment he knew my opinions, and had even struck out more than the parts to which I had objected. I said that I could fairly acquit him of having expressed any such sentiments, and that I had, from the whole tenor of his conduct since my arrival, become convinced of his being well disposed to my Government, but that the limiting a time to its deliberations, if it passed unnoticed by me to him six days ago, was by no means unobserved, and I did not think it indicative of a tone of thinking which was due to a friendly power that could substantially serve him. He excused himself by saying that he was obliged to give some answer for the honour which had been conferred upon him, and the interest which had been exhibited by Russia deserved acknowledgment, and if he had spoke of "Nouroz" as the time proper for coming to an adjustment, it was that his suspense had led him to use such an expression, as his chiefs and people were constantly taunting him.

9. The letter was now opened, and read over twice with great attention by Meerza Samee Khan, who, excepting Ayha Hoosein, one of his counsellors, and another Meerza, were the only persons present. I explained the import of all those passages which he required. After a short reflection, and some expressions of disappointment, he stated that the Governor General's letter was full of meaning, and that his Lordship's sympathy with the Afghan people was very gratifying, but that he had already expressed his views regarding Peshawar, and unless Government lent its good offices to him, supposing Runjeet Sing to restore it to Sooltan Mahomed Khan, he would suffer materially by it, and through him the people over whom Providence allowed him to rule; that I had made an observation to him regarding his inability to move from Cabool, while peace did not exist on his eastern frontier, which was truth, and which he admitted, but that there was no pressing danger to him from that quarter, and he could stay at Cabool; that he feared the case of the Afghans was like that of most unfortunate people—they had no friends; that he had placed his all in the hands of the British Government, and that, if it blamed him for having written to others, he begged to declare he never would have done so if he had known an agent was to have been sent to Cabool; that though he was unable to do much for himself, he might assist others, and perform very substantial service

service in this quarter for the British Government ; that he was now told he was indebted to Runjeet Sing for the dress which he wore, which he could not admit ; and further, that he inferred from the letter that it was thought his duty to send presents to Maharaja Runjeet Sing, who had never subdued him, which he certainly did not understand ; that it was, however, true that a good-will had subsisted between the British and the Afghans from the days of Mr. Elphinstone downwards, and that our wisdom and word were a theme of praise which led him to reflect seriously on what best suited his interests before he made any answer to the Governor General.

10. I replied that it was a wise course which he meant to pursue in weighing well before he acted, and I would advise him to choose good counsellors before he let slip the opportunity of having the friendly sympathy of the British Government evinced. It was true, I said, that it expected him to live, if not on cordial, most certainly on apparently harmonious terms with Runjeet Sing ; but I did not infer that he was to send presents to Lahore, nor did I feel it my duty to counsel any such procedure ; but, I added, that if the ruler of Lahore ceases to molest you, peace will naturally follow, and all the happy consequences attendant upon it ; that I would now leave him to discuss with his advisers what he should do ; but that he must distinctly understand that all communication with Russia, as well as with Persia, must cease, if he expected our good offices ; and as he was pleased, in reply, to thank me for the free and friendly mode in which I had communicated the views of Government, I took the occasion to tell him that I, as his well-wisher, and to whom he expressed this satisfaction, would advise him to reflect deeply before he lost the good-will of the British, and that his entering into any political intercourse with others must be considered by us a direct breach of friendship : on this I withdrew.

11. In the afternoon and again this morning, the Ameer sent Meerza Samee Khan to assure me that no measure would be taken, of whatever description, without first consulting myself, and that all communications in every direction would be suspended, as the letter which I had delivered was full of importance, and the Ameer had therefore summoned the Nuwab from his castle at Tutung (near Julalabad), and would send off an express to Candahar to take the counsel of his brothers on what so vitally concerned their common interest. The Meerza then asked, by the Ameer's advice, for my sentiments regarding the kind of letter which should be written to Candahar ; and I gave him the greater part of the contents of my letter of yesterday to the Sirdars, those which, with the Ameer's own expressions of astonishment at the contents of the letter lately received by him from the Chiefs of Candahar, will, I suppose, form the Despatch.

12. To this stage I have brought my proceedings, and think it advisable in losing no time to forward this communication, as some days must now elapse before any further step is taken ; and I have for the present gained the point of removing all suspense, while everything is permitted to rest *in statu quo*. I did not think it necessary to proceed at once, and tell the Ameer that he must either dismiss Captain Vickovitch or myself ; and there is less immediate necessity for this, as it must follow as a matter of course in his adhering to us, which I cannot but think will be the final decision of himself and his advisers. I have also just heard that Captain Vickovitch's messenger, with the Ameer's letters, the copies of which were forwarded to you on the 18th instant, has not started, and that orders have been given to detain them, which is the first symptom of the effect that the announcement has had on Dost Mahomed Khan. The point on which I am likely to be pressed, and which is an important one, is the meaning attachable to "our good offices," in so far as protection from the west is concerned. The consternation at the present time regarding Herat is such that they believe themselves the next victims of Persia if that city falls, which Yar Mahomed Khan, the vizier, plainly tells the Chief of Candahar in the annexed letter that reached Cabool the day before yesterday.]

No. 1.

Cabool, 23 February 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) Alex. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

[TRANSLATION of a letter from Yar Mahomed Khan, Vizier of Herat, to the Address of Kohin Dil Khan, Chief of Candahar, received at Cabool, 21st February 1838.

A. C.

WHILE in great anxiety to hear from you, the holy Syud Noor Shah entered the city. His jaded horse could not move, and he left him on the road, and came on foot; he also left your letter behind him, but he told me of the messages, that you want me to send my son, Syud Mahomed, to you, and then you will move towards Herat for assistance. You are right in telling me so, and I cannot refuse, in case you wish me to wait upon you, since I consider your house as mine.

It is nearly two months since Herat is besieged, and from no direction has assistance come. The men who were with me are wounded, killed and tired, so I am now obliged myself to take care of the walls, gates, tower and ramparts: how, then, can I send my son, Syud Mahomed, to you? however, if you would send about 300 or 400 horsemen, under the command of some respectable Dooranee or Ghiljee, it would be a source of fame to you, and, considering it an honour and service, I would then instantly send my son to wait upon you.

If you come here, consider this place your house, which it is proper to preserve from the hands of a strong enemy.

If Herat falls into the hands of the enemy (Persians), it is clear Candahar will also come into his possession: the only difference consists in this, that we will be ruined two months before your consternation, which will in the end be as great.

I have given some messages to the Syud, which he will deliver to you, and I hope you will consider them true.]

(A true translation.)

(signed)

Alex. Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed)

H. Torrens,

Dy. Secy. to the Govt. of India, with the Gov. Genl.

To W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

In your letter of the 23d of May last I had the honour to receive the sanction of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council to the discharge of a certain portion of the late Dr. Gerard's debts, amounting to 2,306½ rupees. While the importance of sustaining the high opinion of British honour and good faith in these countries was acknowledged, the Governor General in Council points out the necessity of admitting no claim against Dr. Gerard, except upon full inquiry, and the clearest conviction of its validity.

2. Under such circumstances, I have deemed it my duty to make further and most particular inquiry into the remaining sums due, and I now submit the result, supported by much more valid vouchers than what I expected to find, and which, as far as the sums concerned, seem to me complete.

No. 1.

3. The first of these is a receipt signed and sealed by Dr. Gerard himself, appended hereto in original, and which was given by him to Aga Oosman, a merchant of Herat, whom he referred for payment to the late Mr. William Fraser, at Delhi. The merchant at the same time demanded the further security of Moonshee Mohun Lal's promise to pay, through his father, in Delhi. Mr. Fraser's absence at the time, and Dr. Gerard not having returned, the merchant came upon the Moonshee's father, according to the note, whose bond was in consequence given to merchants, who paid the money, and to whom he is now under stoppages. In return, the original receipt, now enclosed, was surrendered, and carries on the face of it authenticity, since the detailed expenditure of Dr. Gerard is given. Its amount is 460 ducats, which, at 5½ rupees, gives a total of 2,238½ Company's rupees. I underrated this debt in my letter of the 7th of April from Shikarpoor, stating it only at 2,025 rupees.

4. The next item is that of Abdool Alli, of Cabool, and amounting to 500 rupees. This sum was due to Dr. Gerard's servants, Meer Ahmed and Mohamud Heratee, to the one 54 ducats, to the other 38, making a total of 92 ducats, which would give, at the price of the ducat above stated, 6 rupees more than 500; but the latter was the actual sum paid through the agency of Abdool Ali on account of Moonshee Mohun Lal. The original receipts and translations from Meer Ahmed and

Nos. 2 and 3.

and Mohamud Heratee, and which were given at the time, I append, attested by witnesses and Abdool Ali himself on the 24th October 1835.

5. The amount of Moollah Nujeeb's debt has been paid, through Captain Wade, by Government, which disposes of the whole of the claims, except four, which make a total of 1,557 rupees; but as all Dr. Gerard's letters and receipts were burnt with the Moonshee's property on the Indus last year, I can procure no vouchers to place before Government; and though I am under a conviction that they could have been substantiated, I cannot, with the restrictions imposed by Government, solicit their being paid by it.

6. In the Government letter of the 22d of May last, the discharge of 1,912½ rupees on account of Moollah Jullal was authorized, being part of what I had already disbursed. I had at that time transmitted no voucher for the justness of the claim, but I have fortunately now procured one under Dr. Gerard's own hand, the original of which I have seen, and copy of which I annex. I have also at Cabool since seen this merchant, Mulla Jullal, himself, and perused the annexed testimonial, received from Dr. Gerard, and which he allowed me to copy. I am sure it will be found to sustain the just exercise of liberality shown to him, and further the recommendation which I at the outset respectfully made to Government to take these debts, contracted under peculiar circumstances, into its most favourable consideration.

Cabool,
25 February 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 4.

No. 5.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of No. 1.

RECEIPT of ducats from Agha Oosman, of Herat, as undermentioned:

Wine.	Cash.	Cash.	Cash.	Onee Cash.
10 - -	50 - -	40 - -	105 - -	95.
Cash.	Cossid.	Cossid.	Clothes.	
50 - -	25 - -	20 - -	12.	

making a total of 407 ducats to be recovered in Delhi. 12th day of January 1833, at Herat.

(signed) *J. G. Gerard*,
Surgeon, Bengal Establishment.

(True translation.)

Sealed on
the back.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Receipt from Meer Ahmed, Native of Candahar, who was Servant of the late Dr. Gerard.

I AM Meer Ahmed, native of Candahar.

Having entered the service of Dr. Gerard, I received 46 ducats as my pay, with other 8 ducats (total 54 ducats) from Mirza Husa Jan (Mohun Lal).

Nothing is due now to me, and I give this receipt, that in future I should not make any claim.

Written on the 1st Rujub, A. H. 1251, corresponding with 24th October 1835.

Witness, Shahoulee Tailor. Witness, Abdool Ali.

(signed) *Meer Ahmed*.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*.

No. 3.

TRANSLATION of a Receipt from Mahomed, Native of Herat, who was the Servant of the late Dr. Gerard.

I AM Mahomed, native of Herat.

I was nearly three years in the service of Dr. Gerard, and came with him on the salary of 11 rupees per month, or 2 ducats. I received the balance of my pay from Mirza Husa Jan up to the 1st of Rujub, A. H. 1251, which amounted to 38 ducats.

I give these words as my receipt, that in future no claim should be made.

Written 1st Rujub 1251, A. H., corresponding with the 24th October 1835.

(signed) *Mahomed*, Native of Herat.

Witness, Abdool Ali. Witness, Shavoulee Tailor.

(True translation.)

(signed) Alex. Burnes.

No. 4.

RECEIVED from Moolla Julal the sum of 898 ducats on the interest of 300 ducats. The total is 1,258 ducats, which will be paid to him at Lahore by General Allard.

Candahar,
7 September 1837.

(signed) *J. G. Gerard*,
Surgeon, Bengal Establishment.

The whole sum of this bill has been paid to Moolla Julal by Mons. Allard, at Lahore, except 360 ducats, as the interest of the principal.

(A true copy.)

Lahore,
20 February 1834.

(signed) *C. M. Wade*,
Poll. Agent.

(True copy.)

(signed) Alex. Burnes.

No. 5.

THIS attests that Moollah Jailal, a highly respected merchant of Candahar, has rendered me the greatest service as a traveller passing through the Afghan territories, and is, consequently, an appropriate object of my recommendation to the British community in India, which I am fully warranted in believing will appreciate his worth.

I am indebted to Moollah Jailal for his undisguised liberality in supplying me with a large sum of money upon my simple receipt, the want of which must have placed me in many disagreeable situations. The frank generosity which marked this man's conduct, deserves much more than lays in my power to effect; I am therefore in hopes that a testimonial from my hand may ensure for him the good-will of those who may have both the inclination and the power of contributing to his welfare in any mode that may suggest itself.

Moolla Jailal has traded between Candahar and Bombay, and is well qualified to give information upon so interesting a subject: his veracity may be relied upon, and his own respectable address and unassuming intelligence are most satisfactory vouchers in his favour. He at present goes to Calcutta with the view of making himself acquainted with the resources of the country, and the facilities of commerce betwixt India and his native city, Candahar, and he will be obliged to any one who may be desirous of countenancing his prospects even to the extent of their approbation.

I have pledged him my own conviction, that in his passage through India he will meet with the attentions he so justly merits. From my own friends I solicit their kindness; from unknown people, who may have an opportunity of conferring civilities, I ask it as a favour, at the same time certain that it is only necessary for me to indicate the individual's character and services to create a participation in his objects, which I have no doubt his address and conversation will alone promote, independent of anything I can state here. Trusting to the same feeling in others which has guided Moollah Jailal's conduct towards myself, I leave him to the good-will and friendship of all who are interested in the welfare of travellers, and the prosperity of the Government of British India.

Lahore,
28 February 1834.

(signed) *J. G. Gerard*,
Surgeon, Bengal Establishment.

(True copy.)

(signed) Alex. Burnes.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your three letters, of the dates and on the subject noted in the margin.*

2. In reply, I am directed to observe that the contents of these communications are generally satisfactory, but that it would be premature for his Lordship to record any comment upon them at present.

Camp at Kurnaul,
3 March 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Sec. to the Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

(A true copy.)
(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Dep. Sec. to the Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, that I have more grounds for believing that Captain Vickovitch, the Russian agent at Cabool, is charged with letters from his Government to Maharaja Runjeet Sing. I observe that Colonel Stoddart mentions this as a surmise to Mr. M'Neil; and a few days ago Mr. Allard wrote to me from Peshawur, to know if the "on dit" of Mr. Vickovitch's going to the Punjab were true.

2. I have made every inquiry on this subject, and in the course of yesterday Mr. Masson was informed that the Russian agent had letters for the Maharaja, and that the purport of them was to the effect, that if his Highness did not withdraw from Peshawur, the Russian Government would compel him. [At any time it would be difficult to verify such a report, and, whether true or false, it is clearly my duty to report it, and that I shall not fail to sift its correctness.]

Cabool, 4 March 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)
(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Dep. Sec. to the Gov. of India with the Gov. Gen.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

ON the 23d ultimo I had the honour to report to you the result of my intercourse with the Ameer of Cabool, on the subject of the extent to which he was to reckon on the good offices of the British Government, in an adjustment of his differences with the Sikhs, and the returns which would be expected from him in consequence.

2. From various quarters, I have meanwhile heard that the ruler of Cabool is but ill-disposed to meet Government in its wishes, and the advice given to him by one of the first individuals whose counsel he sought, [viz. Mahomed Khan Byat]

* Letter dated 21 January 1838, transmitting a reply to last letter to the Candahar Chiefs, stating that it is satisfactory, and that they appear to have seen the futility of their treaty with Persia. Letter, dated 22 January 1838, reporting what further particulars have transpired regarding the Russian agent at Cabool, and commenting on the probable cause of the mission of that individual. Letter, dated 22 January 1838, transmitting the latest intelligence from Herat, which is making a spirited defence, and submitting a remarkable letter from the Vizier of Herat to the Chiefs of Candahar.

Byat] was, that he should take the British Government at their word, and dismiss their agent, since there was nothing now to be expected from his presence in Cabool. From the receipt of the Governor General's letter to the present time, nightly meetings have been held at the Bala Hissar, and the Ameer has, on more than one occasion, given vent to very strong expressions, both as to his future proceedings, and his disappointment at the slight degree of appreciation entertained by Government regarding him.

3. [On the morning of the 2d instant I had a visit from the Newab Jubbar Khan, who arrived at Cabool on the preceding day from his estate, having set out immediately he heard of the decision of the British Government. He had previously read his Lordship's letter to the Ameer, and he had just come from visiting his brother. I need not detain Government with a repetition of what I stated to the Newab, since I made him fully acquainted with the views of Government, and the only terms which it seemed just, in regard to Maharajah Runjeet Singh, that we could tender our good offices, which consisted in an endeavour to use our influence at Lahore, to put a stop to future aggression on the part of the ruler there on the Afghan dominions, and thus releasing them from the wrath of a powerful sovereign whom they had offended, and of whom their applications in every quarter for succour afforded manifest proof of their fear and danger. I further told the Newab of the views of Government regarding Peshawur, of its restoration being in the hands of Runjeet Sing, but most certainly that it would not be given to the Ameer.

4. The Newab replied, that the Government must be ignorant of the true state of affairs in this country; that it was well known he was an avowed and open partisan of the British, and he might therefore give his opinions with a frankness that was not liable to be mistaken; that the good offices of the Government to remove the Sikhs, and their future attacks, and to make some settlement in Peshawur were proofs of sympathy; but his Lordship might not have reflected that, so far from the proffered protection from Runjeet Singh being of the value stated, that the Maharaja had never sought to attack Cabool, and that hitherto all the aggression had been on the part of the Ameer, and not the ruler of Lahore: that it appeared we valued our offers at a very high rate, since we expected in return that the Afghans would desist from all intercourse with Persia, Russia, Toorkistan, &c. Were the Afghans to make all these powers hostile, and to receive no protection against the enmity raised for their adhering to the British? As for Peshawur being withheld from the Ameer, it might be got over, and he believed he did not overrate his influence with Sooltan Mahomed Khan, when he stated that he might bring about a reconciliation between him and the Ameer; but he must say that the value of the Afghans had indeed been depreciated, and that he did not wonder at the Ameer's disappointment.

5. I replied to the Newab that I really did not comprehend the motives which swayed him or his brother; I had before found that it was not Candahar which he wished to subdue, and that the difficulties about Peshawur were not insurmountable, and that in consequence it could not be that chiefship which the Ameer sought to conquer. What then were his wishes or expectations? Dignity and respect (izzut wu ikram) was the reply, and to be looked upon in the light of being able to do something for the British Government, and for such service to receive its real friendship, and not a proffer of lip sympathy, which did not ensure protection from the west, and which dwelt upon the good done in the eastern frontier by withdrawing Runjeet Sing, of whose attacks they were under little apprehension. The whole of the Afghan country, continued he, is now at your beck, and no future opportunity may prove so favourable to gain any ends which you may have, and establish your influence in Cabool, and if you lose this opportunity you will have yourselves to blame. Before leaving, the Newab asked me to tell him confidentially if the real object of the Governor General's letter was to withdraw from the Afghans, or to make friendship with them, for he hoped he would be told its exact meaning, that he might use his influence to bring about a good understanding, or at once, to save himself from disgrace, refrain from interfering. I gave him an assurance that we did most sincerely sympathise with his brother and all the Afghans, and that the use of his influence would be much appreciated; but after the explicit letter of the Governor General and the instructions which I had received, I would deceive him if he founded hopes of anything further being done for the Afghans than
what

what had been stated. He took his leave telling me that he hoped for the best, but that he too was disappointed. He made also the singular declaration, that if you wish the good of this country, you must either put aside by force the Ameer, or find some means of obliging him.

6. On the 3d instant I had a visit from Mirza Samee Khan, the principal Secretary, who made me aware, by desire of the Ameer, with what had passed since I last saw him: he stated that the Ameer was more depressed at what had occurred than he had ever seen; that he had often written to the British Government about his affairs, and in return they replied to him about their own, and spoke of commerce; that the answer which had, however, been received from Lord Auckland, on his assuming the Government, differed from all others, and had been most acceptable; that it now appeared, if the Ameer took any measures which he thought advisable to resist Runjeet Sing, it will be considered a direct breach of friendship; so that by seeking the good offices of the British, he has brought upon himself their enmity, instead of their indifference. And for what did the Government claim the gratitude of the Ameer, and his abstaining from all communications with powers to the west? That it would use its good offices with Runjeet Sing to prevent future aggression, and that the Ameer should be satisfied with this and his remaining territories. The Government could not, as it appeared to the Ameer, have known the true state of things, when Runjeet Sing had never made aggressions on Cabool, or taken a jureeb (acre) of the Ameer's territories (which were now larger than ever), nor that he had been hitherto successfully resisted. He had, however, no hope against the Sikh's if the British Government aided or encouraged their attacks; and he certainly would consider it unjust if he sought other aid to injure Runjeet Sing, and the British Government interfered. That the offer to adjust affairs at Peshawur did not suit the Ameer's views; that he waived all expectations of that place for himself, since it was displeasing to us, but that he regarded Sooltan Mahomed Khan and Runjeet Sing as identified, and that, by such a settlement, his character (purdee) did not remain with the people who had attached themselves to him, whose injury would follow on Sooltan Mahomed Khan's restoration, and whom he would then have the disgrace of having deserted. In addition to all this, he was to get no protection from Persia, or any power whose anger he might have raised, because of his adherence to the British, which, in Mahomed Shah's approach to Herat, seemed both an act of honesty and justice.

7. These, continued the Mirza, are not the views only of the Ameer himself, and though as yet no general assemblage of his advisers had taken place, he had the opinions of others. The Newab Mahomed Osman Khan had written, in reply from Bala Bagh, that subjugation by Runjeet Sing could never disgrace him, even if it did take place; but a desertion of those who had served him in his wars with the Sikhs would most certainly do so, and if he could not manage to have some influence in Peshawur such must follow; but that he must know he had no hopes of resisting the British Government, whatever he might do to that of Lahore. The Mirza made nearly the same observations as the Newab, about the expectation which the Ameer had cherished of doing service for the British, and devoting himself to it; that it was not the adjustment of the Peshawur affair that dissipated his hopes, but the indifference to his sufferings and station, which it was now clear we felt, and this was the more strange, as he had abandoned all his intercourse with Persia, and every other power to please us; for he could not be charged with over civility to Captain Vickovitch, who had not been even received till he had consulted with me, whose continuance here depended upon the snow, and to whom letters which had been written had not been given, because they met my disapproval. The Ameer said he has taken up an impression that your Government has misunderstood the nature of the correspondence with Russia, and attached to it a degree of blame which would only have been just, had it taken place after an exhibition of your friendly feelings.

8. I replied to Mirza Samee Khan that they knew as well as I did the views of the British; that I could not take upon myself the responsibility of doing more than reporting all they had to say, and that I really did not see how the Government were to blame, since I did not myself know exactly at this time what the Ameer of Cabool expected from us. That as for the respect due to his situation, my presence here was proof enough of the friendly estimation in

which we held him ; that there was no doubt some grounds for the claims made to protect him from the west, but every Government knew its own interest best ; and the extent which the British agreed to go in its good offices had been explicitly stated, and that if they consulted their own interests, they would gladly accept what had been tendered in a spirit so friendly ; for if we did not appreciate the services of the Afghans in the light which they themselves did, we wished to do them a substantial service, which it pained me to see they did not hold in that light. It was certainly true, I added, that Captain Vickovitch had been received as he had stated, and that the letters which were to be sent had been altered ; but I begged him to remember the message about waiting till the vernal equinox (nourooz) for an answer, and if he thought a Government like the British would submit to be tied down by such a limit.

9. The Mirza observed that the Ameer had apologised for that message, which was decidedly wrong, but that I, who was on the spot, should judge of the agitating circumstances. I took this occasion to say, that if the Ameer thought we were incorrect about the Russian letters, he had it in his power now to transmit the originals from Russia to the Governor General ; but I observed, that this was a suggestion far from agreeable ; and the Mirza said, that if I wished to see the letters again, he would bring them to me, but he did not think the Ameer would ever permit them being sent to India ; but we had received copies of them. I treated the reply with indifference, and I said, that the remark on my part had arisen from his own observation. Before Mirza Samee Khan left, I gathered that the result of all the conferences up to this time (3d instant) went to claim from the British, protection or means of protection from the west, as the price of their adherence to us ; and further, that however Peshawur might be settled by Runjeet Sing, no acknowledgment could be made for our good offices, unless means were taken to prevent injury from such settlement to those who had befriended the Ameer. Even with this latter arrangement, it appeared that we would not carry the Ameer's heart along with us, since he believed it in his power to do service from the position he held, and the anxiety to be allied to us above all others, to which we seemed to give little or no weight, and, on the contrary, had shown in the Governor General's letter, that we looked with a degree of indifference (be purwá) to any connexion with the Afghan nation.

10. On the morning of the 4th, I had another visit from the newab. While conversing on the contents of the Governor General's letter, I observed that no communication could more clearly convey the sincerity and good feelings of the British Government, than such a declaration, to which he assented, adding, that there were hopes conveyed in it, which had appeared, on a re-perusal, to be satisfactory ; but that I dimmed all these expectations, by declining to give any promises about protection from Persia, or any proof of our friendly feelings towards the Afghans. We had weighed much upon our good offices at Peshawur, and no one would be more rejoiced to see Sooltan Mahomed Khan once more established in his government than himself ; but we had really gone too far in fixing that as the limit of our good offices, and if we meant to purchase Afghanistan by it, we should not succeed ; that our policy appeared to him the more strange, since we had furnished cannon, muskets, &c., and even officers and money to Persia, when in Afghanistan, the door of India (durwaza-i-hind), we meant to do nothing ; and what was more, to consider Dost Mahomed Khan our enemy, if he entered into any description of political intercourse with others. The singular attachment of this man to the British Government, made its appearance however in a form different from what has been stated ; he made a serious proposal to me to keep the Ameer in check, if we were determined to go no further, by drawing closely to Candahar, establishing Sooltan Mahomed Khan in Peshawur, and then bidding defiance to the Ameer ; but to effect this, added he, you must substantially protect Candahar. I replied that Government had not contemplated any such a measure, and it was its object to maintain all the Afghan chiefs in their actual position.]

11. It seems very clear, [from what has been above stated], although the final answer of Dost Mahomed Khan has not been received, that we have little hope of establishing a friendly connexion with him on the terms wished for by Government. Even if it could be brought about before a vast change of opinion takes place, the friendship would be delusive, and no degree of dependence could be placed upon this chief. [I am aware that the views of Government are

are decided, and it would be highly presumptuous in me to make any observations on the record of the different conversations which have been above reported.] As Mr. Vickovitch still remains in Cabool, and his presence is the strongest test of the Ameer's disposition to make use of him against us, and as Dost Mahomed Khan does not appreciate our good offices in Peshawur, I shall deem it my duty to retire when I receive the Ameer's letter, unless some very decided change of tone takes place at Cabool. [The only feeling, and it is one of the highest importance, which will counteract this step, is the expression of his Lordship's opinion that the line of policy marked out in respect to Dost Mahomed Khan ought to be readily successful; and the belief that this chief will have judged better for its interests, than to compel me to quit Cabool. I am well aware of the responsibility which I shall incur, as a public servant, by this act, if it be too precipitately taken; but as an unavoidable loss of character must equally follow my continuance here under expectations which appeared deceptive, I shall not hesitate between such responsibility and the paramount consideration of what appears to me due to our national honour.]

Cabool,
5 March 1838.

I have, &c
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) H. Torrens,
Dep. Sec. to Gov. of India, with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

IT is with feelings of heartfelt gratification that I enclose, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, the following authentic particulars regarding the siege of Herat, from the actual scene of operations, contained in letters from Lieutenant Pottinger and Lieutenant-Colonel Stoddart, which reached me late last night.

2. The progress of the Persians at Herat itself could not be said, previous to this, to be exactly known; but every appearance was in their favour; they had marched, and with success, even in winter; they had captured Ghorian, invested Herat, dried up its ditch, and maintained their position before it for three months; and, what above all things struck terror into men's minds, overrun the country as far as Maimuna, from which they had demanded and received hostages. All of this information, though confirmed in these letters, it appears, will not avail the Persians; and the strength of the city, but above all the noble and spirited defence of the Vizier, and the brave Afghans, is, as Colonel Stoddart justly says "beyond all praise."

3. Lieutenant Pottinger's letter, No. 1, under date the 4th of February, gives an interesting account of the siege up to that date; but his subsequent communication, No. 2, of the 11th, 12th February is most important. I have written to that gentleman in reply, to inform Kamran and the Vizier that their defence of Herat will be highly appreciated, and I have enclosed a letter to Yar Mo-humud Khan himself, explaining who Mr. Pottinger is, and that though not invested with any public character, that the British Government will appreciate their treating him well, and that he will deliver some messages from me. These are to the effect that they may put away all fear from the blood feud between them and Candahar and Cabool, proving productive of injury to them in their present distress, since every thing here is right. I have also told Lieutenant Pottinger to continue at Herat, whether it be relieved or not, and to write to me as often as possible for the information of his Lordship. The perplexities of this officer are thus turned to profit, and his anxieties will be relieved.

4. The communication No. 3 is an original letter from Colonel Stoddart, with the communication from myself, which drew it forth. I feel bound to forward this latter communication to explain that of Colonel Stoddart, though it was not written for official transmission, for I hope that the Lieutenant-Colonel has not given too wide a latitude to your Despatch of the 13th of November last to Captain Wade, the 5th and 6th paragraphs of which I transmitted to him as reported to you in my letter of the 26th of December last.

1—Sess. 2.

x 3

5. The

No. 1.

No. 2.

No. 3.

5. The receipt of Colonel Stoddart's, communication, which I made known here, has been electric, and even if that officer have misconceived the instructions of the Governor General, the effect of his messages has been to depress the Shah, and raise the spirits of Kamran, while Lieutenant Leech's presence at Candahar goes to convince the Persians of all Colonel Stoddart has told them. A reference to the records of Government would prove that it was in no way committed, and it is surely proper that Mahomed Shah should know that his Lordship "considers the preservation of the integrity of Herat to be of the first magnitude." While the communications from Herat have arrived at Cabool at a period so well timed, the views of his Lordship have reached at even a more happy juncture the ears of the contending parties, and it is a source of much pleasure to think that the letter sent to Mr. McNeill from myself was dispatched at the time it was, and that it reached the Persian camp through the Vizier of Herat. I beg to draw attention to the postscript of Colonel Stoddart's letter, on the envelope, which of itself explains the state of affairs in the camp; he has not money to pay the cossid, and by his letter no gram for his horse.

Nos. 4, 5 and 6.

6. The letters Nos. 4, 5 and 6 are from Lieutenant Leech at Candahar, which contain further particulars of the state of affairs. If the report of the defeat of the Assif oo Dowla mentioned in the extract, No. 5, prove well-founded, we may expect a disastrous account of Mahomed Shah's army. Mr. Leech's letter, No. 6, contains his address to Kamran, which may do good, and as it is guardedly worded, can do no harm.

Cabool,
6 March 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(Confidential.)

To Captain *Stoddart*, Persian Camp, Herat.

My dear Sir,

I AM given to understand that you are in the Persian camp, along with the Shah. If so, do me the favour to hand this letter on to Mr. McNeill, and if you are on his part at Herat, pray open it without hesitation. If you can give me any explanation of its contents, I shall feel obliged. We are all looking most anxiously to Herat, and what will be the result of the Persian campaign there.

Cabool, 26 December 1837.

Believe, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*.

(Confidential.)

To his Excellency *John McNeil*, Esq., Envoy Extraordinary, &c. &c., Tehran.

My dear Sir,

I HAVE of late written to you frequently, but the non-arrival of your packets sent by the way of Yezd, and all the information which I myself received regarding the want of safety in the intervening country, made me use the Post Office as a means of communication. I am, however, dispatching Lieutenant Leech to Candahar, and from his proximity to the Persian camp, I am not without hope of this reaching you safe.

The most remarkable piece of intelligence which I have to convey to you, is the arrival at this city, on the 19th instant, of Mr. Vickovitch, with a letter from the Emperor of Russia, the Shah of Persia, and Count Simonitch, to the Ameer, which were, however disagreeable, well enough, excepting the contents of the latter, which inform the Ruler of Cabool that Mr. Vickovitch will communicate certain messages to the Ameer, and that he is to look upon them as from himself. What are these messages? a tender of ready money in a good round sum now, or a yearly sum, for the purpose of defending himself against the Sikhs, the cash to be paid at Bhokara, and the offer being made on account of what Dost Mahomed Khan wrote to the Emperor of his distresses in the beginning of 1836! This is indeed a neat piece of business. The Emperor's letter is about three feet long, and emblazoned over with all the honours of chivalry and war. A Persian translation accompanies it, and after many friendly expressions, tells him that he would be always ready to afford assistance to the Cabool merchants, who come into Russia. Mahomed Shah's epistle or "rukum" is merely to say that as his royal brother of Russia addresses the Ameer, so does he; but the "Afghan of the Universe" has so offended the honest Afghan, by writing a "rukum," that he has not, I believe, even read it. Of Count Simonitch's letter I have already given you the contents.

What can this mean? I am now and then disposed to treat it as a hoax, but I have compared the seals of the count's former letters, and they agree with those now on his letter. The imperial seal of Russia a man might forge, but it is not very likely, and the epistle has certainly a very autocratic look. What does the Emperor of Russia want at Cabool after his minister's disavowals; and what return can Dost Mahamed Khan make to him?

These

These be not, however, subjects for a single hastily written sheet, but you shall have a copy of my confidential communication to Lord Auckland on the subject, as well as of all the letters. The bearer of them calls himself a Pole in the Russian service at Orenburg, has been three times at Bokhara, and comes direct from Saint Petersburg. The effect of all this on Dost Mahamed Khan has been but little; he is very proud of the Emperor's letter, but, as he says, he wishes no one's aid while he has a hope of ours, and of that there is happily much more than a hope.

I have at last detached the Candahar flocks from their connexion with Persia, got them to abandon the thought of sending a son to the Shah, to dismiss Kumbur Ali Khan, and to throw themselves on us, and to give them full confidence. Mr. Leech, an engineer officer, with me as one of my assistants, goes off *chuppur* to Candahar early to-morrow. I have put sundry plans into execution to prevent any of the Candaharies ever going to Furrah, as the Shah has requested them, because I foresee many and future ills from even a nominal allegiance to Persia on the part of the Sirdars of Candahar.

After a great deal of doubt, I was much surprised at the winter campaign of the Persians against Herat. We have just heard of the fall of Ghorain, which must be a godsend to the Shah. I trust Herat will hold out. After your very strong remonstrances of June last, I never thought the Persians could have attempted the attack on Herat, and I cannot now persuade myself that any one from you is with the Shah, but reports tell me that Captain Stoddart is, and to him I have entrusted this letter, with permission to open it if it falls into his hands. I am aware that Mr. Pottinger is a detenu at Herat, and I doubted the arrival of the Persians till I heard from him. If this short communication gets safe into his hands, I shall abandon the Bombay road altogether.

We have not yet had anything definitely settled about Peshawur, but Lord Auckland is at hand, and will, I trust, do something decisive to keep away this bullying of Russian and Persian elchees on our frontiers. Dost Mohamed Khan is all we could wish, and I have sweetened the mouths of the Candahar Chiefs with promises so substantial, that if Leech gets there in time, we shall be as well there as here. I have much to write, which I do not feel at liberty to do by this channel; so adieu, and believe me, &c.

Cabool, 26 December 1837.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*

(True copy.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*

No. 1.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Lieutenant *Pottinger* to Captain *Burnes*, dated Herat, 4th February 1838.

I TAKE the opportunity of the return of a cossid, sent here by your moonshee, Mohul Lal or Hussan Jan, to give a brief account of the state of things here. I have not yet been joined by either of my men, but a cossid of Syud Meyus received your letter given in charge to Ullah Dad Khan. I am much obliged to you for your kind proffers of assistance and advice as to my further progress. You will ere this, by my letters of November, observe I took advantage of the former by writing to you for money, which I beg you will, if you have an account with the Bhooj Residency, debit to that on my account, and I have written to Colonel Pottinger for it to be placed to my public account. The siege of this city appears further from its conclusion than it did on the first arrival of the Persians; they effected a lodgment on the counterscarp on the 28th or 29th of November, and, except filling up the ditch, and effecting a lodgment at the foot of the interior slope of the faussebraye (it is unrevetted), they have as yet been able to do nothing else; four times the garrison has blown up their mine by a countermine, and last night, on their attempting an open sap along the foot of the exterior slope at the bottom of the ditch, we destroyed it in the same way. Their fire is so slack, that I judge they have expended the greater part of their ordnance ammunition; the mortars are totally silent, and the few round shot fired are of marble carved, from the tomb-stones.

The prisoners say they have cast two new guns of large calibre, and are employed in carving shot for them from the marble tombs, and that a supply of ordnance stores is on the way to join; also that the Shah has recalled Ullah Yar Khan Asaf Dowlut, whom he despatched at the beginning of the siege to beat up the quarters of the Huzara and Jumsheedee Avemaks, which he has done completely, and driven them far into Toorkistan, report says beyond Maimuna; I cannot find out if there had been an action or not, but am inclined to think they fought one on the banks of the Moorghub.

Twelve or fifteen days ago a Yoozbashee of the Khan of Orgunge, arrived with a letter for Shah Kamran, in which he stated he had ordered his entire force to assemble at Merve, and that he himself, with 50,000 men and some guns (I forget the number), had marched from Khiva, on the south of Shaval, and might be expected about the end of that month. However, though that time has elapsed, no further intelligence of him has arrived except a body of 200 Tukus, who, by his orders, had come here 10 days ago; they being joined by a hundred Huzaras, Jumsheedees, and other men-stealers from this, attempted to foray the Persian foragers, but fell into an ambuscade, and suffered very severely, the Toorkmans especially. The others, knowing the country better, got off with the loss of about

about half their number; this is likely enough to cool the ardour of the Khan Thezriel* and his merry men, who are much better fitted for thieving than fighting. The garrison sallied a few nights back, and the rear attacked the head of their own column, and the mistake caused the loss of one man killed and several wounded before the mistake was remedied. This contretemps, however, put the enemy on their guard, and the party finding that the case, came back with their tails between their legs. A few days after, they sallied out in the day; the Persians did not however wait to be attacked, but came out, drove them back under the musketry of the ramparts, though the sortie was supported by the fire of two guns on the upper faussebraye, which were very well served, and did much execution; the Persians had also two guns which not a little frightened the spectators, who appeared to think every shot intended for them. The Vuzeer and Khans were considerably mortified at the result, and the former took considerable trouble to impress on me that the party from the garrison were only eeljareet†, and most of the horsemen rag-tag and bobtail, on yaboos and ponies. What will be the end of the siege I cannot guess. The Vuzeer and chiefs will not give in, and nothing but assault and famine will succeed in reducing them; the former I doubt if the Persians will attempt; the latter will detain them here another year. The Afghans in the city, except the Populzyes, have been thoroughly aroused by the cry of religion, and the license taken by the Persians in some of the neighbouring villages. The Populzyes are without a head, but are very disaffected to the Vuzeer; the Shah (Kamran), who is kept in total ignorance of what is going on, being deceived by false accounts, is a passive spectator, and appears to care little which side carries the day. The Persians have as yet entirely confined their attack to the south-west quarter of the city.

Yours, &c.

(signed) *Edward Pottinger.*

(True copy.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*

No. 2.

EXTRACTS of LETTERS from Lieutenant *Pottinger* at Herat to Captain *Burnes*, dated 11th and 12th February 1838.

Leech's cossid, Hajee Hoosein, arrived on the 6th, bringing your letter for Mr. M'Neill; the Vuzeer permitted it at my request to pass unopened, and allowed me to forward it to Colonel Stoddart in the Persian camp. I had prepared everything to despatch the cossid with it when the Vuzeer requested I should go myself, and at the same time as I delivered the letters, deliver two messages, one for the king and one for the Vuzeer, the former in Kamran's name, the latter in the Vuzeer's own name. I accordingly saddled my horses, and going out of the gate of Kotechak, which is not invested, rode over to the nearest picquet, which forwarded me on, according to military usage, till I reached the tent of Hajee Akasee, who, on finding I was an Englishman that had business with Colonel Stoddart, sent me to his tent without delay or questioning, and after telling that gentleman my errands, and delivering your and Leech's letters, I accompanied him back to the tent of the Persian Vuzeer, where I told that person from Yar Mohamed Khan that he was anxious to pay him all the attention of a son, but that his coming with an army to invade the country of his ancestors, was so unfatherly that he was obliged to act contrary to his wishes, but that if he would retire he would come and perform the duties of a son. (I shall write a full statement of what passed as soon as I have leisure, now abridging it, that I may get this cossid off quickly for the information of Government). The Vuzeer replied to the message very lengthily, and argued the subject on all points; I, on the part of the Afghans, when he claimed Herat, claiming Meshid and Nishapoor. His reply was shortly, that till the Shah and Vuzeer came out and agreed to the five proposals sent themselves by Futti Mahomed Khan to Tehran, he will not recommend Mahomed Shah to move from this, but that the king was the judge and does as he likes. The five proposals alluded to are these, but the Afghans deny them in part, and state that the rest were mere words never intended to be acted upon, and merely sent as flattery; viz., 1st. That Kamran and the Vuzeer should come and kiss the feet of the Asylum of the Universe. 2d. That they should restore the inhabitants and repeople Jain and Bakhurs. 3d. That they should give up foraying the Persian frontier, and restore the prisoners, particularly the two daughters of Mohamed Khan Jumea. 4th. That they shall supply a contingent in the Persian wars. 5th. That they emigrate to Azurbizun, if Mohamed Shah choose it. I told him he might as well save himself the trouble of sending such messages, as they would never be assented to, the Afghans universally declaring they would neither surrender Herat, or acknowledge the sovereignty of the Persian king. He then told me to take my message to the king, and we were immediately conducted to his tents, where I delivered Kamran's message, taking especial care to term him king, and used no term to the one monarch which I did not to the other. Mohamed Shah gave me a very inflated answer, and said he supposed Kamran had, from his having felt that his enemy's hand was at his throat, at last consented to give up

* Chief, or Orgimie, so called.

† i. e. Militia. (signed) *A. B.*

up man-selling; that Kamran was told to learn that he told a lie in saying he had not assisted the rebellious Khoransanee Chiefs, and in saying he wished to abolish slavery, finally ending by declaring, "I will not be satisfied till I have a garrison in the Boorj-i-Kudunz"; that if God gave him the country, he would; if he did not, he would remain until —, but did not conclude the sentence. Kamran's message was that Mahomed Shah's conduct filled him with grief; that in his distress he had taken refuge near the Persians, expecting neighbourly support; that Futteh Ali Shah styled his father, brother, and himself, son, as did Abbas Mirza; that his forbearings on Futteh Ali Shah's death merited another reward than to drive him from his last shelter; indeed he had expected assistance to recover what he had lost; that he was not a man-seller; it was alike contrary to the Afghan religion and customs; that the people who did it were the wanderers, not entirely obedient to him, and that he was ready to stop that, and restore the prisoners taken, and that the Persian king's conduct was far from generous, &c.

With respect to Colonel Stoddart's transactions, his own letter will speak for itself; he, however, has requested me to write a full statement of what passed, which I shall do by another cossid, hurrying this man off, as I find you are so ill informed of what is going on here. On the 10th, Colonel Stoddart handed in the translation of the Enclosure A. (the translation B. is also enclosed) to the Persian Vuzeer, and received a polite note in reply, stating he was not the proper channel of conveying the intelligence to the king's ear, and begged to be excused. Colonel Stoddart, in consequence of the refusal of the Prime Minister, as he considered the communication one too important for transmission by a common mirza, decided on taking no further steps, but forwarding it on to the Ambassador, Mr. McNeill at Tehran, where the Minister for Foreign Affairs is at present, satisfied that the real conductor of the Persian Government was acquainted with it, and chose to take the responsibility of keeping the king in ignorance of it.

The next morning I returned into the city, where I delivered the answers of their messages to Shah Kamran and the Vuzeer, who laughed at them, and said they were too absurd; but I shall leave this for my future letter, as it is of no importance, simply stating that the Afghan Chiefs have individually and collectively told me they never did or will acknowledge the Persian supremacy.

The city is very much stronger than it was at the commencement of the siege, and the Afghans are confident and in high spirits; they want but money. The Persians, on the contrary, are heartily sick of the war, and only wish to get back safely. The men show a great disposition to desert, and are only kept together by fear and the length and dangers of the road back from this. They have received no pay since they left Teheran, and every necessary of life is scarce in their camp. Colonel Stoddart could not get his bills for money cashed in the camp, and sent them into the city with me to make the attempt; his horses were absolutely without grain, so scarce has it become. Colonel Stoddart gave me for opinion that the Persians must retreat for want of supplies very shortly. They have taken no steps to supply the camp, by bringing in the cultivators; on the contrary, they have treated them in the usual Persian style; so in consequence none have come to the camp; all still remain in the mountains, where they fled on the first approach of the enemy. The country about Herat has now nearly become a desert, and when the snow on the Avemak Mountains may melt, the swelling of the river will cut them off entirely from the cultivated parts of the country. The Afghans are well supplied with provisions, are getting on as well as we can wish them with regard to their defence; for my own part, I have little doubt, from what I now know of both parties, that the taking of Herat by the present Persian army is little less than an impossibility; indeed, according to common phrase, it is so totally. I trust my letters by Cossid Salah Mahomed Kulora may have reached. Want of means has prevented me sending you a cossid myself.

The Shah (Kamran) has addressed the Governor General of India requesting his aid, and that the British Government become the protectors of this State, and its guarantee against aggressions. It will be forwarded through you along with amicable letters, to the Chiefs of Candahar and Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*

Enclosure (A.).

COPY of a communication sent by Lieutenant Colonel Stoddart to the Persian Prime Minister, Hajee Mirza Aghasee on the evening of the 9th February 1838. This was enclosed in a note to the minister, stating it was strictly private, and intended for the information of that officer and the Shah only. It was forwarded in consequence of the receipt of letters from Captain Burnes and Lieutenant Leach, containing the intelligence of the intentions of the Governor General, regarding the invasion of Afghanistan by the Persian Army.

Instructions have arrived from his Lordship, the Governor General of India, for the British Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary now at Tehran, and those instructions make it necessary for him to make certain communications to his Majesty the Shah; also it is necessary for me that I should acquaint his Majesty with the nature of these communications;

* The citadel of Herat. (signed) *A. B.*

tions; but the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary will, in an official manner, forward them. That the British Government and Governor General of India, invested as he is with full powers from the British Government, holds for opinion that Herat should be preserved in integrity, and that this object is decided, and, God willing, resolved upon. The Governor General, in these circumstances, has perfect confidence in the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, that it has fallen upon him to represent the British Government, and conduct the mediation for peace; that the British Government will not agree to the extinction of the monarchy of the Sudozye Afghans, and the overthrow of their right to sovereignty, and the British Government, as the well-wisher of both the Persian and Afghan States, intends to take measures to alter the views of the Shah respecting Herat, whether by treaty or otherwise, and to prevent foreign enemies from aggression in the territories of the Afghans, whether belonging to Herat, Kandahar or elsewhere, and certainly before this the detail of these measures has reached the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary; and, please God, he will in a few days arrive in Camp.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*

No. 3.

To Captain *Alex. Burnes, &c.*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated Cabool, 26th December 1837, which Mr. Pottinger delivered to me here yesterday, it having reached him at Herat on the 6th instant, by the Cossid Hajee Hoosein, who also accompanied Mr. Pottinger on his visit to this camp. Agreeably to your directions, I opened the letter addressed by you to Mr. M'Neill, Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, now at Tehran.

I received at the same time a letter from Mr. Leach, dated 17th January 1838, Candahar, and another from him dated 18 January, Candahar, the latter giving cover to an extract from a Despatch from his Lordship the Governor General of India, dated 13th November 1837. I this day communicated to the Shah and his Minister, Hajee Meerza Aghasee, the decided resolution of the Governor General, vested as he is with full powers from the British State, respecting the preservation of the integrity of Herat, the claim to sovereignty in the present Sudozye family of Afghans, the security of the Sirdars of Cabool and Candahar in their territories, and the discouragement of attacks on Herat or the Sirdars, all which I stated would be more formally announced to the Shah by Mr. M'Neill, in whom the British Government further expresses its fullest confidence. This I do as it was desirable that no more time should be lost in putting the Persian Government in possession of the decisions come to respecting the present state of proceedings here.

You will see that as yet the original letter from the Governor General to Mr. M'Neill has not yet reached the Shah, and it became an imperative duty for me to lose no time in showing to the Persian Government the view taken of their proceedings.

The Russian was sent, as he stated, and I was not a little surprised that he was received at all, but as he has been, of course he will be dismissed: the effect of his leaving Cabool with favour would encourage all future Russian intrigues at Bokhauran and elsewhere round this. He was guilty of deception in stating himself to be a Pole, by which he has selected an unfavourable disguise; for, what can be more disgusting than the idea of a Pole serving the Russian Government? He is a Cossack. Sirdar Dost Mahomed Khan did write to the Emperor Nicholas in 1836, and thus furnished an excuse for the reply, out of which, of course, the Sirdar will back by his future conduct; the rest you mention the Cossack said, was correct. I look upon this interference of Russia with the Afghans and the Persian Government, permitting it publicly, as a breach of our treaty with Persia on the part of the Persian Government, and as an uncalled-for and unsuitable intermeddling between Persians and Afghans on the part of Russia. The conduct of the Persian Shah was also very undignified in this matter.

Allow me to express my hope that you will not leave these countries till the intentions of the Governor General are fully completed, and the affairs of the Afghans and their neighbours around arranged, and put on the social footing necessary to our interests.

I forward the letters which reached me from you to-morrow; they will probably reach Mr. M'Neill by the 5th March. It is some days since I have been expecting a courier from him.

The separation of the Chief of Candahar from his leaning to the Kajars, was of great importance and well timed. In Seistan, Jelaladeen Khan Kyanny is the rightful chief, being under the Afghan sovereign as now; he has not, as the other Seistan Chiefs, at all tampered with the Kajars, and his sister is a wife of Shah Kamrans.

Mr. Pottinger will tell you the views of the Shah and his Minister, and the state of his operations. Shah Kamran has conducted himself with great spirit during the siege, and his Wuzeer Yar Mohamud Khaun Alikozye's conduct is beyond all praise; they depend entirely on British friendship, and are worthy of it, for they have proved it by actions.

The conduct of the Persian Government in not fulfilling the first part of our treaty, promising a commercial treaty, and the insult offered to one of the legatine Gholams, by stripping him and arresting him in this camp, has been so disagreeable to Mr. M'Neill that it

is

is not impossible that he may demand his passports, and leave Persia, though he would leave some one to forward public communications from India or England to the Persian Government. You should know this, that duplicate proceedings may be adopted from yourself to the Shah I mean. Pray make sure that our Government's views reach the Shah.

Mr. Pottinger is in high esteem among the Afghans, and will not probably have any difficulty in communicating to Mr. M'Neill through me or direct to the Persian Government.

With my sincere wishes that the measures now commenced by our Government may be prosperously carried into effect, and begging you to excuse the shortness of this letter, on account of the shortness of Mr. Pottinger's views, all which he will explain,

Shah of Persia's Camp, near Herat,
9 February 1838.

I remain, &c.

(signed) *Charles Stoddart*,
In Her Majesty's Legation to the Court
of Persia, and acting for Mr. M'Neill
at the Shah's Camp.

My dear Burnes,

I am very glad to have heard from you, and sincerely wish you well through your work. Mr. Leech will open this.

9 February.

Yours, &c.
(signed) *C. Stoddart*.

Why don't you attach Pottinger to your mission temporarily? Mr. Leach or you must pay the Cossid. We have not a rap between us!

No. 4.

To Captain *Alex. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that a cossid arrived last night from the city of Herat, bringing the accompanying letter to your address from Lieutenant Pottinger. This man was 12 days from the city, whereas 20 days have elapsed since the letter has been written. By this man's account the Ashrif of Meshid had not returned from his campaign against Sher Mahomed Shahzada Saif Ahmulk; one of Kamran's sons is in the Valley of Ghorzama, trying to collect men and money, and another son, Shahzada Julaloodan, is in Farra; a third son, Sadut Molk, holds Subzawur; a fourth, Shahzada Nadir, is now in Bokhara, seeking for the assistance of the Ameer, and a letter had been received from him, saying he had succeeded in interesting the Ameer in Kamran's * favour, and was on the banks of the Amoo with a succour of troops. The besieged were aware of the return of the Persian Elchy Kambhar Aly to the camp, and of the presence of Alladad Khan, the Candahar elchy; and a report was strong in the city that Candahar had receded from its allegiance to Persia, which, of course, has given Shah Kamran great confidence. The probable reason of the Popalzais in Herat being dissatisfied, is that Vizier Yar Mahomed Khan of course exercises great vigilance over them, their leader Shamsooddeen having gone over to the Persians. Six maunds of wheat are sold in the city for a Candahar rupee, ghee two rupees the maund, meat one rupee the maund Tabreezee. There had been a slight fall of snow, which, however, did not lie on the ground. The city of Herat only mounts ten guns; the effective force of the garrison is 5,000 men. Since the commencement of the siege Kamran has not lost many more than a hundred men; the Persians taken prisoners are said to amount to more than a thousand, and among whom is a Mirza of consequence; they are employed in repairing the works. In the last engagement several Persians of consequence, three or four, were killed; and a European in the Shah's employ, Samsam by name, was wounded in the leg. No general action had taken place between the Ashrif of Meshid and Sher Mahomed Huzara, who is still in force. The defeat of the latter, mentioned in Lieutenant Pottinger's letter, seems to refer to the first engagement, before the junction of Sher Mahomed and the Khan of Maimuna. The Vizier, Yar Mahomed, conducts the siege, and is the sole head of affairs in Herat. I gave Syud Noor Shah on his return to Herat a message for Vizier Yar Mahomed Khan, saying, we were his well-wishers in this campaign, and assuring him no ill to his cause would accrue from my presence at Candahar.

Candaha 25 February 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *R. Leach*, Assistant.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

* This is unhappily contradicted by letters from Bokhara. (signed) *A. B.*

No. 5.

EXTRACT of a Letter from Lieutenant *Leech*, dated *Candahar*, 1 March 1838.

ON the night of the cossid leaving Herat there was a severe snow storm, and the snow was knee deep, and there was a report on the same evening that a Persian of respectability, who had been captured by a soldier of Kamran, was recognised by Vizier Yar Mohamed Khan, who purchased him for ten buja Khalees, cured some wounds that he had received, gave him two bujakhalees, and released him, with permission to return to the camp. This man, on his return, forwarded, out of gratitude, a letter to his preserver the Vizier, to the following effect, that news of the defeat of the Ashif of Meshid, who had been despatched against Sher Mohamed Huzara had been received, that Mohamed Shah was about to despatch an elchy to Kamran, whom the Vizier must endeavour to detain two days, as, if the news were true, the Persians would retire the next night. Elchy came, and was with the Vizier till the cossid left.

(True extract.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

No. 6.

To Captain *Alex. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

Letter to Shahzada
Kamran.

I HAVE the honour to forward a translation of a letter addressed this day to Shazada Kamran (the Persian copy will be forwarded by the next opportunity). From a letter of Lieutenant Pottinger's, I have reason to suspect that Lieutenant-Colonel Stoddart, now in the Persian camp on the part of Mr. McNeill, has no communication with the city. I am, therefore, confident of my communication not interfering with his correspondence. In the absence of your instructions, I have written the letter.

Reason for the
despatch of the
letter.

1st. From a fear that Kamran, despairing of succour from Candahar, fearing its co-operation with Persia, and enraged at the Sirdars for not joining him in a common cause of religion, should prove a treaty, and perhaps take active measures with Persia for the destruction of Candhar. 2d. To pave the way for a reconciliation with this principality, so much desired by Government. 3d. To erase from the mind of the Shazada any suspicion or bad feeling that may have been generated by my presence at Candhar. 4th. To pave the way for the establishment of British interest in Herat, should it be rescued ever without our assistance from Persia, by leading Shazada Kamran to suppose we were interested in his difficulties, but that we were prevented from assisting him, both from the distance of our seat of Government from Khorasam, and from the want of a direct influence in these countries. 5th. Considering that no time than the present would be more opportune to our interests for acknowledging the independence of Herat.

2. I hope this measure will meet your approbation.

Mullas of Canda-
har.

3. The Mullas of Candahar have this day sworn on the Koran (after having for several days besieged the residence of Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan for leave to go against the Persians) that they will wait only four days to be led to Herat; if at the expiration of those days the Sirdars will not conduct them, they will proceed of themselves; and if the Sirdars attempt to prevent them, they will emigrate with their families.

Candhar, 1 March 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *R. Leech*, Assistant.

TRANSLATION of a Letter addressed to *Shazada Kamran*, dated 1 March 1838, by Lieutenant *R. Leech*, Assistant on a Mission to Candhar.

After Compliments.

It is perhaps known to you that a year has elapsed since the Governor General of India despatched me, in company with my superior captain, Alexander Burnes, and other gentlemen, to Cabool, to arrange for the opening of the River Indus as a route for commerce. Some time after our arrival, we heard of an enemy having entered your country, and besieged Herat, at which we were much concerned. For some time past it had been the wish of the British Government to despatch one or two officers to Afghanistan, and your country to make terms of friendship with the Sirdars and yourself, and to open a caravan road from Khorasan to Hindusthan. By the orders of my Government I am now in Candahar.

2. My Government respects all the holders of power in Afghanistan as independent one of the other, and on this point I have repeatedly assured and satisfied the rulers of Candahar. It was my hope that I should be able to come and give you the same assurance regarding yourself, but the danger and difficulty of the road has prevented me. I offer you my condolence, as a friend, on the present unfortunate war between yourself and Mahomed Shah, and assure you that I have made known to my Government your condition and my sorrow. Whatever influence God may grant to my Government to terminate this war between yourself and Mahomed Shah, will be exerted. I think that, by the assistance of God, peace may be established between you and Mahomed Shah. Until proof of participation in your difficulties arrives

arrives in answer from my Government, you may rest at ease without any apprehensions from this quarter. My Government considers your country as an independent State. When peace is determined on, Lieutenant-Colonel Stoddart, who is in the Persian camp on the part of my Government, will mediate for your good. Further, as a well-wisher of yours, may I request your indulgence to listen to a few remarks I have to make, viz., that it would be well if the differences existing between you and the Sardars of Candahar were settled? The world agree that men are all the sons of Adam, who was produced from his mother earth. You are bound by three ties to the Sardars of Candahar:—

1st. That you, in common with them and all the world, are sons of one mother earth. This is nothing.

2d. You are brothers of one great tribe, the Duranee; and it is written in the "Hudees," (*Inna al muminin akh* "for certainly the faithful are brothers.")

3d. You are more neighbours; on this account your subjects and the subjects of Candahar are brothers. When your rulers differ, brothers are separated from brothers, father from son, and son from father. Further, God has of His wisdom created the great to protect the weak, poor, and abject, and it is their duty to do so, and to agree among themselves. If you were agreed among yourselves, would it be possible for an enemy to enter and waste this your country? Do not be offended at what I have written, &c. &c.

(True translation.)

(signed) *R. Leech*, Assistant.

(True copies.)

H. Torrens,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I AVAIL myself of the opportunity of the express, despatching the gratifying intelligence regarding Herat, to convey the equally gratifying information of having brought the Ameer to give in, as it appears to me, to all the wishes of the Governor General. This is the more satisfactory after the unfavourable aspect of affairs up to the 4th instant (reported by express on the 5th). I demanded my dismissal, which drew on a stormy discussion, and a successful termination. I can only now communicate the fact, and shall prepare the official Despatch without delay.

I have, &c.

Cabool,
7 March 1838.

(signed) *A. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

H. Torrens,

Depy. Secy. to the Govt. of India,
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 26th January, on the subject of the views of Dost Mahomed Khan, respecting the plan for reinstating his brother Sooltan Mahumud Khan in the administration of the Peshawur territory.

2. It is satisfactory to his Lordship to have received this full statement of the sentiments of Dost Mahomed Khan on this subject, but it is only necessary, after the detailed exposition of the policy and intentions of your Government, contained in my Despatch of the 20th January last, to observe that it never has been in his Lordship's contemplation to press the scheme in question in preference to any other for the re-establishment of a good understanding between the Sikhs and the Chief of Cabool. His Lordship has all along stated that he would rejoice in any arrangement which might be satisfactory to both parties, but that the relinquishment of Peshawur upon any terms must depend upon the pleasure of Maharaja Runjeet Singh, whose right to that possession appears by the 8th paragraph of your letter, under reply, to be admitted even by the Ameer, and cannot be questioned. The Maharajah has never

manifested the design of transferring the management of Peshawur to any of the Afghan brothers, and under the present explanation of the feelings of Dost Mahumud Khan, his Lordship will not, of course, bring forward for discussion any proposition for re-establishing the authority of Sooltan Mahumud Khan throughout the Territory.

3. Before considering whether it may be proper to submit the scheme of adjustment, which has now been suggested for the sentiments of Maharajah Runjeet Singh, his Lordship would await your reply to his instructions, of the date before cited. If Dost Mahumud Khan should be prepared to insist on his having some share in the management of Peshawur as a condition, without which no arrangement for the re-establishment of an amicable understanding will be acceptable to him, it will have been seen from these inclinations as from what has now been said, that his Lordship must regret the being unable to support his views. In the meantime, it occurs to his Lordship that Dost Mahumud Khan might find advantage in opening a direct negotiation with the Maharajah on the basis which he now desires. Such a course might elicit the views of the Maharajah with less of restraint and doubt, than if the scheme were to be agitated through our immediate interposition. Indeed, whatever be the terms sought to be obtained, his Lordship would wish you to look more decidedly than you have yet done to such direct intercourse between the parties under the general exercise of our influence with both, for moderation and peace, rather than to indirect communications through our political officers.

4. It is, I am instructed to add, his Lordship's wish distinctly to learn whether Dost Mahomed Khan is, or is not, prepared upon mature reflection to rest satisfied with an arrangement which shall leave him in the enjoyment of his existing possessions, under the assurance of the continued exercise of our good offices for his security from further attack, the Sikhs remaining, as at present, in the immediate occupation and management of the Peshawur territory.

5. Should you, in the event even of an entire disappointment in the views which your Government has encouraged itself to form of moderation on the part of Dost Mahomed Khan, see reason to think that by your remaining for some longer period at his capital, that chief, although disposed at present to urge demands which cannot be sanctioned by us, may eventually be brought to a more true sense of his own interests, or that the commercial objects of your deputation, or the good-will to be conciliated by your communications with the neighbouring chiefs, under your immediate retirement from Cabool inexpedient, his Lordship will not object to your postponing pending the receipt of his further instructions the execution of the orders for quitting Cabool, in the case supposed, which were formerly conveyed to you.

Camp at Kurnal,
the 7th March 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India, with the
Governor General.

(True copy.)

H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Governor of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

ON the morning of the 5th instant, I had the honour to report to you the result of my communications with the Ameer of Cabool, and the very unfavourable aspect which affairs had assumed.

2. In the forenoon of the 5th, I had a visit from Nawab Jubbar Khan, who came over from the Durbar by the Ameer's request, with a string of propositions which were to be agreed to by me as the terms on which the Ameer consented to what was asked of him. These consisted of a promise to protect Cabool and Candahar from Persia, of the surrender of Peshawur by Runjeet Sing, of the interference of our Government to protect at that city those who might

might return to it from Cabool, supposing it to be restored to Sultan Mahomed Khan, with several other proposals [the nature and purport of which may be inferred from my previous correspondence].

3. I at once informed the Nawab that I would agree to none of the terms proposed; that I was astonished to hear a race, so illustrious as the Dooranees, who had carried their sword to Ispahan and Delhi, imploring protection against Persia; that as for Peshawur, it belonged to our ancient ally the ruler of Lahore, and he alone could surrender it, [but to which we never would, or intended to use coercion]; and that as for protecting those who returned from Cabool, supposing the Maharaja to make a settlement, it was an after concern, which it was now useless to discuss, as well as the other matters stated, since the Ameer seemed so little disposed to attend to the views of the British Government, and, what was of more importance, his own interests.

4. The Nawab replied at great length; said that we did not seem disposed to meet the Afghans halfway; that it was true we entertained a mean opinion of the power of [the Shah of] Persia; and as he always believed Europeans, he concluded we were right, but that it was otherwise with the Afghans and with the Ameer, and particularly in a city like this, where there were so many Kuzzilbashes, and when Herat was besieged. I abridged the interview by stating that as I saw no hope of adjustment in the present tone held, I should request my dismissal, and proceed to Hindoostan, where they might solicit, but probably in vain, another listening to their grievances. The Nawab left me in sorrow.

5. Shortly after the Nawab's departure, I drew up and forwarded the following to the Ameer, by means of Mirza Samee Khan.

"NOTE. That in consequence of the many letters which the Ameer Sahib wrote to the British Government about the sufferings (durd) which he experienced at the hands of the Sikhs, the Government had heard his requests, sympathised with him, and were willing and ready to use its good offices with Maharaja Runjeet Sing that a remedy be applied to the sufferings complained of. The Ameer Sahib wrote to other Governments on the subject of these sufferings, and all the letters had one and the same contents; but it now appeared that the remedy which Lord Auckland offered to apply, and which was all that was then asked, was not sufficient, other demands being made quite unconnected with the Sikhs. That Mr. Burnes has no power or authority to speak in other matters, as is well known from his Lordship's letter, and he would therefore be deceiving the Ameer by listening to them. Under these circumstances, as there is a Russian agent here, and he is detained by the Ameer's request, it is clearly evident that the Ameer does not approve of the offers of the British, but seeks the aid of others. Mr. Burnes feels it due to himself and his Government to ask leave in consequence to return to Hindoostan. To remain longer here, fetters the Ameer, and discredits the British Government in Cabool. Had Mr. Burnes power to do what the Ameer wishes, he would not ask his leave, but he has no power. It is, however, in the Ameer's option to make known to the Governor General by a trusty messenger, whom he can send to Hindoostan all his wishes.

"Cabool, 5 March 1838.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*"

In the evening the Ameer assembled all his counsellors, several of whom had in the interval arrived, and a stormy discussion ensued, which lasted till past midnight; he was, I hear, very eloquent on the disgrace which would accrue to him in the Mahomedan world, after his crusades against the Sikhs, and his raising the countries around. [Mirza Samee Khan, his minister, by every account seems to have acted a most judicious part, and, under taunts which the Ameer cast upon him for having so long and so ardently courted the British, much to his regret now saw the nature of our alliance in Captain Burnes' note. The Mirza, who has great influence over him, ventured to tell him that that note was a most serious matter.] It was at last agreed to summons me next day, but the discussion was again resumed on the morning of the 6th, and lasted till near noon.

7. About midday the Mirza, accompanied by Imaum Verdi, who had been called from Jelalabad, waited upon me; they brought the proposals of the Nawab somewhat modified, with many expressions of regret on the part of the Ameer and themselves, that I seemed so resolute in rejecting all that had been urged. The Mirza Imaum Verdi claimed Peshawur as the Ameer's, but for

which he was willing to pay tribute. I replied that it never had been the Ameer's, [and I believed never would; he then said that the Afghans did not fear the Sikhs, and I stated that their applications to all quarters seemed very much like fear.] Mirza Samee Khan then brought forward the clause of protection from Persia, and I produced [the] letters [of Colonel Stoddart and Lieutenant Pottinger,] which had arrived over night, [and how happily timed I need not dwell on,] to show the progress and the hopes of that Power in the siege of Herat; the effect was electric; and the Mirza said that we need not now discuss that point. The Mirza then invited me to the Bala Hissar in the afternoon, in the name of the Ameer, and in promising to go, I told them that Dost Mahomed Khan could not change my resolutions, which were final, and that if he agreed not to what had been stated, I would conclude with asking permission to leave Cabool to-morrow morning. Mirza Samee Khan declared that that never could and never would be permitted, for the hopes of this country rested on the British Government.

8. At the time appointed, I proceeded alone to the Bala Hissar, and met the Ameer, whom I found more gracious and more friendly even than usual. He was only attended by the two Mirzas above named. I lost no time in entering upon business, and said that I was sorry to hear he had not taken the Governor General's letter in the spirit it was written, and that he had deemed it harsh (sukht), when the very fact of his Lordship sending such a letter, proved the interest taken in him; and that I had perused the document in English and Persian, without finding a single expression to offend him. It was true that it was a very explicit paper, but the Afghans were a nation famed for their straightforward proceedings, [in which they differed very much from other Asiatics,] and it was most important to act towards him with a clear good faith, and let him know at once what might be expected of the British Government.

9. These observations drew him forth, and he took up the whole question argumentatively; in which manner I was glad to meet him. He said that my explanation of his Lordship's letter was very true, and perhaps satisfactory; but that he had ever avowed himself as an anxious suitor for the friendship of the British nation; that its fame and its generosity surpassed all others, but he now inferred from the Governor General's letter, and from what I had told him, that it was thought that he was prepared to go counter to its wishes, and to make it his enemy, which had never even entered into his contemplation; that he appealed to all his past conduct if he had shown any such symptoms; that he was a rude Afghan, not accustomed to the polish of courts, and had been unable to do the honour to a representative from the British, which so exalted a nation was so well entitled to: but as far as his ability went, he had gone, and his efforts, however incommensurate with his wishes, should acquit him. That as for the Sikhs, he might or might not be able to resist them, but he could not stand for a month against the British, and the thought of its displeasure even filled him with terror.

10. It appeared to him that both the Government and myself had taken an erroneous view of his correspondence with Persia, Russia, and the neighbouring nations; that I in particular had, in the note which I had forwarded to him, made it appear that, to one and all, his addresses had been of the same import, and that the good offices which the British were now disposed to use in his behalf were the result that he desired; but it was otherwise. Runjeet Sing had in his wars slain and disgraced thousands of the Afghans, and he sought for money from others, for assistance from us and from all, means of injuring so bitter an enemy. He knew that the Maharaja was our friend, and that we would not attack him; but we had it in our power to rescue Peshawur as we had rescued Sikarpore, not by arms, but by a single hint to the ruler of Lahore; that, on the contrary, we had avowed our being more than ever friendly to him, had preferred him to the Afghans, who were willing to do us service. What was, however, more remarkable than all, we had coupled with the offers of sympathy in his difficulties numerous pledges and promises that benefited ourselves, when it would have been more magnanimous to act without any individual benefit accruing to us. That he had hoped to "raise" the powers of Toorkistan and others, not including Persia and Russia, to aid him in his war; but though we had not avowed such proceedings being disagreeable to us, it was clear

clear from the turn which things had taken, that they would be so also, and it was folly in him to persist in a course that excited our anger.

11. I replied to these observations, that his good feeling towards our nation was known, that his cordial, kind, and friendly treatment of the mission that had been sent to him was duly appreciated by Government; and, besides this public acknowledgment, it would remain engraven in my own memory while I lived; that what he objected to in the inference drawn from his Lordship's letter was, as it appeared to me, himself being the judge, an untenable opinion. With Runjeet Sing as our friend, were we to aid him in his wars? We had gone to the very limit of propriety in offering to give our good offices for peace, and we did so because it was earnestly to be desired for both parties. "Are we, however," said I, "to allow you to sit in Cabool, address Russia and Persia, bring agents from these countries, and publicly avow that you wish to disturb the peace of a friend on our frontiers? Thanks be to Providence and the valour of our army, we have no fear of foreign enemies; but when the house of a neighbour is fired, it is but good neighbourhood to put it out; and it is better to come to an understanding before the accident happens." That we regarded but little the dread of such an accident; but he knew that my presence here had reference to commercial matters, and that we saw in a discontinuance of these differences the benefit of all; that I could not possibly have misunderstood his addresses to foreign powers, regarding Maharaja Runjeet Sing; and that though I now admitted he wrote to one for money and to another for aid, still his ends were alike. I begged, moreover, explicitly to tell him, that I had not come to Cabool as a petitioner, but because he had solicited it; that I was not here to humble our Government before him or his countrymen, but to tell him that if he did not wish our good offices on the terms proposed he should dismiss me.

12. He professed himself shocked at this last proposition, and that inevitable disgrace would flow from it:—"You have been welcomed by every Mahomedan state since you left Bombay, from a belief that you were the bringer of good news to an unhappy race of men, whose internal discord has made them the prey of a nation of another faith. I dare not, if I wished it, set myself up against the Afghan people; the belief has gone abroad that your presence is connected with their advantage; and though I admit that I profit by it, still the objects of my heart are not fully accomplished. There are Afghans in Tak fighting in thousands at this hour against the Sikhs; they have aided me, and they looked to me, but their sufferings will have no abatement; but I throw myself upon the generosity of the Governor General of India, and I rely on the sympathy which his Lordship has expressed."

13. I congratulated the Ameer on his having seen his own interest better than to permit of friendship being interrupted between him and a nation so well disposed towards him; but that it was now my duty to tell him clearly what we expected of him, and what we could do in return:—"You must desist from all correspondence with Persia and Russia"; you must never receive agents from [them*] or have aught to do with him without our sanction; you must dismiss Captain Vickovitch with courtesy; you must surrender all claim to Peshawur on your own account, as that chiefship belongs to Maharaja Runjeet Sing; you must live on friendly terms with that potentate; you must also respect the independence of Candahar and of Peshawur, and co-operate in arrangements to unite your family. In return for this, I promise to recommend to the Government that it use its good offices with its ancient ally, Maharaja Runjeet Sing, to remove present and future causes of difference between the Sikhs and Afghans at Peshawur; but as that chiefship belongs to the Maharaja, he may confer it on Sultan Mahomed Khan, or any other Afghan whom he chooses, on his own terms and tribute, it being understood that such arrangement is to preserve the credit and honour of all parties."

*Previously printed
"other powers."

14. "To this I assent," said the Ameer; "but as these arrangements are not set forth in full in his Lordship's letter, it would be desirable for you to reduce the matter to writing, as far as your knowledge of the Governor General's views will permit you, that I may fairly see what is expected, and what is to be done in return. The differences of the Afghans and Sikhs can never be said to be adjusted, so long as the Maharaja keeps his troops and officers at Peshawur; and consequently, though I place every faith in the friendly intervention of the British, and know that the Maharaja must be left to himself, I am bound to state that fresh causes for disturbance must arise if his Highness does not place

my brother, or an Afghan, in Peshawur, and leave him to govern it, subject to his (the Maharaja's) orders, but without the presence of Sikh troops." I replied, that since the Ameer agreed himself to peace, it was better to leave these things to be settled hereafter, since the less that was now said about them the better.

15. I then enjoined the Ameer to use his utmost efforts to effect an union of the Barukzye family. I told him that [I had just heard from Lieutenant Leech] at Candahar, [by a private letter, that] the Sirdars were ready, on certain conditions, to attach themselves to the British Government whether he did or not, and that before I visited him I felt it my duty to send off an express [to Mr. Leech] to say that no such agreement ever would be made, since our object was to unite, and not to sow dissension among his family. As an instance of our good feeling, I would impart to him a plan of the Governor General, which might or might not come to maturity, but which showed how much his Lordship was interested in the prosperity of all parties. It was, that if the English became the mediators for peace at Herat, between the Shah and Kamran, it would be stipulated that the latter should in future cease to molest Candahar. "No such arrangement or stipulation may take place," said I; "but the intention must still remain as the proof of his Lordship's most friendly consideration."

16. Dost Mahomed Khan assured me that he highly appreciated this symptom of the Governor General's friendship, and also thanked me for having returned so prompt an answer to Candahar, inveighing at the same time against his brothers for their instability. I said that this arose from their weakness, which raised up alarm; but if united, they would add to their strength and his own. [He then recurred to the conditional offers of pecuniary assistance which had been made to them. I replied that they had declined them, on the general grounds of its being Herat and not Persia that they feared. "That was certainly the case," said he, "and of course alters the affair; but has the Governor General approved of these offers?" I stated that it was my duty to tell him that they had not met his Lordship's approbation, and that such was not the way which it appeared we could benefit this country, and restore it to peace and tranquillity. The state of agitation, and the want of instructions from matters arising of which Government could not possibly be informed, had led me in judging for myself to depart from its views, but fortunately no embarrassment had arisen; things remained as if these promises had never been given, and it was proper, in explanation of the present and future views of the Government, to state that such grants were not consistent with its policy.]

17. When I left the Ameer, he got up, and in an under-tone, so as not to be heard by his servants, said that he hoped the Government would bear in mind his peculiar situation, and see that his respect and name were preserved; that its good offices would be peculiarly directed so as to preserve these, since a failure with us might entail upon him greater disgrace than ever; for his hopes rested on agitation, and having ceased to agitate he thereby diminished his own strength, which, at an early interview after my arrival in Cabool, he had told me he was well aware was not one-tenth of that possessed by the Lahore Chief. On this the interview ended, and it will be seen that the subject of Persia was not even mentioned, inseparable as it appeared to be, and which, without a doubt, the [timely] intelligence from Herat prevented.

18. [Having thus, as it appeared to me, gained the ends desired by Government, I proceeded to improve this dawn of the good feelings towards his brothers, and sued for the Nuwab Jubbar Khan's co-operation in making up matters between the Ameer and Sultan Mahomed Khan. This most amiable man declared to me that the affair was easy, and begged that I would write to the Governor General, and say that he pledged himself to bring it about, and that there was but one difficulty which could prevent it, and this would be the disapproval of Maharaja Runjeet Sing. If this were no obstacle he would proceed at once to Peshawur, and bring all his brothers to Jelalabad, where they would be met by the Ameer, and in my presence he would get them to exchange papers; that the Peshawur family may come to Cabool in summer and the Ameer go to Peshawur in winter, each with a few hundred horse; and that further, he pledged himself to bring together the whole family from Candahar, or at least one of the brothers, to witness the much desired object of the restoration of harmony and unanimity in their house; on this he added, that all the Ameer's fears for his Peshawur adherents now with him would end, and the affair

affair would be adjusted. I assured Nuwab Jubbur Khan that his exertions would receive high applause and appreciation, and that if things went right, and I happened to be present at this peace-making, I would consider it one of the most happy events that had ever occurred, and one which would rescue a brave nation from inevitable destruction. I do not believe the Nawab overrates his influence; he has great weight both at Peshawur and at Candahar, through Sooltan Mahomed Khan and Rahim Dil Khan; and when wars no longer disturb the peace of the eastern frontier of Afghanistan, these much wished-for objects will certainly follow.]

19. In the beginning of these proceedings it was the expressed wish of his Lordship that the differences of the Sikhs and Afghans should be healed, without an ostensible intervention on our part; I had little hope from the excitation that reigns in this country that this plan would be feasible, [as is amply proved by my previous correspondence.] After nearly a six months' residence in this city I am constrained to pronounce it perfectly hopeless. It is only out of regard to his Lordship and our feelings generally, that the Afghans have been taught to name Maharaja Runjeet Sing with becoming respect; and it is to be remembered that these people are elated at their partial success over Runjeet Sing's arms, though the Ameer himself knows that it was a sorry victory, and one without any beneficial consequences. It, however, unfortunately carried with it an impression that the attack might be successfully repeated; and the train of events which have followed would have led the Afghans, but for the presence of an agent of the British, to acts that must have altered the existing political condition of these countries.

20. The vast resources of Maharaja Runjeet Sing would have, as a matter of course, preserved to him his dominions; but the misrepresentations of the Persian elchee, Kumber Ali Khan, would have drawn the chiefs of Candahar and Cabool to aid in the Persian siege of Herat, and the resources of that kingdom and Afghanistan would have been thus arrayed against one city. Had it fallen, promises equally worthless would have led the Afghans to trust to Persia for prosecuting their wars to the eastward; and with the Kuzzilbash influence in this city (not in this country) their introduction must have been ruinous to the integrity of Afghanistan. [With Persia we should have had Russian influence in her train; and had the Ameer been disposed to doubt the sincerity of the Shah, the presence of the Russian agent, Captain Vickovitch, would have gone far to remove his suspicions.] The promises of [that gentleman,] I cannot at this time permit myself to believe made with the concurrence of the Emperor; but they remain uncontradicted, and must continue so for a time, so that they would have had at this crisis all the effect of truth, and led the Afghans headlong, as I consider, to ruin.

21. [With these facts before me, I felt that if it ever were his Lordship's intention, which I do not accurately discover, I could not propose to the Ameer of Cabool to send presents to Lahore as an opening to the establishment of a future friendship. The difficulties have been great without adding to them. Had Dost Mahomed Khan himself assented, the Mahomedan population would have despised him, and probably prevented it. The constitution of this country is also of that remarkable nature, that the whole community interfere in public affairs; and at an Afghan court, an agent has not only to combat the views of the ruler, but of all the people around him who take a part in the passing discussions. I have, however, through the agency of Mirza Samee Khan, discussed the question of sending a letter to the Maharaja, expressive of the Ameer's desire to have peace established with his Highness, since he now sees it is for his own good and that of all parties; and as the other influential Mirza concurred with me, I do not doubt but that I shall succeed on this point. I also hinted at the plan of sending an agent to the Governor General at his meeting with the Maharaja, and that that opportunity might be taken to make peace also with the Maharaja on the passage through the Punjab, which is in my own mind an admirable idea, and which I think may also be brought about.]

22. These suggestions were thrown out by me on the 9th instant, while visited by the two Mirzas above named, but I was pressed very hard on this occasion to give a paper to the effect that the Government would use its most strenuous endeavours to alter the state of things in Peshawur. To this I opposed every argument, showing it would be indelicate towards the Maharaja,

and if known, in all probability defeat the objects in view ; since any change in Peshawur must be optional with the Maharaja, and the passing of a written document, even of our own promise to exert ourselves would certainly be misconstrued. The Mirzas informed me that the Ameer attached great importance to this point, and did not think he would be disposed to give it up ; for if Peshawur were not surrendered in whole or in part to Sooltan Mahomed Khan, it would still protect his character with the Afghans, and prove no discredit to us. I replied that a want of confidence was inferred in asking for such a document, and supposing it to be given and told to the Afghans, every prospect of a release of Peshawur seemed to me gone. The Mirzas left me to visit the Ameer, but were far from satisfied with my arguments or my resolution.]

23. On the morning of the 10th, I received a deputation from the Ameer, consisting of the Nawab Hafizjee, the son of Meer Waez (a man who cut a conspicuous figure in Afghan history), and the Naib, or deputy of the Ameer, a Barukzye. The object of these personages was to draw from me the written document above alluded to, and besides giving reasons for its being withheld, I ran over with them the whole history of the Ameer's applications to our Government. [I said, that it appeared we were the favoured party, and not the Ameer and his brothers ; since this was the best opportunity which had presented itself to explain the interests of this country, the whole of the deputation being Soonnees, I asked them candidly to state what they could possibly expect from a Persian alliance. My opinions were exceedingly gratifying, I observed ; and they enlarged on the advantages of clinging firmly to the British. They left me to report to the Ameer what had passed.]

24. I had proceeded thus far with this Despatch, when notice of letters of a most embarrassing nature reached this from Candahar, in the course of the 12th instant. They convey the intimation of Mr. Goutte, the Russian agent with Mahomed Shah, having promised to get Count Simonitch to ratify the treaty of the Sirdars of Candahar with the Shah, and that a letter of a flattering nature had been addressed to these chiefs by the Shah himself. [As far as I am yet acquainted with these events, which is by private letter, I have made them known to his Lordship through the private secretary ; and I am necessarily compelled to break off in an abrupt manner, and leave for future report the turn which affairs may now take. At every step it will be seen that Russian and Persian influence counteracts our proceedings in these countries.]

Cabool, 13 March 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)
(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to transmit, for the purpose of being laid before the Right honourable the Governor General of India, a paper on the prospects of trade with Toorkistan, in reference to the contemplated establishment of an annual fair on the banks of the Indus, drawn up at Koondooz, by Mr. Lord.

2. It will only be necessary to inspect the appendix of this authentic document to stamp its value, and exhibit the labour which it must have cost its author. The account of the Toorkistan trade must prove acceptable to the commercial community.

3. As the two concluding paragraphs of Mr. Lord's paper have reference to political matters, I have thought it advisable to remove them from it, and annex them to this letter. They appear to me to be very deserving of consideration ; and it is somewhat remarkable that that gentleman and myself, unknown to each other, should have adopted the same opinions regarding the favourable opportunity which now presents itself for maturing our commercial plans on the Indus.

Indus. I allude to the suggestion contained in the last para. of my letter of the 1st ultimo, and which may be thought more worthy of notice from the communication now forwarded.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*

On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 15 March 1838.

The two concluding paras. of Mr. Lord's paper :—

23. " Before concluding, I would venture to point out one or two reasons which render the immediate establishment of this bazaar highly advisable. It is only last year that the Emperor of Russia, by a gross violation of the laws of nations, seized all the Orgunje merchants who, on the implicit pledge which such an establishment holds out, had resorted to his fair for the purposes of commerce. Forty of the principal of these unfortunate men have been sent to languish and die in Siberia, the very name of which conveys to the Asiatic mind the idea of everything dreadful; while the remainder, to the number it is said of 100, have been distributed as prisoners, or rather slaves, through the different garrison towns in the empire. This act has, for the present, excited unqualified disapprobation and terror amongst the Toorkistan merchants; and, in consequence, I am informed that a much smaller kafilah than usual has this year left Bokhara for Russia, and that it was composed rather of travellers than traders. Feelings, however, of this kind are soon overcome; the merchant finds a necessity for an outlet for his goods, and if we do not at once step in and take advantage of the crisis, by offering him a new and preferable mart, commerce will, after one or two years, quietly resume its ancient course, to divert it from which is always a matter of considerable difficulty. But there is another point which, even in a still stronger manner, evinces the necessity of our acting immediately. The possession of Khiva has long been a cherished object of Russian ambition, and, undoubtedly, she cannot too highly estimate the advantages it would give her in her commercial relations with Central Asia. It formed a stipulation in the curious partition treaty (Russia is formed of partition treaties) concluded so far back as 1725, between Peter the Great and the Sublime Porte, by which the former was to seize all the provinces around the Caspian, and the latter all those along the Euphrates and Tigris; each guaranteeing the other in the possessions so gained. Though foiled at the time by the death of its great projector, this scheme has never been lost sight of. M. de Meyendorff is particularly anxious that Russia should possess Khiva, for the great opportunities it would afford of increasing, in Western Asia, the salutary influence of Russia. But M. Mouraviev is much more explicit: 'En un mot,' he says, 'Khiva est en ce moment une poste avancée qui s'oppose au commerce de la Russie avec la Boukharie et l'Inde septentrionale; sous notre dépendance la Khivie serait devenue une sauvegarde qui aurait défendu ce commerce contre les attaques des peuplades dispersées dans les stèpes de l'Asie meridionale. Cette oasis, située au milieu d'un océan de sable, serait devenue le point de réunion de tout le commerce de l'Asie, et aurait ébranlé, jusqu'au centre de l'Inde, l'énorme supériorité des dominateurs de la mer.'

Of the expediency of establishing this fair immediately.

" This is at least plain, and it becomes us to consider what measures may be in progress towards accomplishing an object so beneficial to Russia and so much the reverse to us; and it at once occurs that a Persian force, moved avowedly by Russian influence, is this moment engaged in besieging Herat. A detached corps, under the Governor of Khorasan, has already received the submissions and hostages of Meimuna, Shibbergaum, and Andkhoe; and my information further bears, that one of the stipulations in the treaty is, for a safe passage for the Persian army to Balkh. Now Balkh is in itself nothing, a mere *nominis umbra*, devoid alike of wealth to tempt and strength to repel the attacks of an enemy. Bokhara, to which it belongs, is, therefore, the obvious object of this move; and Bokhara, at present under a weak, vicious, and tyrannical ruler, is sure to make a ready submission, or suffer an inglorious defeat. There remains, then, but one step further to Khiva, and this step neither Russia nor Persia will be slow to take, seeing there are 3,000 subjects of the former power and 30,000 of the latter, at this moment in slavery within its limits. Russia thus holding in its own hands Khiva, and guaranteeing Persia in possession of Herat, will

have a basis for operations, whether commercial, political, or military, in Central Asia, such as it can never be our interest to permit. The project, however, can only be defeated by anticipating it; at once establish our mart, and with it our commercial influence through all Turkistan. Commercial influence can, when requisite, with a little skill be converted into political, and an active and enterprising agent might even succeed, though the task would be by no means easy, in binding the discordant elements of the Uzbek nations into one grand confederacy, which, actuated by their intense hatred to the Persian name and religion, the only common sentiment I have as yet been able to detect amongst them, would oppose an effectual barrier in this quarter to the progress of Russian and Persian ambition.

"Koondooz, 22 February 1838."

(True extract.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

PROSPECTS of Trade with Turkistan, in reference to the contemplated Establishment of an Annual Fair on the Banks of the Indus. By *P. B. Lord, Esq.*

Nature of project. "LITTLE utterance and less profit," has been the proverbial description of English trade with Central Asia, from the middle of the 16th century to the present day, and there is no doubt that were we to follow in the steps of Anthony Jenkinson, we should find the description not more proverbial than true; but now that the enterprise of the British Government is about to avail itself of the new commercial route afforded by the grand navigable stream of the Indus, and to establish on its banks a mart at which the merchandise of Europe, Hindoostan, and the Punjab may be exchanged for that of Kabul and Kandahar, of Meshid and Herat, of Orgunje, Bokhara, and Koondooz, new prospects offer themselves, and we are struck with the project, at once magnificent and feasible, of drawing from these vast regions the raw produce which they afford in an exuberant abundance, and supplying them in return with our manufactured goods, with which neither their industry nor their skill enable them to compete.

Of the requisites to its success. 2. To the success of this project, as far as regards Turkistan, the only part of which it is my province to speak, nothing further is necessary than the native merchants should be induced to seek at our fair the supply of European goods, for which they have hitherto, by a long and hazardous route, been accustomed to resort to the bazaar of Nijnee Novogrod, and to effect this change there are three requisites:—1st. That we should be able to supply goods of the desired quantity and description on equally or more eligible terms. 2d. That the road, which in point of natural advantages infinitely surpasses the route to Russia, should be free from the artificial restrictions of exorbitant, varying, and vexatious taxation. And 3d. That intelligence regarding the general protection given to commerce by our Government, and its particular views in establishing this new fair, should be fully and freely disseminated amongst the native community.

First, of the nature and price of goods. 3. To assist our merchants in meeting the first requisite, I have drawn up what I believe to be a very accurate account of the annual sales of the bazaar of Koondooz, the only bazaar to which as yet I have had access, and which, being the central emporium of the dominions of Meer Mahomed Moorad Beg, may be looked on as affording a fair standard of the wants and taste of the whole Uzbek nation and its dependencies. In this I have given,—

1st. The nature and quantity of Russian goods brought from Bokhara, and yearly sold in this bazaar; the mode in which sold; the sale prices at Bokhara and here, so as to exhibit the gross profit to the merchant, leaving the expenses of the carriage and customs to be deducted, of which I shall speak afterwards.

2d. The same specification regarding Chinese goods brought from Bokhara, the direct route to Yarkund and Kashgar from this having been for some years closed by the predatory habits of the Kirghiz and other wandering tribes, who are hostile to the present chief of Kundooz.

3d. The same specification respecting goods, the produce of Bokhara.

4th. The same specification respecting the imports from Cabool, including goods of England, Hindustan, Peshawur, and Cabool.

5th. The nature, and as far as I could ascertain, the quantities of native manufacture and produce sold in this bazaar; and,

6th. A short specification of the goods exported to Bokhara and Cabool.

N.B. These will be forwarded when a fitting opportunity presents itself. These will be found in an Appendix; and I have added to them a detailed statement of the bazaar as it exists, with tables of weights, measures, and monies; and to complete the whole, have forwarded specimens of all the manufactured articles with which it seems possible we could compete, and of all the raw produce which it might be advantageous for us to export.

A. B.

4. As regards the road to be travelled all advantages are on our side. From Bokhara to Orenburg is a journey of two months, and Nijnee Novogrod a further journey of 28 days; whereas Bokhara to Khooloom is 18 days; 18 more to Cabool (in summer only 12, over the

the pass of Hindoo Koosh), and a further 14-18 days according as the *kafila* is destined for Dera Ismael or Dera Ghazi Khan; the total of the Russian route being three months, that of the Indus six to eight weeks. Again, the former road lies for the greater part through an inhospitable desert, in which water is scarce, and bad provisions and forage not to be found; firewood scanty, and the only inhabitants roving, predatory bands. The latter, on the contrary, except for about five marches between Bokhara and the Oxus, is altogether through countries thickly inhabited, well-watered countries, and in which *kafilas* are under the special protection of Government, instances of their being plundered being almost unknown.

5. Then, as regards the expenses, the hire of a camel from Bokhara to Nijnei Novograd is 12 tillas; the tax at Orenburg, or whatever Russian custom-house is first reached, is 5 per cent. on all goods, besides a further tax on Kashmere shawls of 11 tillas per pair; in addition to which the desert tribes, when they forbear to plunder a *kafila*, never fail to exact a heavy contribution as the price of the immunity. The goods, also, on leaving Bokhara, pay the usual 2½ per cent., if of foreign produce, and belonging to Musulman; but if they are the property of Jew, Hindoo, or Armenian, then 5 per cent. is exacted. Goods, the produce of Bokhara, leave Bokhara free.

6. The same sort of regulations hold good respecting goods sent towards India which, if Russian or Chinese, pay as above; if of Bokhara, go free; but all goods pay four "shaees" a load at crossing the ferry of the Oxus, and five "shaees" on entering the gates of Khooloom. Here commences a rather complicated system of taxation. Both Dost Mahomed Khan and Mahomed Murad Beg have been the founders of their own power; and in progressing towards it have been frequently obliged to be content with partial submission, or to concede to inferior chieftains rights, which properly should centre in the governing head. Thus the two sons of Killich Ali Beg, formerly a chieftain of considerable power in this country, have been allowed by Murad Beg, each to exact a small tax per load on every *kafila* that passes through their towns of Khooloom and Heibak, and these towns, be it observed, cannot be avoided. The lesser rulers also of Syghan, Kamurd, Bujgah, &c., have the same privilege, though in a lesser degree. Again, on the Cabool side this privilege is possessed and exercised by the several Huzarah tribes dwelling in the vallies between Gurdun-i-Dewan and Hajee Ghuk; so that the merchant is almost at every stage subjected to a fresh taxation, not very serious in its amount, but often rendered extremely vexatious in its mode of collection.

7. To exemplify this a load of *keriana* (the common term, including drugs, dye stuff, groceries and spices) in coming from Kabul to Khooloom, will pay—

	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>qrs.</i>	<i>pice.</i>	
In Kabul at loading - - - - -	3	-	-	} <i>N.B.</i> I have reduced all the charges to Cabool currency. All these lesser ex- actions are the same, whatever be the goods sent.
At gate of ditto - - - - -	-	-	3	
Chouky - - - - -	-	1	-	
Sufuid Khak - - - - -	-	-	1	
Oonna Sirchusma - - - - -	-	-	12	
To Meer Kasim (Huzara) - - - - -	1	-	12	
Dusht-i-Yurd - - - - -	-	-	12	
Jaokoal - - - - -	-	-	3	
Kaloo, a piece of cloth from whole caravan.	-	-	-	
Bunnieean - - - - -	3	3	-	
Total at Cabool side - - -				
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>qrs.</i>	<i>pice.</i>	
	5	3	1	
Agrabad - - - - -	-	-	6	
Sokhta Chenar - - - - -	-	-	6	
Syghun - - - - -	-	2	1	
Kamurd, a piece of cloth, as at Kaloo - - -	-	-	-	
Bujgah - - - - -	-	-	10	
Sarbagh - - - - -	3	2	-	
Heibuk - - - - -	1	3	-	
Khooloom - - - - -	-	2	-	
Ditto Meer's tax - - - - -	7	2	-	
Total at Koondooz side - - -				
	14	-	8	
Total taxes in a load of <i>Keriana</i> - - - <i>Rs.</i>				
	19	3	9	

8. Now, the total value of a load of *keriana*, were it all to consist of sugar and spices, would not, at the Cabool prices, exceed 400 rupees, so that the above tax would amount to about 5 per cent. in the proportion of 1½ to Cabool and 3½ to Koondooz. But were the load to consist of common dye stuffs, such as the *Isipuruk* and *Buzgunje* sent from hence, the same tax would be levied, while its amount would equal the value of the entire load, to that by a mistake, not uncommon in the early stages of political economy, they lay a sight tax of 5 per cent. on valuable articles of foreign growth, and under the same denomination, an oppressive tax of 100 per cent. on bulky articles of home produce. Of this, however, we at least have no reason to complain, as the mistake is altogether in our favour; but the abolition or consolidation of the smaller and more vexatious taxes above enumerated

rated would be felt as a sensible relief by the merchant, and might fairly be made the subject of commercial negotiation.

9. One of the above taxes is so absurdly ridiculous that it merits explanation. Three and a half rupees are exacted at Sarbagh, not for Sarbagh itself, but for the customs of Ghoree and Kinjan. Now, those places are not on the Bunnieean road, but on the road to the pass of Hindoo Kush, over which the *kafila* may have no intention of going, or over which at the time it may not be possible for it to go, as it is closed by snow for eight months in the year. All this is of no consequence; the tax must be paid, as here the two roads separate; and having paid it, the *kafila* is then at liberty to go which it likes or which it can. If it takes the road over Hindoo Kush, the total expenses are somewhat less, amounting per load of *keriana* to about 15 rupees. The remaining system of duties in Khooloom, whether the goods come from Cabool or Bokhara, is as follows, viz. :—

	<i>Tillas.</i>
Silk and silk goods, per load - - - - -	4
Europe cloths (chintz, muslin, &c.) per ditto - - - - -	3½
Hindoostanee cloths, fine (gauze, kincob, &c.) ditto - - - - -	3½
Ditto coarse (Mooltan and cotton chintzes, &c.) - - - - -	3
Kuriana (spices, groceries, dye stuffs, drugs) - - - - -	1½
Except indigo and chers (cannabis satem) which pay - - - - -	3
Cotton, tobacco, sulphur of native produce, if exported, pay, per load - - - - -	½
In addition to which Meer Walee takes <i>R.</i> ¼, and Bala Beg, <i>R.</i> ¼.	
Pestachios, jujuber, and other fruit, per load - - - - -	<i>R.</i> 3½
In addition 1½ rupees on the road, and 5 rupees in Cabool, being a total of 10 rupees per load, which (<i>see</i> App. VI.) rather exceeds the prime cost of the goods.	

The remainder of the road from Cabool to the Indus is in better hands than mine, so that I shall say nothing further respecting it, than just by way of giving a general idea of the expenses, to add, that a few days since I saw a letter from a factor in Cabool to his employer here, advising him that he had dispatched on his account two loads of silk from Cabool to Multan, and that the entire expense of the hire and transit duties (not of course including the taxes in these two cities) had amounted to 20 rupees *Kabuli* per load.

3d. Of the diffusion of intelligence.

10. The diffusion of intelligence is the next and no less important requisite. This, as far as regards Kabul and Kandahar, may be considered most effectually provided for in the presence of Captain Burnes and Lieutenant Leech; nor have I, though furnished with no authority, hesitated whenever an opportunity has occurred in this country to explain to all individuals, mercantile as well as political, who might appear concerned, the views of our Government respecting the establishment of a bazaar on the banks of the Indus, and to point out the vast benefits which would result from such a step to the dominions of Meer Mahomed Murad Beg, not only as affording them a ready outlet for their productions, and a mart at which they may supply themselves with the manufactures of Europe and India on favourable terms, but further, as tending to turn into this road the entire or a great portion of the trade which, to the yearly value of 30 lakhs of rupees, is now carried on between Bokhara and Russia; so that without trouble or expense on their part, their ruler would in the common transit duties gain a magnificent addition to his money revenue, while the people would have supplies of all kinds of merchandise in the greatest abundance; and their country, resorted to by such crowds of merchants, could not fail to become rich, tranquil, and happy. I may add that Murad Beg has expressed his unqualified approbation of the scheme, and his anxiety for its success; and has commissioned his confidential secretary, Meerza Budcea, to assure me, that if the value of one pul (the lowest copper coin) be lost from Muzar to Bumeean, he is ready to replace it. I have no doubt a similar avowal might be got from him in an official form by any person authorised to ask it; but, wanting that authority, I have never spoken to him directly on the subject, though I have taken care that he should be indirectly made acquainted with it. There still, however, remain Bokhara, Orgunje, Herat, and Meshid, to which it is of the utmost importance that information of this new establishment should be sent, and there is evidently no mode of doing this equally to the deputation of an authorised British agent.

Of the kind of goods it may be most profitable to send.

11. These may in general be inferred from an inspection of the Appendix, in which the prices and quantities consumed are both entered. I shall therefore only specify a few of the most important. Broad cloths command a ready sale and good price. Those that reach this market are all of a very inferior description (*see* specimen); but I am assured by Airua, the principal Hindoo merchant in this country, and farmer of all the customs and transit duties, that a better description would fetch a proportionably higher price, and in Bokhara particularly meet with an extensive demand. He says he himself purchased several pieces of fine cloth brought here by poor Moorcroft, and immediately sold them to considerable advantage. The best colours are scarlet, sky and garter blue, and bottle green. Dark blue they do not distinguish from black, and dislike. A drab is worn by the graver sort of persons, and a bright yellow is much used by those who have a taste for something gaudy. This colour is also chosen for saddle cloths. The sale of broad cloth in this single bazaar amounts, it will be observed, to from 6,000 to 10,000 rupees a year; a better article, sold at moderate profits, would, I am inclined to think, quickly double the sale.

12. Chintzes

12. Chintzes and other piece goods already come in quantities from India. Of course with water carriage at our command, there can be no difficulty in supplying such goods at a much cheaper rate than when, as at present, they have reached this market, either from Bombay *via* Palee, or from Calcutta *via* Unritser. Under such circumstances, a large increase in the sale of our cottons may be looked for. The stronger fabrics, nankeens, fustians, it will be observed, come chiefly from Russia. This demand must now be supplied at the Indus fair, and the price shows that, even allowing the 30 per cent. profit, which, according to M. de Meyendorff, the Bokhara merchant requires, the speculation will still be advantageous. Fustians, with watered and damasked patterns, similar to what are seen on furniture, moreens in England, are at present in request here, and such should form part of an investment; striped patterns (see specimens), are also in good request. The total value of Russian cotton goods at present sold in the single bazaar of Kundooz amounts to about 15,000 rupees per annum, and at least double that amount should be estimated for the bazars of Khooloom Talikan and Huzrut Imaum, also within Murad Beg's dominions. We may thus put down half a lack of rupees for the yearly value of the Russian cottons consumed in this small State, and not less than four times that amount, or two lacks of rupees, for the piece goods of England, Hindoostan, and the Punjab, which principally reach this by the way of Multan, Dera Ghazi or Dera Ismael Khan, and Cabool.

13. The silks of Bokhara, of which I send numerous specimens, next merit attention. It might seem hazardous to attempt a competition in silk manufacture with a silk-growing and silk-manufacturing country; but the well-known instance of our cotton fabrics underselling those of India in the Indian market, shows the project to be not only feasible, but profitable. The silks of Bokhara sell to the annual amount of not less than (5) five lacks of rupees in this country, and therefore are well worthy of consideration: they all contain a mixture of cotton, and so should any we send to rival them; for substance is particularly looked for, and flimsy articles would not sell. We can at least have no difficulty in beating out of the field their handkerchiefs, an article of very great consumption, chiefly amongst women, and without exception the most wretched fabrics I have ever seen. Their manufacturing silk is so very low, that they cannot even weave a handkerchief entire of more than an "alcheen" wide. In such case it is woven in breadths, which are afterwards stitched together.

14. In the article hardware, cast-iron pots are in a great demand, there being no house without one or more; and as they are fragile articles, the demand is constant. I can see no reason why the whole of this trade should not at once fall into our hands, as the freight of a ton of iron goods from England to the mouth of the Indus is considerably less than the hire of a camel to bring a quarter of a ton from Orenbourg to Bokhara. On the same grounds, bar-iron, steel, copper, and tin, must be all purchased from us as soon as our mart is opened. Razors, penknives, and scissors, in moderate quantities, would form a tolerably good investment; but the high prices (in proportion to their quality), at which they have been hitherto sold, has prevented the habit of using them from being established. It would be necessary, therefore, to avoid glutting the market at first; a moderate supply engenders a habit which in its turn produces increased demand; whereas an overstock lies heavy on the hands of the native merchant, and deters him from similar speculations in future. The best penknives to send would be those with many blades; small scissors are preferred; common razors, if neatly done up in morocco cases, would take.

15. Common glass and china-ware, under the same restrictions, would be found to answer. The china-ware should be rather bowls than cups, the glass green and white bottles, with small common mirrors. In Bokhara, cast and cut glass is, I am told, highly esteemed, and would fetch a good price.

Tea is an article in the greatest request amongst the whole Uzbek nation, and the consumption of which is only limited by their means of procuring it. The whole supply is at present brought by Kufilas from Kashgar and Yar Kund, a journey of 25 days, to Bokhara, and the greater part of it is of a description inferior to any I have ever seen in India. Small quantities of Banca tea, which is of very fine flavour, are brought, but the price is so extravagant as to put it beyond the reach of any but the Meer, and a few principal merchants. Zeracha, a tolerably good green tea, sells in Bokhara for (7) seven tillas the doneera seer, a parcel weighing 400 toli. This is equivalent to nearly two rupees the pound, and better tea can be got in Bombay, even by retail, at a lower rate. We are, therefore, fairly invited to competition here; and as the taste for tea is not confined to the Uzbek, but would doubtless extend to the Afghans, were the article placed within their reach, I seem to detect in this establishment of a fair on the banks of the Indus the commencement of a considerable increase to our already enormous tea trade.

16. Sugar, paper, indigo, and various other articles, which it is unnecessary to particularise more fully, will suggest themselves on looking over the Appendix. One general remark may be added before leaving this part of the subject. Bokhara is much further advanced in luxury than the comparatively rude Uzbek States, amongst which I am living; and her merchants, from long access to the Russian fairs, have become fully acquainted with European articles of the best quality, the taste for which they have, to a certain extent, introduced amongst their countrymen. In preparing an assortment for the Indus mart, this should always be held in view; and while the general supply for the country should be of the coarse and substantial nature I have indicated, a stock of what is more rare and costly will be required for the capital.

17. The principal exports of this country at present are the Bokhara slaves, furs, and sheep to Cabool, gold, silk, sheep, cotton, and horses. The gold is brought down by the Oxus

Of the returns that may be expected.

Oxus and its tributaries, during the swell, caused by the melting of the snow in summer, and is washed from the deposited sand and lime when the river shrinks in winter. It is found in dust, in grains, and in leaves deposited on and around pebbles in the course of the stream. The quantity annually procured is, by the lowest estimate, 12,000 nuscals, or nearly 146 lbs. troy. This estimate I got from Atma, the Hindoo merchant and tax farmer before mentioned, who is himself engaged in the collection: other estimates procured from inhabitants of the different places at which gold is washed, as well as from Hindoo goldsmiths who come here for the purpose of purchasing it, would considerably raise the amount. The following, which I got from one of these latter individuals, though, doubtless, an exaggeration, and incorrect as regards the tax, is yet valuable, as showing the places at which it is collected, and giving some idea of their relative productiveness.

NAME OF STATION.	YEARLY AMOUNT OF GOLD IN NUSCALS.	YEARLY TAX TAKEN IN NUSCALS.
1. Rooslakh - - - -	9,000	250
2. Chail and Kokchu - -	11,000	450
3. Yung Kula - - - -	7,000	150
4. Syud - - - - -	1,000	300
5. Huzrut Imam - - - -	20,000	150
6. Kolab - - - - -	8,000	300
7. Kurghan, Upper - - -	900	60
8. Buduk Shan - - - -	900	200
9. Bughlan - - - - -	300	50
TOTAL - - - -	56,100	1,910

About 500 families are said to be employed in this kind of labour, and none can embark in it without receiving permission from the Meer, to whom also they are obliged not only to pay a tax, but further to sell whatever quantity of the gold he may require at the reduced rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per nuscal. But small quantities of gold, 10-30 nuscals, are secretly washed by the inhabitants at numerous small villages, principally up in Buduk Shan, as well as in the Kafir country, and this gold is generally purchased by the Hindoo goldsmiths I have mentioned, for a small quantity of pepper, coarse cloth, turmeric, glass beads, or a few needles, with which they provide themselves for the purpose. Several of these men make large fortunes by taking to Umrutser the gold which they thus collect here in a few years.

The market price of gold here is uncommonly low, being not more than nine or ten times its weight of silver, one nuscal of gold selling on an average for four rupees, each weighing $2\frac{1}{2}$ nuscals; in Bokhara it fetches 14 times its weight of silver, and in Bombay, if I mistake not, one tola of gold not unfrequently sells for 18 rupees, i. e. 18 coined tolas of sterling silver.

18. Buduk Shan, which now forms part of Murad Beg's dominions, has been known since the days of Marco Polo, as the country producing the real bulap ruby, as well as the lajverd or lapis lazuli, from which is made the beautiful blue pigment called ultramarine. The mines of both still exist, though no longer worked, for want of capital and skill. These are wants we could readily supply; and if the American companies have not spoiled the taste for mining speculations, few more advantageous fields could be found than the countries of Dost Mahomed Khan and Mahomed Murad Beg. Regarding a few of the mines of the former, I have already spoken in a previous paper, some of the latter including those of rubies and lapis lazuli. Lieutenant Wood is at present engaged in exploring, and I shall not anticipate his report. I may, however, mention, that at Baljewur, one day's journey north of the Oxus, is a lead mine, so rich, that the people who work at it for two months in the year are said to be able to live on the produce the remaining ten months, and that in the immediate vicinity of this is a large hill, called the Koh-i-meerial, from which is extracted a coal of a good quality, much resembling the Bovey coal of England, and used as firing by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. A specimen of the coal, with a few details respecting the formation in which it occurs, I have already transmitted to Captain Burnes.

19. Leaving, however, these matters that are doubtful or distant, silk is a commodity at present produced in abundance, and which could be cultivated, if desirable, to an almost indefinite extent. The vale of the Oxus seems peculiarly adapted to its produce, and the best specimens in this market uniformly come from Koubadian and Huzrat Imam, on its north and south banks. The silk of Bokhara is spoken of as being still better. The price here is extremely low at present, eight rupees for 100 tolas, which is not quite two rupees per pound avoirdupois, and the export tax being moderate, we might advantageously become purchasers to a large amount on the banks of the Indus. In fact, as I have already shown, it even now finds its way there, being more particularly used in the rich fabrics of Multan. It is said that from 50 to 100 loads leave this country annually; but regarding this, I have no certain information.

This

This country contains 20 lakhs of sheep. The number is easily ascertained, for they pay a yearly tax of one in 50. Meer Mahomed Beg, brother of the chief, gave me the numbers thus produced, and they were :—

To Meer Mahomed Murad Beg	-	-	-	22,000
To Meer Atalik Beg (his eldest son)	-	-	-	8,000
To Meer Mahomed Beg (his brother)	-	-	-	5,000
Total	-	-	-	35,000

which, at two per cent., gives 17½ lacks. Meer Murad Beg is himself owner of nearly a lack; and about a lack and a half more belongs to his brother, son, and other privileged persons, from whom no tax is levied. These sheep are all of the broad-tailed species called doomba, and in general make very fine mutton; they sell here at from one to three rupees each, very seldom indeed so much as the latter. Exported to Cabool, they produce a profit of about two rupees a-head over and above all expenses, and the shepherds here willingly go to Cabool, as, in consequence of water and pasturage being abundant the whole way, their sheep always arrive in good condition; but they dread the road to Bokhara, in consequence of the sterile sandy tract between the river and the city. The wool is seldom shorn, or rather plucked, as they prefer selling the sheep with the wool on it, in which case the skin is used to make posteen. However, wool, if required, may be got, and I send specimens, not only of this, but of the Thibet shawl goat got in this country, and also of the common goats' and camels' hair, which are all to be had in quantities. Furs are to be had here, and are generally sent to Bokhara, whence they probably go on to Russia; some of them are very beautiful, such as the dulah khufuk, a small animal, I believe, of the weasel kind (but I have not yet got a specimen), and the otter. I paid for a cloak, lined with the former, 130 rupees here, and have seen worse fetch double that price in Cabool; a single otter skin sells even here for nine rupees.

20. The horses of this country have long been famous, and they well deserve their character. The importation of them into India has for some time ceased, in consequence of the establishment of the company's studs; yet I cannot help thinking that a mixture of Foorkman blood would wonderfully improve the remount of our cavalry corps at Bombay. The horse of this country has size, strength, spirit, temper, and an almost incredible power of endurance; these are qualities of first-rate importance. The best are to be had beyond Balk, and principally at Sereepool, the breed of which is famous. Their prices are sufficiently moderate; 100 rupees will get a strong serviceable animal, 14-2 to 15 hands high, with girth in proportion, and double that sum will get quite a showy charger. There is a tax of a tillah on each horse exported, and something further is taken at Cabool; still, allowing all expenses, it appears to me they could be landed at Bombay for a price lower than is now paid for inferior animals. It is probable, however, that Government are already in possession of the lamented Mr. Moorcroft's opinions on this subject, which are far superior to anything I have to offer. He had himself, I am told, purchased 60 beautiful horses in the country below Balk, which at his death were seized with the rest of his property.

21. As for grain, its production in this country is limited, by its being all but unsaleable: any man who chooses may have ground to cultivate, on the condition of paying an eighth of the produce to the Meer; a rupee buys a large bag of wheat, weighing more than two cwt. English, and in many places two bags can be had for the money. Barley is still cheaper; rice, two rupees a bag; flour, one-and-half cwt., a rupee. There is probably no country in which life can be supported cheaper and better. The money is scarce; there is no absolute poverty. I have now been here nearly three months, and I have never seen a man in rags: the beggars ride.

I had almost forgot to mention cotton and tobacco, which both grow here of good quality, and are generally sent to Cabool.

Fruits are in abundance, but none of them are exported that I know of except pistachio; and the unab or jujubee isparuk and bazgemje (*see* Appendix, No. V.), both used in drying, are also exported. The former is a genesta, the latter either the blossom of the pistachio, as all my informants say, or a gull formed on the tree, as M. de Meyendorff describes it.

22. There can be no difficulty in fixing this for the cold weather; during the hot, the mouths of the Indus are closed by the swell; business cannot be done with the thermometer as we experienced it, at 110° in the shade, nor can merchants return conveniently either by land or by water during the monsoon. The cold weather then being assumed, the kafilas from this side must have all reached Cabool before the middle of December, for the road of Bamean, though open to cossids and foot passengers all the year round, is virtually closed to kafilas from the end of December to the end of March. The merchants from this quarter, therefore, will reach the banks of the Indus early in January, and the same time is most favourable for boats coming up from Bombay, as at that period the river is low, the winds moderate, and the N. W. monsoon, which towards the end of January and beginning of February blows with much violence off the southern coast of Sind, has not yet commenced. The period occupied by the Russian fair is generally from 40 days to two months: suppose our fair to occupy the same time, and that 10 days or a fortnight further are employed in transferring goods, settling customs, hiring carriage, &c., the Turkistan merchant will be on his return about the middle of March, reach Cabool the end of that month, and find the road back just opening for his passage. The merchants of Hindoostan and the Punjab will arrive at their respective homes before the setting in of the rains, and the boats will float down with the first rise of the river, and reach Bombay with the finest

Of the proper time for the fair.

weather during all April. After having arrived at this conclusion, I received from Captain Burnes a copy of a report which he has made regarding the establishment of this fair, and have the great satisfaction to find that, proceeding from totally different data, he has fixed exactly the same time for the assembling of the merchants as I have been led to do, from the consideration of natural phenomena.

Koondooz, 22 February 1838.

(signed) *P. B. Lord, M. S.*
Of Captain Burnes' Mission detached
to Koondooz.

(True copy.)
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Appendix.

Showing Annual Sales in the Bazaar of *Koondooz*.

No. I.—RUSSIAN GOODS brought from *Bokhara*.

NAME AND DESCRIPTION.	HOW SOLD.	PRICE AT BOKHARA.	PRICE AT KOONDooZ.	YEARLY CONSUMPTION.	REMARKS.
		<i>Tillas.</i>	<i>Tillas.</i>		
Broad Cloth, viz.:					
Gul-i-anar, scarlet - -	per piece of 24 alcheens	10	12 to 14	60 to 100 pieces	The measures, in English feet and inches, will be found attached to the specimens.
Surkh, madder - - -	- - - -	8	9 to 10	10 to 20 do.	
Pilla, yellow - - -	- - - -	10	12 to 13	18 to 25 do.	
Ridi, sky blue - - -	- - - -	11	12 to 13	30 to 40 do.	
Zerbuft Juta (false brocade)	per piece of 32 alcheens	3	4	50 - - do.	For women's clothing.
Suf, or white cotton cloth -	per kori of 20 pieces, each piece 8 guz.	14	18 to 20	300 to 400 do.	
Chint Murka, in coarse chintz of various colours, and prints.	per piece - - -	1½	2	400 to 500, or more.	Worn by all the peasants.
Mukmul, 60 roosi (cotton velvet).	per piece of 48 alcheens	5	6 to 6½	50 - - do.	Breadth, 1 ft. 4 in.
Nanke (nankeen or fustian)					
„ sawe, green - -	per piece of 48 alcheens	1½	1½ to 7 rupees	200 - - do.	Much worn; the striped is preferred: see specimens.
„ chitta, white - -	per ditto - - -	1½	1½ to 7 rupees		
„ zerd, yellow - -	per ditto - - -	1½	1½ to 7 rupees		
„ budasmani, purple -	per ditto - - -	1½	1½ to 7 rupees		
„ asmani, blue - -	per ditto - - -	1½	1½ to 7 rupees		
„ alacha, striped - -	per ditto - - -	1½	2 to 10 rupees		
Chint guli anar (red flowered chintz).	per piece of 40 alcheens	4	5	100 - - do.	
Serje (a coarse kind of nanke, flowered or watered).	per piece of 42 alcheens	1½	2½ to 3	100 - - do.	
Roomal boroosee (cotton handkerchiefs).	- - - -	13 for 1	9 for 1	250 - - do.	Light patterns sell best: see specimen.
Nafonnair (shot silk) -	per alcheen - -	1½	- - -	Only brought in small quantities for Meer; no specimens to be had.	
Guli anar (chintz) mukh-mali.	per ditto - - -	¾	- - -		
Makmul ferengi (velvet) -	per ditto - - -	1 to 1½	- - -	100 bundles -	A few English needles latterly come here; but they are too fine, and do not sell.
Needles, of sizes - -	per bundle of 16 papers; quantity, 250 each.	16 tunga	1		
Steel, in thin bars - -	per mun - - -	9½ to 8	9½ to 10	4 muns - -	For knives, steel for flints, &c.
Iron rods - - -	per ditto - - -	5½	6	8 to 10	For horseshoes, nails, &c.
Ditto, in thin pieces, for shoeing wheels or making guns.	per ditto - - -	4½	5 to 6	10 to 15	
Cast-iron pots, of sizes, viz.	per load, containing 10 to 50 pots, and weighing two mun, Bokhara.	8	10	20 to 25 loads	Much used.
Large - - -	- - - -	11	14		
Small - - -	- - - -	- - -	- - -	perhaps 100 at most.	
Razors - - -	per 100 - - -	3 to 4	3 to 5		
Scissors - - -	per ditto - - -	2 to 2½	3	200 to 250	20 to 50
Penknives - - -	- - - -	about 1 rupee each.	- - -		

No. I.—Russian Goods brought from *Bokhara*—continued.

NAME AND DESCRIPTION.	HOW SOLD.	PRICE AT BOKHARA.	PRICE AT KOONDOOZ.	YEARLY CONSUMPTION.	REMARKS.
Copper - - - -	per mun of bhokum -	<i>Tillas.</i> 24	<i>Tillas.</i> 28 to 30	7	If pice are coined, or a gun cast, 15 to 40 muns are required.
Tin - - - -	per pond, of 800 toli -	5	7 to 7½	7 to 10 ponds	Tinning pots, &c.
Kulabutto (tinsel thread) -	per pond - - - -	7	retailed in nus-kats, from 10 to 12.	1 pond	Embroidery.
Padlocks, of sizes - -	per 100 - - - -	- - -	3 for 1 rupee -	600	
Gun locks - - - -	per score - - - -	5	7	200 to 250	Not used by Uzbeks; all bought by people from Hindoo Koosh.
Quicksilver - - - -	per furkan (bladder); quantity, 21 tola.	2½ or 3 furka for 1 rupee.	1½ or 2 furkas, for 1 rupee.	200 to 250 furkas.	Used in refining gold.
Bujaki (ducats); gold coin	- - - -	- - -	3½ rillas -	} Generally sent in to Cabool.	
Sum (roubles); silver coin	- - - -	- - -	4 to 10 tongo		
Zungal (verdegriis) - -	per pond - - - -	4 to 5	6 to 6½	1 to 2 ponds	
Nila rota (blue stone) -	ditto - - - -	3½ to 4	4½ to 5	5 to 6 ponds	Used for scale rot in sheep, &c.
Josha (vermilion) - -	ditto - - - -	17	22½	trifling.	
Kumiz (cochineal) - -	ditto - - - -	run 40	60	1 pond	Various prices extremely, even up to 8 to 100 tillas per pond.
Shirmahi (tooth of fish) -	ditto - - - -	10	12 to 13	3 to 4 ponds	Handles of knives and swords.
Bulgar (Russian leather) -	per skin - - - -	1½ rupees	2½ rupees	30 to 40 skins.	
Kernia (kid skin) - -	ditto - - - -	1 rupee	1½ rupees	100 skins	
Paper, viz.: White - -	1 tope, 40 dusta; and 1 dusta=12 sheets.	{ 2 tope for 1 1 tope for 1 3 tope for 1	1½ rupees	50 topes	
" Blue glazed - -			1½ rupees	very little.	
" Coarse - -			1½ rupees	80 to 100 topes	
Wooden boxes, of sizes -	each - - - -	1 to 5	profit of 30 per cent.	50	Brought here by the Kafilas Fall, and when exported, sold at a profit.
Daki fringi (very fine muslin).	per piece of 60 alcheens	7 to 8	11	5 or 6 pieces -	Brought only for Meer.
Chini muskani (Russian china ware, with gold edges and rings).	per set of six cups, cream jug, teapot, bowl.	1½ to 1½	2 to 2½	2 or 3 sets.	
Bandin misri (sugar in boxes).	per box, weighing one pond.	4	5 to 6	4 boxes - -	Used only in medicine, or by rich men here, but immense consumption at Bokhara.
Kund (loaf sugar) - -	per pond - - - -	4	5 to 6		
Mim ehila (white wax) -	ditto - - - -	1	1½	10 to 15 ponds	
Guhia (coral) - -	per kimoka, of 22 lota	price according to size; profit, 50 per cent.		20 to 30 kimoka	
Mora (glass beads of sizes)	per three bundles -	1	1½		
Saz feringe (musical boxes)	- - From 20 to 60 tillas, according to size and finish.				

No. II.—CHINESE GOODS brought from *Bokhara*.

NAME AND DESCRIPTION.	HOW SOLD.	PRICE AT BOKHARA.	PRICE AT KOONDOOZ.	YEARLY CONSUMPTION.	REMARKS.
Tea; viz.		<i>Tillas.</i>	<i>Tillas.</i>		
Rusmi (common tea) -	1 bundle called do-neem seer, 400 tola of 4½ nuscahs each.	3½	4	300 bundles.	
Chirchuk (coarse) - -	per ditto - - - -	2½	3 to 3½	300 ditto.	
A Konch (better kind) -	per ditto - - - -	3 to 3½	4 to 4½	20 ditto.	
Zerucha (fine green) -	per ditto - - - -	7	8½	8 or 9 ditto.	
Banca (second sort) - -	per ditto - - - -	10	11 to 12	for 2 ditto.	
Banca (first sort) - -	in box of 100 toli -	5	- - -	- - -	brought for Meer.
Kuzzil Kayhiz - - -	in papers of 20 toli -	3½	4 rupees	100 papers.	
Huzm-i-than - - -	- ditto - of 20 toli -	1	rarely comes here.	-	
Khumpt silt, stuff - -	per piece of 16 alcheen by 1 width.	6	7 to 8	10 to 12 pieces	
Tawur ditto, with flowers -	per ditto - - - -	5½	7	10 to 12 ditto	} now out of fashion.
Amloom, silk stuff - -	per ditto - - - -	6 to 6½	7½	5 to 6 ditto	
Lingsee - ditto - - -	per piece of 8 alcheen	-½	-½	10 to 12 ditto	used by women.
China cups - - - -	- - - - -	12 to 18 for 1	8 to 12 for 1	2 or 3 loads.	
China dishes - - - -	- - - - -	8 to 9 for 1	6 for 1	100 to 150.	
Yumbos - - - -	- - stamped silver ingots.		-	-	

No. III.—Goods of *Bokhara*.

NAME AND DESCRIPTION.	HOW SOLD.	PRICE AT BOKHARA.	PRICE AT KOONDOOZ.	YEARLY CONSUMPTION.	REMARKS.
Istop (silk stuff); viz. Sulink - - - -	per pair each piece 6 guz. and 2 pieces, making 1 dress.	<i>Tillas.</i> 1	<i>Tillas.</i> 1½	100 mule loads	Numerous specimens are sent; there is a mixture of cotton in all.
Sungin - - - -	per ditto - - - -	5 rupees	1½	80 ditto.	
Kurchi - - - -	per ditto - - - -	8 ditto	1 rupee	80 ditto.	
Alcheen bur, double width	per ditto - - - -	1	7½ rupees	- - - -	
Putminy - - - -	per pair - - - -	3½ rupees	4½ rupees	25 loads.	A new invention, printed only on one side; 12 pieces came; all sold.
Soyah - - - -	per pair - - - -	3½ rupees	1	100 pairs.	
Roomal Bokhara, large silk handkerchiefs.	per bukcha or bundle of 5 handkerchiefs.	4	5½	100 bukcha	
Purjai, small	per ditto of 50 ditto -	2½	4	100 ditto	
Another sort	per ditto of 48 ditto -	3½	5	2,000 ditto	Used by women; there are other patterns, but all black ground, with large green, red, and yellow flowers, or borders.
Another sort	per ditto of 17 ditto -	2½	3½	1,000 ditto	
Bekumil (silk and cotton)	per score each piece, 8 alchee.	3½	4½	100 loads.	
Ditto - kokani - - -	per pair - - - -	8 tunga	3½ rupees	20 ditto.	
Begri Bokhara - - -	per score - - - -	2	3	9 ditto.	Various specimens sent.
Khara, dustani for turbans	per ditto - - - -	3½	4½	40 ditto.	
Alacha rispani, striped cot- ton.	per ditto, 1 piece = 4 kolcha.	2	2½	70 ditto	
Ditto (siah kahar) - -	per ditto - - - -	3½	4½	20 ditto.	
Chelka Bokhara, native chintz.	per ditto, 1 piece = 8 kolach.	2	3	9 ditto.	For grave cloths.
Khasa Bokhara, coarse white cloth.	per piece of 8 alcheens each.	30 for 1	21 for 1	5 ditto	
Pari pusha - - - -	per pair - - - -	6 tunga	2½ rupees	40 ditto.	

No. IV.—Goods brought from *Cabool*.

NAME AND DESCRIPTION.	HOW SOLD.	PRICE AT CABOOL.	PRICE AT KOONDOOZ.	YEARLY CONSUMPTION.	REMARKS.
Nil indigo - - - -	per mun - - - -	<i>Tillas.</i> 19	<i>Tillas.</i> 22 to 24	400 mun.	Lieutenant Leech has already sent all the necessary specimens from the Cabool Ba- zaar; I therefore send none.
Cloths:					
Chint Multan, Multan chintz, various patterns and co- lours.	per score each piece, 8 guz.	3½	5	20 to 25 loads.	
Chint gulanad ferengi -	per piece of 25 guz. -	3½	4½	1 load.	
Khasa halgul, flowered cot- ton of Punjab.	per score each piece, 10 guz.	17½	12	60 ditto.	
Bafta Peshawuri - - -	per score pieces = 8 guz.	2½	4	10 ditto.	
Nimsen, coarse cloth of Peshawur.	per score pieces = 8 guz.	4½	6½	32 ditto.	
Dustar nishaperi, common white turbans.	per score - - - -	6	11	17 ditto.	
Jumdani Multan, flowered tartans.	each - - - -	2½ rupees	3½ rupees	10 ditto.	
Somyee Multani - - -	per score - - - -	3½	5	9 ditto.	
Chint jeynuggur, printed calico.	per score pieces = 8 guz.	9	16	8 ditto.	
Shutmun turbans - - -	- ditto - ditto -	9	17	2 ditto.	
Chint ferengi - - - -	per piece = 25 guz. -	1½	2	19 ditto.	
Hyder shai, coarse cloth of Multan.	per score pieces = 8 guz.	1½	2½	16 ditto.	
Chint nimrany ferengi, striped chintz.	per piece = 25 guz. -	¾	1½	9 ditto.	
Chint kubuli - - - -	per score piece = 6 guz.	3	5	12 ditto.	
Kiriana; viz., Drugs, Dye Stuffs and Spices, Gro- ceries, &c.:		<i>Cabool Rupees.</i>	<i>Koondooz Rupees.</i>	- - - -	The relative value of Cabool and Koondooz rupees will be found in the money table.
Zind choba (turmeric) -	per mun - - - -	12	16	2 loads.	
Zungibil (preserved ginger)	per chanok - - - -	2½	3½	2 ditto.	
Sunt (dry ginger) - - -	per seer - - - -	5	6	3 ditto.	

No. IV.—Goods brought from *Cabool*—continued.

NAME AND DESCRIPTION.	HOW SOLD.	PRICE AT CABOOL.	PRICE AT KOONDooZ.	YEARLY CONSUMPTION.	REMARKS.
<i>Kiriana—continued.</i>					
Khund (soft sugar) - -	per seer - - -	3½	5½	100 loads	} Partly in transit to Khoooloon and Bokhara.
Misri (coarse sugar from Umritsir).	per mun - - -	38	40	100 ditto	
Afrime (opium) - -	per khoord - - -	—½	1	4 seers.	Partly in transit.
Mucha (black pepper) -	per mun - - -	28	42	100 loads	
Pilkuri (alum) - - -	per mun - - -	11½	16	3 ditto.	used in killing vermin, &c.
Sunkiah Arsenic, viz., white oxide, yellow sulphuret.	10½ toli - - -	1	1	3 mun	
Shringruf (cinnabar) -	per toli - - -	6 for 1	4 for 1	1 ditto.	
Murdar Sinig (litharge of lead).	per toli - - -	20 for 1	20 for 1	2 seers.	
Rusakapur (oxymuriate of mercury).	per toli - - -	5 for 1	5 for 1	2 mun.	
Kusturi (musk) - -	per nukhad - - -	2 for 1	2 for 1	30 nusakals.	
Keysur (saffron) - -	per toli - - -	4 for 1	2 for 1	10 toli.	
Jayaphul (nutmeg) - -	per toli - - -	11 for 1	10 for 1	1,000	
Chundun (sandal wood) -	per toli - - -	50 for 1	20 for 1	4 seers.	
Illachi Niki (bitter carda- mums).	per toli - - -	8 for 1	5 for 1	1 mun.	
Kuchla (nux vomica) -	per toli - - -	7 for 1	7 for 1	4 ditto.	
Kuchur (cuncuma reclinata)	per seer - - -	2½	3½	1 load.	
Nunalgota (croton tighi seeds)	per khond - - -	1	1	2 ditto.	
Kumbela - - -	per toli - - -	120 for 1	100 for 1	1½ mun.	
Umrurpuli - - -	per pao - - -	3 for 1	2 for 1	3 ditto.	
Hust gund - - -	per chanuk - - -	2 for 1	2 for 1	9 ditto.	

No. V.—NATIVE MANUFACTURES and PRODUCE.

NAME AND DESCRIPTION.	HOW SOLD.	PRICE.	YEARLY CONSUMPTION.	REMARKS.
Alacha, striped cotton cloth of various patterns, viz.:		<i>Koondooz Rs.</i>		
Khonabad, No. 1 - - -	per pair - - -	1	20 loads	The estimate of the con- sumption is necessarily very rough. No tax is taken, and no account kept. Each pair of pieces making one choga, the price shows the expense of a dress of native manu- facture.
No. 2 - - -	each piece - - -	1½	5 "	
No. 3 - - -	8 aleheen - - -	3	5 "	
No. 4 - - -	- - -	2½	4 "	
No. 5 - - -	- - -	3	3 "	
No. 6 - - -	- - -	2	6 "	
No. 7 - - -	- - -	1½	8 "	
No. 8 - - -	- - -	2	5 "	
No. 9 - - -	- - -	1½	8 "	
No. 10 - - -	- - -	2	6 "	
No. 11 - - -	- - -	2	8 "	
No. 12 - - -	- - -	2	5 "	
No. 13 - - -	- - -	2½	4 "	
No. 14 - - -	- - -	2½	4 "	
No. 15 - - -	- - -	2½	6 "	
No. 16 - - -	- - -	2½	8 "	
No. 17 - - -	- - -	1½	3 "	
No. 18 - - -	- - -	2½	5 "	
No. 19 - - -	- - -	1½	6 "	
Kurhas, white cotton cloth -	per dress of 6 kolach.	—½	40 "	No estimate of the consumption of these articles.
Alreshur, raw silk, or gau zinc	per 100 tola of 47 muskals each.	8		
Thebut (hair of shawl goat) -	per seer - - -	3-3½		
Buzi (hair of common goat) -	ditto - - -	2-3 for 1		
Gosfundi (wool) - - -	ditto - - -	2½ for 1		
Purhm-i-shutur (camel's hair)	ditto - - -	2 for 1		
Pistachios, per mun - - -	3	-		
Buzgunje (gall nut of pistachio)	per mun - - -	2½-3		
Ispuruk, agcousta, dyes yellow	ditto - - -	3½-1		
Cotton, in pods - - -	per seer - - -	4 for 1		
Til (oil seed) (rusbisina saliva)	per mun - - -	1		
Ulsi (linseed) - - -	per seer - - -	7 for 1		
Kunjara (oil cake) - - -	per mun - - -	2½ for 1		
Til (lamp oil) - - -	per seer - - -	2½ for 1		

No. V.—NATIVE MANUFACTURES, &c.—*continued.*

NAME AND DESCRIPTION.	HOW SOLD.	PRICE.	YEARLY CONSUMPTION.	REMARKS.	
		<i>Koondooz Rs.</i>			
Wheat - - - - -	18 seers - - -	1	No estimate of the consumption of these articles.		
Jao - - - - -	21 „ - - -	1			
Rice - - - - -	1 mun - - -	1½			
Flour - - - - -	1 ½ „ - - -	1			
Moong - - - - -	1 ½ „ - - -	1			
Kingri (oil plant) - - -	2 „ - - -	1			
Juwari - - - - -	2 „ - - -	1			
Roghun-i-zind (glue) - -	1 ½ seers - - -	1			
Firewood - - - - -	4 loads - - -	1			
Charcoal - - - - -	1 jowal or bag -	6 pice			
Furs :					
Suglabi otter - - - - -	per skin - - -	9			
Ilderi - - - - -	- „ - - -	4½			
Palmog (leopard) - - -	- „ - - -	2			
Dulah - - - - -	- - - - -	1½			
Robah (fox) - - - - -	- - - - -	3½			
Kura kolah - - - - -	- - - - -	3			
Shighal phael - - - - -	- - - - -	2			
Kuruch - - - - -	- - - - -	¼			
Kurghooz - - - - -	small animals -	4 to 6 pice			
Mulool - - - - -		3 pice			
Samancha - - - - -		6 pice			
Mura nurh - - - - -		5 pice			
Fruit, viz. :					
Peaches, apricots, mulberries, almonds, walnuts, grapes, apples, pistachios, pears, melons, water melons, vegetables, turnips, cabbage, carrots, parsnips, rutecole, pumpkins, gourds, cucumbers.					

No. VI.—EXPORTS TO BOKHARA AND CABOOL.

To Bokhara go slaves, sheep, furs.

To Cabool go gold, silk, sheep, horses, dyestuffs, fruits.

The following are the only returns I have been able to procure, and they do not assume to be very accurate.

EXPORTS from KOONDooZ to CABOOL.

NAME.	HOW SOLD.	PRICE HERE.	PRICE AT CABOOL.	QUANTITY SENT.
		<i>Koondooz Rs.</i>	<i>Cabool Rs.</i>	
Silk (organ zinc) - - -	Per seer of 100 toli -	8	20 to 30	10 loads
Pistachio - - - - -	Per mun - - -	2½	13	500 „
Buzgunje } (dyed stuffs) {	ditto - - -	6½	18	1,000 „
Ispunak }	ditto - - -	1	3	1,000 „

From Khooloom it is said quantities of the same articles are sent: the year before last it exported 2,000 tabruza mun of raw silk, 2,000 loads of ispuruk, 1,000 of buzgunje; 900 of jujubes, and a large quantity of pistachios. The prices of these articles are said to be much higher there than here. The prices as given here, I have verified.

BAZAAR OF KOONDooZ.

MONIES, WEIGHTS, and MEASURES.

METAL.	COIN.	EXCHANGE.	APPROXIMATE VALUE IN ENGLISH MONEY.	REMARKS.
Gold - - -	Tilla - - -	4½ rupees -	9 shillings -	Varies from 4½ to 5 rupees.
Silver - - -	Rupee - - -	5 tunga - -	2 shillings -	
Silver - - -	Tunga - - -	8-9 pice* -	4½ pence -	* At present 44 for 1 rupee,
Copper - - -	Pice or pul -	each a little more than 2 farthings.		and 26 for 1 Kabul rupee.

The tilla is said to be a miscal in weight; several that I tried averaged 70 grains.

The rupee is the sicca of the Dehli Emperors, and is supposed to contain two and a half miscals, or, according to the above experiment, 175 grains. I weighed 10, and found them average 168·6 grains each: they contain scarce any alloy, and may be considered as at par with the Company's rupee.

The Cabool rupee is much inferior: on an average of 10, I found it weigh 146·8 grains, and it is said to contain one-eighth alloy. The exchange into Koondooz rupees may be stated as 15 for 9.

The Cabool rupee is divided into 12 shaces and 60 pice.

WEIGHTS.

				English Avoirdupois Weight.		
		Grains.		Lbs.	oz.	grains.
One mum	= 8 seer of Cabool	= 806,400	=	115	3	87-5
One seer	= 4 chanuk	= 100,800	=	14	6	1-75
One chanuk	= 4 pao	= 25,200	=	3	9	262-5
One pao	= 2 khoord	= 6,300	=	0	14	175
One khoord	= 10 toli	= 3,150	=	0	7	87-5
One toli	= 4½ miscals	= 315				
One miscal	= 4½ mushas	70				
One musha	= 5½ nukhud, or grains of grain	=		0	0	15-5
One nakhud	is therefore nearly equal to	- - -		0	0	3

The mum and seer of Cabool, as above, are always to be considered as meant when none other are specified. Six mums make a camel load, and three and a half mums a mule or yaboo load.

The mum of Bokhara, which is occasionally used, consists of 16 doneem seer, each equal to 400 toli, so that the mum is equal to 6,400 toli, or 288 lbs. avoirdupois, and each doneem seer is equal to 18 lbs. In weighing some heavy articles, as lead, copper, &c., the Russian pood, containing 800 toli, or two doneem seer, or 36 lbs. avoirdupois.

The mum of Tabrez is only employed in weighing silk. It is stated to me to contain 210 toli, which would make it equal to nearly 9½ lbs. avoirdupois. Sir John Malcolm states it at about 7 lbs. I have inquired carefully, and can detect no error in the statement made to me.

The tole is to be carefully distinguished from the tola, the latter containing only two and a half miscals, while the former contains four and a half. There is a small toli of four miscals, and a large tole of five miskals, used at Cabool, but the toli of four and a half miskals is most generally used here, and is always to be understood when no other is specified.

MEASURES.

Of Quantity.

The neemeha used in selling grain, contains by weight one½ a half seer, 12 neemeha = one jowal or bag, which therefore may (sufficiently near for practical purposes) be considered as containing 18 stones.

Of Length.

3½ spans	=	1 alcheen (archine)
4 spans	=	1 guz.
2 guz	=	1 kolach.

The alcheen (archine) is a Russian measure = 28 inches.

The guz may be stated at about = 32 do.

There is no measure of land except the hyat, which is as much as a bag of seed will sow.

BAZAAR OF KUNDEOZ.

Detailed Statement of Shops.

24 bazaz, foreign cloth.	4 coppersmiths.
27 alacha, country striped cloth.	4 goldsmiths.
11 kurbas, country white cloth.	5 potters.
12 chit or ghimbaz, Bokhara cloth.	12 bakers.
12 kulawa, cotton thread.	22 butchers.
10 felt and camel's hair cloths.	3 confectioners.
6 jhools or ready clothes for horses.	10 fruit shops.
8 dyers.	8 mulberry.
4 machines for cleansing cotton.	14 dried fruit and sherra (expressed juice of
8 leather sellers.	grape, used as a coarse substitute for
9 saddlers (saddles, bridles, tibrus).	sugar.)
12 ansar (sword belts, pouches, powder	25 oil sellers.
bags).	8 soap sellers.
6 men's shoemakers.	4 soap manufacturers.
8 ironsmiths.	12 tobacco sellers.
6 sellers of iron pots.	23 uttar, drugs, perfumery, &c.
8 nailors.	
4 knife sellers.	346
5 ewers, basins, &c.	

There are also a varying number of shops for the sale of grain, wood, charcoal, &c., but in fine weather these articles are sold in open air.

(signed) P. B. Lord.

(True copy.)

(signed) Alexander Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, four letters, with the treaty (Nos. 1 to 5) to which they relate that have just reached me from Lieut. Leech, at Candahar.

2. These documents [are of a most perplexing and embarrassing nature, since they] contain the avowal of M. Goutte, the Russian agent, with the Shah of Persia, at Herat, that the Russian Ambassador becomes the guarantee in the arrangements made between Persia and Candahar. The treaty to which Russia thus makes herself a party, being annexed, speaks for itself.

3. Whatever be the interpretation put upon the treaty between Persia and the British Government, and which prevents our succouring Herat, it has appeared to me that no clause in that document can authorise Persia to set one Afghan chief against another, much less permit Persia to use Russian agency to effect it.

4. The individual who went to the Shah's camp, along with Kumbur Ali Khan, reports to the Sirdars of Candahar, as I learn from Mr. Leech, that the Persian vizier has threatened him that if his masters do not become subservient to the Shah, they will soon be treated as Herat has been.

5. Supposing the Government of Russia disavows the act of their accredited agent, Mr. Goutte, the evil is done by the transmission of his letter, which passes for truth. At present I only transmit the document, as sufficient time has not elapsed to judge of their effects here, or at Candahar. As far as I yet gather, that has been most prejudicial to us.

I have, &c.

(signed) Alex. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 17 March 1838.

No. 1.

LAST Letter from Mahomed Shah to Sirdar *Kohun Dil Khan*. (No dates).

"A. C. Alladad Khan has arrived in my camp and made known your requests, and the favour of the King towards you has increased. Whoever shall in confidence come to me shall meet with nothing but kindness, and shall gain his ends, and if you are still firm and true to your word you may consider the favour of the King firm on you too. Always write the state of your wishes and hopes to me, and consider that you will gain all your ends."

No. 2.

LETTER from Le Conseiller Honoraire *Goutte* to *Kohun Dil Khan*.

"A. C. Alladad Khan, and Meer Mohamad Khan, have delivered your letter to me, and I was much delighted at its contents. You wrote to tell me you had determined on becoming subservient to ~~Mohammad Shah~~, and ~~had sought his protection~~. You may depend upon my fulfilling the engagement I have entered into with you, and consider it to be advantageous to yourself to perform any service for my Government. I cannot express in writing my friendship for you and care for your welfare. Regarding your making Russia the guarantee in this connexion, your wishes will be met by the Russian [Government,*] to whom I have forwarded your letter, and with it I have written my own opinions on the subject. I have cultivated your friendship at the suggestion of Hajee Aghassee. It is better to dispatch Omar Khan without apprehension, and I will write to the Persian Government to remove all apprehensions at your sending your son; he will be treated with great distinction by the Shah and his nobles. When you have dispatched your son, the treaty drawn up by Kumbur Ali will be entered into by the means of Hajee Aghassee, and I, as your friend, tell you to be under no apprehension at sending your son; after he arrives everything you wish will be done through Hajee Aghassee. Send your son quickly, and trust him to God. When I receive an answer from the Russian minister (Simonich) I will forward it." [Send in Mr. Leech's letter to be signed by Le Conseiller Honoraire Goutte.]

* Previously printed "Ambassador."

(signed) A. B.

No. 3.

LETTER from Major General *Borouaki*.

"A. C. Abdul Wahul Beg and Alladad Khan have arrived with Kumbur Ali Khan, and have extolled to me your acts and nature. Consider the subjects on which Captain Vickovitch conversed with you connected with your welfare; besides these I have other subjects to speak on. You have done well in seeking the protection of Persia; this Alladad informed me you have done, and I am much pleased with your messages. Alladad Khan has requested me to write to you; he has himself witnessed my influence here, and has been himself favourably received by the Shah, and asked to know in what favour the sirdars of Candahar were with him (the Shah). Nothing but good will result from this your connexion with the Shah; so much good indeed that I cannot put it to paper; be convinced that your serving the Shah will turn out every way to your advantage. The Shah treats every one according to his deserts, and your deserts are above all others. By all means send Mahomed Omar Khan speedily, he will be treated with nothing but kindness, and on this subject the assistant to the Russian minister, M. Goutte, has written, as also has Hajee (Akasee), who has written to confirm what Kumbur Ali had done (at Candahar). By the fortune of the Shah, Maimuna, the Hazarees, and Char Adeemak (Annuk) have been subdued as completely as could have been wished, and as the Asif of Meshid has written, no doubt the son of Mizral Khan Walee, and the brother of Sher Mohamed Khan, and Gurd Zamun Khan, and others, will come over to the Shah (as hostages). Persia is not what it was. I wish your connexion with Persia were speedily accomplished. Mahomed Shah has hitherto avoided taking Herat out of kindness to its Mahomedans, but, by the blessing of God, and the fortune of the King, Herat will be taken; everything will be for the best. It be all the better the speedier you dispatch Sirdar Mahomed Omar Khan."

No. 4.

LETTER from the Vizier *Hajee Aghassee* to the Sirdar.

"A. C. Alladad Khan and Kumbur Ali Khan have arrived and presented your petition, and I have learnt everything you wrote to the Shah, and I cannot express how much the favour of the King is upon you, and I am much pleased with your friendly messages. You ought to send Omar Khan, and by this the favour of the King will be greater even than you expect; and I also think that you should send Mahomed Omar Khan quickly that your ends may be gained. On his arrival everything Kumbur Ali wrote will be performed; and, thank God, to this day I have never spoken false. If you keep your word and still seek the protection of the King, and only perform [his service, I will pledge that the Shah will perform] his engagements after this; and you will see how the King will favour you, and

1—Sess. 2.

B B 2

please

please God, it be better if nothing should interrupt our friendship. If you do not make friends, after all I shall be disgraced for having proposed this friendship to the King, but I ought not to suppose such a thing. It is well known we are friends. Continue to write to me.

(signed) "R. Leech, Assistant."

(True copies.)

(signed)

Alex. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 5.

TRANSLATION of a Treaty made by *Kumbur Ali Khan*, the Persian Elchee, with the Chiefs of *Candahar*.

THE treaty which I, Kumber Ali (literally creature of God), have made with the respectable Sirdars Kohun Dil Khan, Rahun Dil Khan, and Mehr Dil Khan, on the part of his Majesty Mahomed Shah, is as follows:—

In case the Sirdars should send one of their sons to his Majesty I promise to the Sirdars the following return:

1. That the country of Herat, whether it be taken by the power of the servants of the Persian Government, or that of the Sirdars, must be left to the latter. The Shah should not expect anything from them in return but service, and likewise make no interference of any kind in their country, tribe, or in Afghanistan.

2. His Majesty is not to form a connexion with the Afghans of any description, great or small, and also not to employ them in case of any business with the Afghans. His Majesty is to have recourse to the Sirdars.

3. His Majesty is never to make friendship with Shahzada Kumran and Yar Mahomed Khan.

4. On the arrival of the son of Sirdar Kohun Dil Khan, his Majesty is to order the army at Meshid to march towards Herat, if Kamran and Yar Mahomed Khan resolve to take Candahar, the Shah should prevent them by coming to Candahar, and if they do not agree to this, then the Shah should come to Herat.

5. The Shah is also to give the Sirdars the expense of 12,000 cavalry and infantry, 12 guns, and the extra expenditure of the troops in the capture of Herat. If the battle lasts long, the Shah must furnish the expenses of the army.

6. In case any harm befalls the country of the Sirdars, the Shah agrees to give them in his own country lands equal to the value of their loss.

7. The treaty which I have now made with the Sirdars is to be approved of by his Majesty, and bear the signature of Hajee Meerza Aghassee, Mirza Massood (the Minister for Foreign Affairs), and also of the Ambassadors of Russia and England, to ensure confidence to the Sirdars.

8. When all these promises are fulfilled, the Sirdars are to leave Candahar for Herat at the head of 12,000 cavalry, infantry, and 12 guns. When they reach Furrak, they should send Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan, with 1,000 horsemen, to the Shah, who may give him further troops and money according to his wants. When Mehr Dil Khan comes to Herat, and is dismissed by the Shah, the other Sirdars are to join him. At the same time the Persian army must be guided by the Sirdars, and obey them. If it pleases God by the fortune of the Shah, the wisdom of the Sirdars, and the assistance of the Candahar and Persian army, the city of Herat will soon be reduced to homage.

9. When the above conditions are fulfilled, the Shah agrees not to keep the son of Kohun Dil Khan with himself. It must be left to him (the son) to stay or depart; if the latter, the Shah must dismiss him and his companions with honour, and conduct them safe to the Candahar boundary.

(sealed) *Kumbur Ali Khan.*

(True translation.)

(signed)

Alex. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed)

H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to annex an extract of a letter from Lieutenant Pottinger at Herat, dated the 22d ultimo, to Lieutenant Leech, containing the latest intelligence of the proceedings of the Persian army before Herat.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,

On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 17 March 1838.

EXTRACT of a Letter from Lieutenant *Pottinger* at Herat to Lieutenat *Leech* ;
dated 22d February 1838.

" Nothing more has occurred since I wrote on the 12th, except that the large gun the Persians cast and made such a noise about, has burst, and is now useless. The covering division under Asoful Dowla has returned from Turkistan, or is expected here every day ; as it is composed of the best Persian troops, they may make an assault. The result of that however I do not much fear, but dread Mahomed Shah bringing over some of the garrison or turning the siege into a blockade, and marching his infantry back to the Persian territory ; the Persians have shown some inclination for peace, and in their demands have fallen a little. Everything depends on the life of the Vuzeer, and I do not believe he has a single well-wisher, let alone friend ; the garrison is held to its duty by the cry of religion.

(True extract.)

(signed)

Alex. Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed)

H. Torrens,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters of the dates and on the subjects noted in the margin* ; and in reply, to transmit to you, for your information, the accompanying copy of a letter this day written to the Political Agent at Loodiana.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,

Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-General.

Camp at Deyrah Doon,
19 March 1838.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-General.

* Letter, dated 29th January 1838, submitting a report of Lieutenant Leech's proceedings at Candahar, stating further circumstances connected with the designs of Russia in the East, and the messages delivered at Candahar by the Russian agent. Also acknowledging receipt of my letter of 27th December last on the subject of affairs at that country. Letter, dated 1st February 1838, reporting further particulars as to the views and prospects of Russia regarding the commerce in Central Asia, and especially in Kokan. Letter, dated 7th February 1838, submitting notice on Herat and the state of affairs in the adjacent countries. Letter, dated 10th February 1838, reporting the discovery of a conspiracy encouraged by Muharajah Runjeet Singh, to overthrow the Government of Dost Mahomed Khan, and the melancholy circumstances under which it was brought to light. Letter, dated 12th February 1838, forwarding an original letter from Lieutenant Leech, containing intelligence from Candahar up to the 5th February. Letter, dated 12th February 1838, forwarding copy of a letter from Lieutenant Leech, containing the latest accounts from Herat and his further communications at Candahar.

To *W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.*, Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Right Honourable the Governor General.

Sir,

In transmitting the accompanying open letter from Captain Burnes to your address, dated the 5th instant, reporting the progress of affairs at Cabool, consequent on the receipt of the instructions forwarded to that officer in your letter of the 20th of January last, I have the honour to subjoin the following remarks:—

2. The effect produced by the tenor of the Right Honourable the Governor-General's letter on Dost Mohammad Khan, was not likely to be agreeable to that chief after the high hopes and expectations he had formed from the deputation of a British Agent to his Court, in the present critical yet exalted position in which his wars with the Sikhs and his late diplomatic intercourse with the Governments of Russia and Persia have placed him. I presume that the strong expressions to which he is stated to have given utterance are similar in their nature to those which were openly circulated by his people in 1835, when he came down to Peshawur to attack the Sikhs, viz., that if he conquered them, he would proceed to Hindustan, and, joined there by the Mahomedans, overthrow the British Government.

3. With regard to the value of protection from the Sikhs being rated too highly, and that the Maharaja had never sought to attack Cabool, may be opposed the fact that the Amir has not only in his appeals to the British but the Russian and Persian Governments, applied for the aid of those powers to protect him from the designs of the British and the Sikhs united, going, even in his letter to Mahumad Shah, to the length of declaring, "Even if my affairs should fall into disorder, and even if Y.M. should not direct your attention to these countries, nevertheless I shall persist in contending with the Sikhs as long as I am able; but should it prove that I am unable to resist that diabolical tribe, then I have no choice and must connect myself with the English, who will thus obtain complete authority over the whole of Afghanistan, and it remains to be seen hereafter to what places and to what extent the flame of the violence of that nation may be carried. I consider it imperative on myself to represent these circumstances to the King of Islam." Now when we offer him assurances of relief from that danger, on which he may rely, he is disappointed with our intentions in his favour, and would throw aside altogether his professions of preferring the alliance of our Government to that of any other, with the same facility that he made them.

4. If his Lordship will refer to the interview held by Captain Burnes with the Amir on the 24th of September last, just after the arrival of that officer at Cabool, he will observe the following among other proofs of Dost Mohammad's deceptive language, compared with what his advisers are now using, when they find the British Government vigilantly attentive to its own interests. "My sons and people may speak in exaggerated strains of our late success; but it is too evident, however, that our power is not one-tenth of that of the Punjab, and instead of renewing such conflicts, it would be a source of real gratification if the British Government would counsel me how to act. None of our other neighbours can avail me, and in return I would pledge myself to forward its commercial and its political views." No sooner, however, do we offer to him the boon he desires, than he expresses himself dissatisfied, and would appear to have had other objects in view, incompatible with a safe policy, were it practicable with the consideration due to other powers, the consolidation of our alliance with whom is of such superior importance to us both in a military and political point of view in securing the tranquillity of India, as to need no further illustration than what may be derived from the events which are now passing in Afghanistan.

5. Regarding the supposed absence of any intention on the part of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to attack Cabool, it is the first time in my intercourse with the Sikhs and Afghans that I have heard such an assumption advanced, and to show the little foundation there is for such an opinion, I shall merely at present advert for an exposition of the Maharaja's views on that subject to the conversations which have lately passed between Lieutenant Mackeson and the officers of Ranjit Singh, relative to the wish of our Government to establish a state of peace between the contending parties.

6. In another place it is stated, "that hitherto all the aggression had been on the part of the Amir, and not the ruler of Lahore;" but on referring to Captain

Burnes'

Burnes' letter of the 5th of October, detailing what had transpired in the course of his preliminary communications with Dost Mahomed Khan, that chief, speaking of the usurpation of Peshawar by the Sikhs, and the feelings of shame and indignation with which he contemplated the abject condition to which his brothers, their wives and families were brought at that place, observes, "crushed as they are I was yet left, but when Runjeet Singh's officers planted a fort near the Khybur Pass, my existence was endangered," &c.

7. The more that the arguments used by the Amir or his party are examined, the more specious and open to distrust do they seem to be. His first avowed object was security from the Sikhs. We offer our good offices to effect that object. In the meantime, Persia and Russia come forward with similar offers, and he avails himself of them, and the desire evinced by our Government to court his alliance, to their exclusion, to say that we cannot expect him to forego his connexion with the Western powers for the sake of the substantial benefit which he sought, and we have expressed our readiness to confer on him. In short, he would wish us to sacrifice the safety of our political system on the Indus, by entering into pledges of security to him from the hostility of powers which he has himself been the means of inviting into his country, by the advice of a few designing men, and contrary to the wishes of the majority of his nation, without admitting the claim which our Government has a right to make on him to get rid of an evil of his own creation.

8. In our negotiation at Tehran, it has been the constant object of the British to fix a limit to the ambitious views of Persia in Afghanistan. Dost Mahomed would desire, however, either to be left free to act as his interests might suggest in that quarter, or to entangle us in engagements of protection from the West, which we have neither any real power of exerting, in his behalf, nor of guarding effectually against the deception to which we might be exposed from relying on the professions of a party whose want of good faith renders him an object of the greatest jealousy and suspicion to his own people.

9. Whatever the Afghans may think of their own power, there is nothing in their present constitution that justifies that high opinion of it which they wish to inculcate, and are we with a well-organised Government like that of Runjeet Singh in advance, and our own immense resources in the rear, to labour under such an incubus of alarm from the half-famished multitudes of Persia, and the headlong violence of Russia, as to resign that policy which is demonstrated both by reason and expediency to be the safest, the wisest, and the best suited to our situation, to oblige the Amir?

10. Captain Burnes justly remarked to Nawab Jubbar Khan that he really did not know what were the motives which swayed his brother. There has been a reservation of purpose in the declaration of his sentiments to Captain Burnes, from the beginning of this officer's intercourse with him, that is certainly not calculated to gain the confidence of the British Government. It now appears that he had other objects in view than those which he at first declared, and that if we would promote them, he hoped to be able to do "something" for the British Government, and for such services to receive its real friendship; but he does not disclose what that something is, nor what the proof of friendship he is desirous of receiving, in addition to the settlement of his quarrel with the Sikhs, of whose attacks he now says he is not apprehensive.

11. In reply to the question of the Nawab whether the real object of the British Government was to withdraw from the Afghans or to make friendship with them, it might have been observed that the decision of that question rested properly with the Afghans themselves; that our Government did not wish to withdraw from them, but that they should withdraw from alliances which they had before been declaring as incapable of affording them any real aid if they wished for our assistance.

12. The conversation held by Mirza Sami Khan with Captain Burnes is nearly to the effect of that between Jubbar Khan and Captain Burnes. They both betray to my mind a strong sense of the risk that Dost Mahomed Khan sees he will incur by declining our offer, and at the same time the elevation of tone which has been produced in his conduct towards our Agent from the presence and the advice of Captain Vickovitch, with whom no doubt the Amir is in communication, privately.

13. If Runjeet Singh had never taken a garib of land belonging to Dost Mahomed, why should the Amir have made the interest of a brother whom he

does not wish to see in possession of Peshawar, a cause of war with the Sikhs? He expected the territory it seems for himself, keeping his brother's independence on him, and augmenting his own means of defence against the Sikhs. Finding that the British Government has no disposition to injure others to gratify him, he says with apparent truth, that the offer to adjust the affairs of Peshawar did not suit his views, and that if he sought other aid to injure Ranjit Singh and we interfered, he would consider it unjust. Could the Amir have expected that we should overlook what was due to our alliance with the Sikhs, or that if a near neighbour were threatened with danger from a distant one, who in the supposed case would forfeit all claim to our consideration, we should, in the desire to keep off a common danger, abstain from lending our aid to resist an invasion conducted, not alone by Dost Mahomed himself, but with the support of his friends and allies to the West? In this communication of his chief minister is an avowal which clearly proves, in my opinion, not only the ambitious, but the ambiguous nature of the Amir's designs, and the necessity of acting towards him with conciliation but firmness, if we expect to detach him from becoming an instrument of disturbance in the hands of others, anxious to use him for the furtherance of their sinister designs.

14. Much stress is, I observe, laid on the injury that would be done to parties who would be deserted if he acquiesced in the views of our Government, but it would be difficult to say who these parties were. All the ex-chiefs of Peshawar had separated themselves from Dost Mahomed Khan of their own accord, to join the Maharaja; Mahomed Osman Khan, the person mentioned in Captain Burnes' letter, had been dispossessed of the territory of Jalalabad by the Amir himself; Nawab Jubbar Khan had likewise been deprived of a large portion of his revenue by the same hand, as also had Shamshuddin Khan, who lately held the Government of Ghazni; Haji Khan Kakar finding his means of subsistence also taken away from him at Cabool, has quitted that city and joined the Sirdars of Khandahar; others of less note have been equally straightened in their circumstances by the deprivation of grants and privileges, which they have long enjoyed, in order that they might be annexed to the authority of his own sons. Even the Kazzalbash chiefs are discontented at the treatment that they have experienced, and their apprehension of further evils makes them desire a change. In the enumeration of all these persons will be found, I believe, the principal parties who have in any manner been connected with the ruler of Cabool since the permanent occupation of Peshawar by the Sikhs.

15. On other parts of Captain Burnes' report, though highly interesting and important, I will not at present dwell. I fear from the insight which we now have of the Amir's mind, that the connexion of the British Government with that chief would be full of peril, even if we acceded to the extravagant expectations which he seems to have formed from the British mission to his Court. Judging from what I know of his character and the opinions of others, Dost Mahomed will endeavour to temporise until the fate of Herat is decided. If that place should not be able to withstand the present struggle, the Amir will in all probability acknowledge his homage to Persia. Should Herat be preserved, we may then expect that Dost Mahomed Khan will see the necessity of renewing his hopes of safety from the Sikhs by the exertion of our good offices.

I have, &c.

(signed) C. M. Wade,
Political Agent, &c.

Lodiana, 21 March 1838.

(True copy.)

(signed) H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

[In reply to my communication of the 22d ultimo, addressed to the Sirdars of Candahar, on the subject of your Despatch of the 20th January last, I have the honour to transmit a letter (No. 1) from the the three chiefs, notifying their intention

intention to send Mehr Dil Khan to Cabool for the counsel of the Ameer and myself.]

2. It is [also] satisfactory to report that Mr. Leech informs me the Chiefs of Candahar have sent us an answer to Herat, to their late elchee, Kumber Ali Khan, that the period which he had requested them to wait had elapsed two months ago, and that their reply to all the requests made by the Russian and Persian Governments therefore was that they must consult with their brothers in Cabool.

[3. If one of the Candahar brothers does reach Cabool at this time, I shall endeavour to detain him till I learn his Lordship's decision regarding a final adjustment between the Sikhs and Afghans, as the juncture is very favourable for a final reconciliation among the Barukzye brothers.]

Cabool,
21 March 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Sirdars of Candahar, Kohin Dil, Rahim Dil, and Mehr Dil Khan, to the address of Captain Burnes, received at Cabool, 21st March 1838.

A. C.,

YOUR friendly letter reached us, and we fully understand its contents.

As the respectable Ameer has desired one of us to wait upon him, we have resolved that Mehr Dil Khan should shortly proceed to Cabool. If it pleases God, he will have also the pleasure of seeing you there.

Let us know always of your welfare.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I DO myself the honour to annex, for the information of the Right honourable the Governor General, a translation of a letter (No. 1) from Mirza Moostafa, a correspondent of mine in Herat, which contains an epitome of events from the investment of that city by the Persians, and is very satisfactory, as it corroborates the letters of Colonel Stoddart and Lieutenant Pottinger.

2. I also transmit extracts of a letter from Lieutenant Pottinger (No. 2) dated the 24th ultimo; if Herat escapes the Persians till now, which is the great Shiah festival of the Nauraz, there is reason to believe it may not, during this campaign at least, be wrested from the Afghans.

No. 2.

Cabool,
22 March 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Mirza Mustafa, inside Herat (dated about the 20-4 February 1838) in reply to a communication addressed to him by request of Captain Burnes.

A. C.,

As you had briefly put a few questions to me I give the answer to them in this short style:—

When Futch Khan went to Persia as an agent from Herat, Mahomed Shah told him that Shahzada Kamran, with the son of the Vazeer, should join his Majesty's camp, and put the name of the Shah on the coin of Herat: Futteh Khan returned from Persia, and promised to the Shah that his Majesty will receive an answer to his messages from Kamran in 40 days, but Futteh Khan took no answer to his Majesty at all. The contents of Mahomed Shah's letter corroborated the messages of which Futteh Khan was the bearer.

When Mahomed Shah received no answer from Herat, he raised a considerable army, and

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came

came to Meshid. From Meshid, he marched to Ghorian, and after a siege of 10 days, and firing a good deal, Sher Mahomed Khan lost his courage, and surrendered that fort.

After taking Ghorian, Mahomed Shah sent Asafoad Doula at the head of some troops and cormen towards Badghis and Kila-in-Nau, to check the progress of the Jumsheedees and Huzaras, and marched in person to Herat.

The city has been besieged on the south from the gate of Irak to that of Candahar, and the Persian trenches are on that side. It is now nearly 70 days since the city is besieged by the Persians; but the brave Vizier and Sirdar Deen Mahomed Khan, along with the whole family of Alekozyes, are opposing the Persians most nobly. They go out of the city, and kill many Persians daily.

Sher Mahomed Khan Huzara, the Jumsheedees, and the Uzbeks are assembled to the number of 10,000 or 12,000 men, and are opposing the Persians, on Bala Moorghab, by the order of Shahzada Kamran and Vizier Yar Mahomed Khan.

Shahzada Kamran has sent his agents to Bokhara and Orgunje, asking their assistance; but he has not yet heard anything about them.

There is no power in Khorasan that can come to assist Herat against the Persians.

If Herat is taken, Mahomed Shah intends to conquer Candahar, Cabool, and Peshawer, and thus open the road for the Russians to India.

The Herat forces, which were engaged in the country of Lash and Jawen, came back to Herat for fear of the Persians.

The Afghans of Tarah, Isfazar, and Bakwa, are nearly half come to protect Herat, the other half being left in charge of their families.

When Futch Khan was sent an agent from Herat to Tehran, he was very kindly treated by Mr. M'Neil, the ambassador at the Court of Persia. When Futeh Khan came to Herat, Yar Mahomed Khan, vizier, sent to that gentleman some varieties of the country.

The Persian trenches have been pushed up to the ditch, but the brave Afghans have no fear at all, and are in remarkable spirits. It seems that Herat will not be taken by the Persians, and all the necessaries of life are very cheap in the city. The army of Kharism has reached Merve to assist Herat.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

EXTRACT of a Letter from Lieutenant *Pottinger*, dated Herat, 24 February 1838.

"NOTHING has happened of any consequence; heavy rain has nearly cleared the Persian trenches. They are inactive, I may say, to-day, the first time for a week past that they have done anything. They attempted to push a mine under the Fausse brace; a fangas destroyed it and the workmen, before they had well completed the entrance. The enemy cast a large gun and brought into play on the 11th; it burst on the 15th, without proving of any use. Asaf-ul-Daulat's force has not arrived. The Kujurs show signs of coming round; letters have passed through the Russian deserter, Samson Khan, to get up an agreement, through his means, as he is an acquaintance of the Vazeer's. I, however, told the Vazeer, that if he chose to bring any other person into the affair that Government would leave him to his fate, and that it was absurd, after his making Mr. M'Neil his agent, to think of employing a disreputable deserter as his partner in the agency. This had the desired effect, and we wrote to say that no treaty would be entered into unless the British Government was a party to it; and that if the Shah really wished for peace, let him send the British agent, with his camp, into the city, and proposals brought by that gentleman would be attended to. Forage is very scarce in the city, but grain and meat abundant, and a half dearer than usual at this season; almost all the common people have provisions for another 40 days. If something does not occur to relieve them, great hardship will commence about that time. It will not, however, affect the soldiery."

(True extract.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor-General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit the annexed extracts of a private letter from Mr. Lord, at Koondouz, dated the 7th instant, which are of an interesting nature, and give favourable accounts of his own proceedings and those of Lieutenant Wood.

Wood. Both of these gentlemen will return to Cabool probably in the course of next month.

2. I am sorry to report that there is some apprehension of an attack on the Koondooz state by Bokhara. The Meer of Koondooz lately *chuppoo'd* * Aklichn, near Balk, in return for the last attack from Bokhara, and the King has declared his determination to retaliate. At this time, when there is a fear of Persia, it seems particularly well advised, but the King of Bokhara is a headstrong and violent person.

Cabool,
23 March 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) A. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

EXTRACTS of a Letter from Dr. Lord, dated Koondooz, 7 March 1838, to Captain Burnes.

If you have received my Despatch of the 27th February, you will be astonished at my again writing from Koondooz. I had actually my foot in the stirrup to set out for Khocloom, when I learnt that Mahomed Beg (my old patient) had come in here, and, as he has always been very kind, I determined on visiting him before I started, and, on doing so, found he had been labouring under a very bad diarrhœa, which he had suffered to run on for a month, and which had reduced him to a state of extreme weakness, affecting him generally from 15 to 25 times a day; so I at once declared that I should not leave this until I had put him out of danger, and I hope I may now say that I have performed my promise, though he still requires care to prevent a relapse. I have had rather a difficult job of it, and, to add to my pleasures when matters were at the worst, and I was obliged to give him some purgatives previously to checking the inordinate discharge, a Peshawury who is here, and who, because he is a sort of "tubeel," thinks it necessary to set himself up as a rival of mine, went to the Meer and told him I had poisoned his brother, and that it was a common trial of the Feringees (as you had poisoned Abbas Meerza when you were at Herat). There was actually a grave consultation on the subject, and I owe my getting favourably out of it at last to the declaration of my patient himself, who said that he had such confidence in me, that if I did give him poison, he was ready to take it. There's a fine old barbarian for you! But he has gone further, for he has now requested me to accompany him back to Huzrut Imam, to undertake the care of his son, who had been entrusted to this same Peshawury, and by him most violently salivated to cure a simple sore throat. The result is, that the poor boy is reduced to the last state of debility, and his poor father to the last state of anxiety. This was an opportunity not to be missed, particularly as a great number of persons were present; so I answered, that whatever he asked was to me an order; but that in this case there was a great difficulty, as I understand his son was already under the care of a Peshawury, who was said to be a very clever man, and that the Feringees always, if possible, avoided interfering in the affairs of another, and never spoke ill of any one. * * * *

I had a visit from the Meer of Wochan to-day, and learn from him that Wood left Wochan for Sir-i-Kol 14 days since. The distance is only eight days, so Wood, I hope, is on his return now. The Meer said there were some difficulties on the road, but that it certainly was passable, and not blocked up by snow. We may therefore, I hope, conclude that Wood has really been at the source of the Oxus.

(True extracts.)

(signed) A. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

In my letter of the 13th instant, reporting the progress which had been made in communicating with the Ameer of Cabool, I was under the necessity of abruptly terminating the communication on account of the arrival of letters from Candahar, [which exhibited the direct interference of Russia in that chiefship, and consequently in the affairs of Cabool. On the 17th instant those letters and I now resume the former subject.]

Sic in orig.

2. After

2. After the interview which I had with the deputation sent to me by the Ameer on the 10th, and which wished to draw from me a paper of pledge regarding the use of our good offices at Peshawur, I had no more intercourse on business till the 16th instant with the Ameer or his agents, and it was only from visitors that I learned that things were going wrong. These reports went to inform me that the Ameer had despatched a letter to Candahar, telling his brothers that his hopes on the British had left him, that much more attention had been shown to Captain Vickovitch than he had ever experienced, with several other pieces of information conveying a similar import. [I sent twice to the Nuwab Jubbar Khan to know what such proceedings meant, but that personage had left Cabool and gone to one of his country seats, as I afterwards found, in disgust at the course which the Ameer was pursuing.]

3. It was quite clear that no such conduct on the part of Dost Mahomed Khan could for a moment be tolerated by our Government, but, under the circumstances of the late accounts from Candahar, [and the proceedings of Russia and Persia], it was impossible to tell whether the alienation arose from my refusal of the paper of pledge [or the offers of Russia], and any extreme proceedings on my part might have contributed to the fall of Herat by throwing into the scale against it all the weight of this country. The intelligence, however, from that city being prejudicial to prospects of success on the part of Persia, made me resolve to have an immediate explanation on my dismissal.

[4. On the morning of the 16th instant, the Nuwab visited me; he confirmed the rumour which had reached me, and said that shame had led him to stay away. While the Nuwab was with me, I sent for Mirza Samee Khan, and asked him for an explanation of what had passed, when he freely admitted the truth of the reports regarding the Ameer being dissatisfied. I at once requested the Nuwab and the Mirza to convey my request for leave to return to India; that no more could or would be done for the Afghans than had been stated, and that after the promise given to dismiss the Russian agent, and he was now detained, it was clear that I was bringing my own Government into disrepute by another day's stay in the city; that our Government had no desire to dictate to the Ameer of Cabool, and left it to himself to guide his own affairs as seemed most conducive to his interests, but that his late proceedings, particularly in what he had written to Candahar, and that, too, without even informing me, were conclusive proofs that my stay in Cabool was no longer advisable.

5. The Nuwab said very little further than that the Ameer was to blame; the Mirza hesitated at learning the message, saying that the Ameer was excited; but it was at last agreed upon that both he and the Nuwab should repair to the Bala Hissar, and communicate all; and as they were departing I told them that I was ready to follow and receive my dismissal, which I most particularly requested, if a clear and satisfactory explanation were not afforded to me, and Captain Vitkievitch immediately dismissed from Cabool.

6. On the following day (the 17th) the Ameer sent Moolla Budro Deen, the principal merchant in the city, to me, with some general expression of friendship, and the Moollah took occasion to tell me as from himself, that he and the mercantile community would be ruined if the British withdrew at the present time from this country; and as for himself individually, he had a lac and 25,000 rupees worth of outstanding bills for goods, the greater of which he had staked on account of the existing peace with the Sikhs, and the confidence which the presence of a British agent had inspired him and all traders. I assured the Moolla that the encouragement of commerce formed the primary object of the mission with which I was entrusted, and he must tell the Ameer that I had no desire to leave Cabool if he departed himself, as I considered due to my Government, but there was no choice between upholding its character and any other course, however numerous might be the advantages in prospect.

7. To my messages sent by the Mirza to the Ameer, I received an equivocal reply, stating that in eight days the letter of the Governor General would be answered; that it was his Lordship who had abandoned the Afghans, and not the Ameer who had deserted us; that the presence of an individual of such little note as Captain Vickovitch was very unimportant, and though he would be dismissed, the British appeared to make it a pretence for quarrelling, and that the Ameer was only deterred from giving an answer at once to his Lordship's letter as he feared his displeasure, which would be ruinous to this country, and that it

was

was therefore proper to await replies from Candahar, as his brothers there were to be consulted.

8. After such a declaration as this, there could be no doubt as to the proper language which the dignity of Government required, and,] to put it out of the Ameer's power to misconstrue the intentions of his Lordship, I sent to him on the morning of the 18th the following "note," repeating my request for leave, if it was not his intention to do as therein stated.

"NOTE.

"Since it appears that the Ameer considered the letter of the Governor General as conveying his Lordship's wish to terminate intercourse with the Afghans [juwab dadun], Captain Burnes begs to remind the Ameer that that letter has no such meaning. The Ameer complained of what he suffers from the Sikhs. His Lordship has used his interposition to prevent a continuance of the war with that nation, and is willing to continue his good offices, that a permanent peace be established; should the Ameer be dissatisfied with these good offices and seek connexion with other powers, then the Ameer is to consider the Governor General's letter a final answer [saf juwab], and not till then, since our friendship is entirely dependent on the relinquishment of alliance with any Power to the West: this is well known, but I commit it to writing that there may be no misapprehension or mistake.

(signed) "A. Burnes."

9. The effect of this declaration now brought upon the Ameer the Soonees of this country, and I am given to understand that some influence from the Harem was likewise exercised, for it appeared that the Persian party were the main-spring of this change of sentiment, and had redoubled their exertions, when they found the Ameer disposed to hesitate, and the ability, tact and education of the few individuals of the tribe who regularly attend the durbar, for a time outweighed the arguments of the more simple Afghans, [and the disposition of Russia to guarantee what Persia tendered, afforded to these men an argument which had great force. Nawab Jubbar Khan brought the whole of his influence, which is very considerable, to bear on the Ameer at this stage of the proceeding; told his brother, as I am informed, that if Peshawur affairs were adjusted, that chiefship and Candahar would indubitably cling to the British; these houses would be divided, and all parties in consequence ruined; and further, that there was no time to deliberate, as I had in the most equivocal manner asked for an answer, and if unfavourable, for my dismissal.]

10. In the course of the day, and after much discussion, the Ameer sent his brother the Nuwab, along with Mirza Samee Khan and another confidential servant, to tell me that he was sorry to have caused so much uneasiness to me; that the Government of this country being "Ooloosee" (that is, of the tribes) was difficult to manage; that he regretted the contents of his late letter to Candahar, for he wrote under disappointment, and that he now threw himself on the favour of the Governor General, and desired the Nuwab and the Mirza to pass to me a paper under their seal, pledging the dismissal of Mr. Vickovitch without further delay, and requesting to know from me the route by which he should return. I told the party that I was glad that the Ameer's sense had prevailed against the persuasion of interested individuals, but that he must understand it was he himself that was favoured and not us. As for the dismissal of the Russian, it would be sufficient if it were done. The party left me, saying that they would return next morning and make some observations, not as conditions, but for the Governor General's consideration.

11. On the 19th, I received the promised visit from the Nuwab and Mirza Samee Khan, who were joined by the Naib-i-Ameer. The purport of their first communication was to point out to me the danger at Candahar on account of the vicinity of the Persian army, and their refusal to become subservient to the Shah, after his Majesty's acceptance of their treaty, and its being guaranteed by Russia. To this I replied, that if the Shah were not in a state of despair, I did not believe he ever would have written as he had done to the Sirdars at Candahar; and for my part, I did not believe the Russian agent with the Shah had the power to act as he had promised; and I put it to themselves if it were likely that Mahomed Shah would waste his blood and his treasure to capture Herat that he might surrender it to them; and that the Candahar Sirdars ought to rely on our

Government if they expected to keep what they had; and that I would write to those personages by a horseman this day, to bid them look to Bhawalpoor and Sind as a proof of the English never forsaking those friends who placed reliance upon them. My advice, therefore, was, that the Ameer should second this counsel, and retract what he had, in an unguarded moment, written some days since. This was agreed upon.

12. The Naib-i-Ameer then recurred to the observations which I had always made in refusing a paper of pledge regarding the use of our good offices in Peshawur, that that chiefship did not belong to us, and I could not therefore give such a document. To that point the Ameer has yielded, hoping that some change for the better will be made; but the British Government have no such argument to adduce regarding what occurs between Persia and the Afghan states. The Afghans had abandoned all connexion with Persia for two reasons: that it was conducive to their interests to have no intimacy with that power, and that such a proceeding was agreeable to us, whom it was their great object to conciliate; but we had refused all pecuniary aid, and their situation was endangered, and the more so, as Afghanistan was crippled by the loss of Peshawur, while, with the three chiefships united, the Afghans might repulse Persia. In addition to this, the Ameer had desired him to point out to me the 6th article of the treaty made by Kumbur Ali Khan, and which the Russian Government had guaranteed, viz., the promise that, "in case any harm befalls Candahar, the Shah of Persia agreed to give them, in his own country, land equal to the value of their loss."

13. To these close questions I answered, that the Afghans never have cause to regret their friendship with us, but that we must have good proofs before we pledged anything, and that we are not asking a departure from their own interests by telling them to adhere to us; that there was certainly a difference between their case as connected with Persia from that with Runjeet Singh; but I hoped there would be no occasion to provide against such a calamity as the loss of Candahar; and, at all events, that there would be abundance of time to refer the matter for the Governor General's consideration, which I promised to do; that, however, I mistrusted all the promises of Mr. Goutte, regarding the treaty in question, [and they knew better than me what Persian faith was than to place much reliance on the security from harm which had been given to Candahar by that power]; and finally, if differences were removed from among the Afghan chiefships, I, who had seen both this country and Persia, believed that the Shah could make no impression on Afghanistan; and further, that the only way to interest the Governor General in their behalf was to consign themselves, as the Ameer had yesterday stated, to his Lordship, and I would promise them more certain good treatment than Persia would ever secure to them, [her policy being to seduce one from the other, deceive all, and, if possible, supplant the present rulers by minions of her own.]

14. The result of the Persian interference in Afghan affairs, as will be seen, has revived the question of protection from Persia (though in a qualified manner), which [in my letter of the 13th instant] I had believed to have been set at rest. [It is also a singular coincidence that his Lordship should have contemplated, in the case of last extremity, giving to the chiefs here an asylum in our territories, which they now solicit; but as I know this from no official channel, I need not say that the Ameer is unacquainted with his Lordship's intentions, and shall continue so till I learn them through you. It will never be necessary, I should think, to carry them into effect, for if we could succeed in healing the family differences which exist, and in ridding the Eastern chiefships of Afghanistan from a fear of the Sikhs, we strengthen the country so that it may defend itself against Persia, if properly guided, and held to its own interests.]

15. Mirza Samee Khan now forwarded to me the letter in reply to that of the Governor General, and a translation of it I annex (No. 1), the original being enclosed. It will be seen that the Ameer has for the first time abandoned all his usual remarks regarding Peshawur, being the grave of his ancestors, &c., and confined himself to other arguments, many of which are new. The force or value of all or any of these will be better judged of by his Lordship; but the point on which the Ameer himself constantly dwells is his belief of being able to perform good and useful service under the protection of the British Government, and he seems to imagine that under its guidance the present attack on Herat by Persia would never have taken place. This is a question of great magnitude, on which it does not become me to dwell.

16. Having

16. Having procured the answer to the Governor General's communication, and judging from the tone of the Ameer's advisers, as reported in my letter of the 13th instant, and above exhibited, I now proceeded to propose to Dost Mahomed Khan that he should address a letter to the Maharaja, proposing that peace, which now happily exhibited, should be permanently established, as it was for the good of all parties. Having got the Nuwab and Mirzas to coincide with me in the matter, I was not prepared for a determined opposition on the part of the Ameer himself; he got irritated, I am informed, at the proposal; and though he admitted that in the nature of the letter itself there was nothing offensive, still he could not permit of it, for he had for years past been "raising" the Mahomedan world to war with the Sikhs; and though he would be glad to see peace restored, it would entail upon him irretrievable disgrace to sue for it. With proofs so positive and arguments which he believed so potent, I found myself compelled to abandon the hope of procuring a letter to the Maharaja. While I did not expect a denial as positive as this, I am still bound to record my own opinion, that a system of non-intercourse is much the best adapted for keeping matters right between the Sikhs and Afghans, their religious hatred being unbounded. I shall, however, much regret the absence of this letter, if his Lordship has deemed it a necessary preliminary to adjust the existing differences.]

17. The state of the weather prevented my having direct communication with the Ameer on the preceding points till the 23d, when he came in person to visit me. I had not seen him since the 6th instant; on the occasion I was very sorry to observe a tone which I had not before seen exhibited. The Ameer may have authorised his advisers to speak as they had done, and he may entertain the feelings which they expressed, but I am bound to judge of what he said himself; and this by no means seems to me so satisfactory as I have reported or had been led to believe. He stated that he had been viewed by our Government as no one; that his friendship was worth little; that he was told to consider himself fortunate at our preventing the Sikhs coming to Cabool, of which he himself had no fear; that he had applied to us for a cure in affairs at Peshawur, but our remedy was beyond his comprehension, and that though he felt honoured and grateful for the Governor General's sending a mission to him, he had now lost every description of hope from us; that he saw little or probable benefit to the Afghans as a people, and less to himself; that our Government seemed to doubt him in his connexions with other powers; but he would now tell me that he wished to cling to us, for Russia with her vast army and empire could, from distance, do him no good, except through Persia, which was as much hers as India was British; but that as for trusting to Mahomed Shah himself he had no such folly, and he would resist his advance to the last, he being the enemy of the Afghans. We might, therefore, feel satisfied on these points, that he would seek no such alliances, but that if he and his countrymen were to be subdued, it was much better to be overthrown by Mahomed Shah, who was a kind of a Mahomedan, instead of the Sikhs; that, however, he had little fear of, either for the millions of money which the Dooranees in the zenith of their glory had amassed and brought to Cabool, had not been lost by attacks from Persians or Sikhs, but from internal discord.

18. I reasoned much with the Ameer on these confessions, and said at once that our Government had no desire to guide him, and if he did not approve of its offers he need not accept them; and it was evident that so long as he held such language, and that, too, in public, no good understanding could be established. He at once replied, that "I do not see what you are aiming at. I am either kept in the dark or misled. Never was there such excitement in this land. The Persians are before Herat, openly aided by Russia. That power has sent an agent here, and your Government have deputed you. I wish no countenance but that of the English, and you refuse all pledges and promises, and mean, I presume, as you are people of your word, to do nothing for me; I am bound in duty to say as I feel, or I would be deceiving myself and you." I contented myself with answering this long string of grievances by saying that he could shape his own course as he thought best, and I referred him to Sinde as an instance of the value of a British connexion.

[19. As the Afghans are much in the habit of giving free expression to their sentiments, and state sometimes what is not at heart meant, under the impression of keeping up their consistency, I knew not what force to attach to what had been said, but after the interview terminated I sent a message to the Nuwab and Mirza Samee Khan, saying I would report it to Government, and I did not well

see how much hope could be placed on the Ameer after a public avowal that he himself had lost all hope. The Nuwab sent to inform me that the Kuzzilbashes were the cause of all this fluctuation of sentiment, and every letter from Herat was construed by them as favourable, whether so or not, and that Mahomed Khan Byat, who had constant access to the Ameer, made the worst use of this to unsettle his brother's mind.

20. That his Lordship may, however, be placed in the possession of more than surmise on the nature of the proceedings of this party, I extract a paragraph just received from Mr. Lord at Koondooz, in a letter dated the 7th instant, which is at this time important :

"My cossid just comes in to say, that three days since two Kuzzilbash cossids, bearing a letter, signed (sealed?) by Khan Sheereen Khan, Mihr Ali Khan Moorand Khanee, Mahomed Khan Byat, Meer Ali Khan Koord, and Mahomed Hossein Khan Ufshur, passed through Khooloom, on their way from Cabool to the Persian camp. My cossid failed in seeing these men, but that they went is certain. They spent the night at Khooloom with Kazim, a Kuzzilbash, and formerly a Cafil Bashee." The individuals mentioned in this extract are the principal Kuzzilbashes of Cabool, and no sooner was the approach of the Persians in Maimuna confirmed, than they proceeded to open a secret communication with them. What the nature of it was I do not know, but it admits, I imagine, of little doubt. The only individual to whom I have imparted the circumstance is the Nuwab, and though he did not doubt it, he was quite sure the Ameer had no share in it, and that however disgraceful it was in men enjoying the Afghan bounty to act so traitorously, it could in future be guarded against.

21. In reply to my communication to Mirza Samee Khan, he sent a message beseeching me not to report unfavourably to Government on the conversation which I had with the Ameer, that he was, as a man labouring under sickness, and not to be held fully accountable for his complaining, and that great allowance should be made for him, particularly when the agitation about Herat was considered. In Dost Mahomed Khan's career he has as yet met with no check; he has defeated the ex-King, and gained partial advantages over an adversary far his superior at Peshawur. Persia has sought to seduce him by lavish promises, and Russia has come forward to second her with all the arts of diplomacy which that power puts in practice. As if this indication of the Emperor should not be allowed to lose its effect, his Lordship has also before him the late proceedings of Mr. Goutte, at Candahar, or the direct interference of an authorised agent of Russia in the affairs of this country. All this has given to the Ameer a greater importance than he is really entitled to.]

22. In pledging himself to have nothing to do with the powers to the West, the Ameer has so far acted in coincidence with the views of Government; but it will be seen that he is not so sensible as he was expected to be at our good offices in Peshawur, and seems to doubt of anything being done. He has been told, and now admits, that he can exercise no kind of interference in an adjustment of affairs there; but it is too evident that he will test the British by what is settled in that chiefship. If the Maharaja restores it, in whole or in part, to Sooltan Mahomed Khan, he still paying tribute to Lahore, it would silence complaints in Cabool, and be to the Afghans an earnest of our sympathy of the highest value; but if something decisive is not done in this quarter, no reliance, in my opinion, is to be placed on this chief. Fear, it appears to me, of our displeasure is the lever on which he is now moved, and it has not escaped him that if Peshawur be restored, even partially, and Candahar clings to us, these chiefships will become identified with the British, and thus the ruler of Cabool will find himself awkwardly situated from the conduct of his own relatives. If, on the other hand, we succeed in uniting the whole of the Barukzye family, which I believe quite practicable, we shall raise up in this country, instead of weak and divided states accessible to every intrigue, alike injurious to themselves and us, a barrier which will prevent future causes of vexation, and advance commercial and political ends.

[23. I have thus laid before his Lordship the result of all my communications with the Chief of Cabool. I have found my task here full of delicacy and difficulty, and instead of the language of persuasion, I have had occasion in my intercourse to use, as has appeared, much more explicit declarations. It now rests with his Lordship to judge if the circumstances that have occurred, and the intrigues which are passing, furnish an excuse for this chief's delays and observations,

tions, and if causes for future anxiety are removed. It has been said by one of the wisest of historians (Hume), that "men's views of things are the result of their understandings alone, but that their conduct is regulated by their understanding, their temper, and their passions," and such appears to have been the case with the ruler of Cabool.]

Cabool,
24 March 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, of the dates and on the subjects noted in the margin.*

2. In reply, I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor General entirely approves the tenor of your communication to the address of the Chiefs of Candahar, under date the 22d ultimo.

3. The Governor General further approves the promptitude and judgment displayed by you in your communication with Dost Mahomed Khan, on the occasion of delivering his Lordship's khurreeta. The immediate effect appears to have been salutary, and there is every reason to hope that the ultimate consequences will be equally satisfactory.

4. His Lordship will await with much anxiety further intelligence from you connected with the important events now passing at Cabool, Candahar, and the adjacent countries.

Camp at Rajghat,
24 March 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, dated respectively the 4th and 5th instant.

2. Much as his Lordship laments the unfavourable turn which your negotiations appear to be taking, I am desired to acquaint you that your proceedings nevertheless, as now reported, are entitled to his entire approbation.

3. The Governor General does not mean to deny that Dost Mahomed is in an embarrassing position, and that he has at best but a choice of difficulties; still his Lordship cannot help thinking that should he prefer a Persian and Russian alliance to that of the British Government, he will have committed a gross error in judgment, the consequences of which he must be content to endure. What-
ever

* Letter, dated 22d February 1838, acknowledging receipt of express Despatch of 20th January, on the affairs of Cabool and Candahar, expressing regret at the disapproval of your measures, and reporting what has been done to set matters on a proper footing at Candahar. Letter, dated 23d February 1838, reporting the delivery of the Governor General's khurreeta to Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, and the progress made in coming to an understanding with that chief on the affairs of Afghanistan.

ever may be the result, his Lordship feels confident that the disinterested good faith of the British Government cannot be doubted. Our good-will towards Dost Mahomed, had he been disposed to avail himself of our offices on the only terms which could be conceded, was equally manifest. That we should engage to protect him against the powers to the westward would be, as you are aware, an infringement of our treaty with Persia, independently of other considerations.

4. Deeply as his Lordship will deplore the necessity of your quitting Cabool without effecting the object on which you have recently been engaged, he would not of course wish you to remain one day longer than may be consistent with the preservation of our national honour, and he feels satisfaction in reflecting that the time and mode of your departure may safely be left to your judgment and discretion.

5. For your information, and as containing a further exposition of his Lordship's views, I am desired to forward to you the accompanying copy of a letter this day written to Captain Wade.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

Camp at Narainghur,
28 March 1838.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 25th ultimo, renewing the subject of Dr. Gerard's debts, forwarding original documents which substantiate two sums, and stating your inability to produce vouchers for the remainder.

2. In reply, I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor General has been pleased to sanction the payment of the two sums alluded to in the third and fourth paragraphs of your letter, namely, 2,238½ and 500 rupees, being the amount of clearly proved debts due from the late Dr. Gerard to Aga Oosman, a merchant of Herat, and Abdool Ali, of Cabool.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

Camp at Ramgurh,
30 March 1838.

(True copy.)

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, a letter which I have received (No. 1) from the Vizier of Herat, requesting me to forward the enclosed original communications from Prince Kamran and himself (No. 2, 3, and translations), soliciting the intervention of his Lordship in behalf of Herat. The Ameer of Cabool has likewise received a letter from the Vizier, soliciting aid on religious grounds.

2. I also transmit an original letter to your address (No. 4), from Lieutenant Pottinger, dated Herat, the 14th of February last. This communication, as will be seen, has been mostly anticipated by the previous transmission of his private letters.

3. Since the date of Lieutenant Pottinger's letter, now enclosed, I have received communications from him up to the 26th February, or 12 days later, an extract of which is annexed (No. 5). The complexion of affairs appears much more unfavourable

unfavourable than when he addressed you, and he further informs me that "Shere Mohamad Khan Huzara, the partisan so important to Herat, has entered into a treaty with the Persians without striking a single blow, or sending the least aid to the city."

4. The state of affairs at Herat, I am sorry to say, continues to exercise a baneful influence on the mind of the Ameer. On the 24th ult., I informed his Lordship that the Ameer agreed to dismiss Captain Vickovich, and I sent a letter from himself to that effect; but that gentleman has not been dismissed, nor can I perceive any intention, notwithstanding the promise to do so. The very bad state of the weather, and the non-arrival of one of the Candahar Chiefs, with whose escort Captain Vickovich was to return, may have caused this delay; but I fear it is more attributable to what is passing at Herat, that Dost Mahomed Khan may shape his proceedings according to the fate of that city.

Cabool,
3 April 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Yar Mahomed Khan, Vizier of Herat, to the Address of Captain *Burnes*, received at Cabool, 25 March 1838.

IN these days, I have sent letters for the Right Honourable Lord Auckland, the Governor General of India, which I hope you will kindly forward to his Lordship, through a trustworthy man, and let me know immediately the reply of the British Government.

I hope you will also use your influence in my behalf.

The other circumstances will be known to you by the letters of Mr. E. Pottinger, and they are all true.

Write to me occasionally, with any of your commands.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Prince Kamran, of Herat, to the Address of the Right Honourable Lord *Auckland*, the Governor General of India, received at Cabool, 25 March 1838.

A.C.,

THE British Government has always caused the opening of the doors of peace between the two states, and concluded every business by using its laudable exertions.

It is now four months since Mahomed Shah has besieged the city of Herat, which is my residence on this occasion. I see no one except the English Government to release me, either of establishing a peace or continuing the war.

It is evident that Mahomed Shah will not by any means refuse to accept the intervention of your Lordship; and since I have full confidence on the word and good offices of the British Government, I hope your Lordship will consider the Government of the Affghans dependent upon you.

Whatever your Lordship thinks proper and considers best, I hope your Lordship will, according to it, settle my affairs. After doing this, I solicit that your Lordship will make a treaty with me, that no foreign power should enter Affghanistan, and consider my Government connected with the British Government.

Lieutenant E. Pottinger will inform your Lordship the minute circumstances of this place. I beg that your Lordship will kindly let me know of your welfare.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 3.

NOTE.—The contents of the letter from the Vizier Yar Mohamed Khan are the same effect as the above.

No. 4.

ORIGINAL Letter of Lieutenant Pottinger, dated 14 February.

No. 5.

EXTRACTS of a Letter from Lieutenant *Pottinger*, dated Herat, 20 February 1838.

"I AM sorry to say the enemy has completely invested the city to-day; they took the garrison by surprise, actually continuing their movements. The Affghans, however, intend to make a general sally to-night, and, please God, they will be able to drive them back. The enemy made an attempt to fix two or three miners at one spot of the interior slope, by stealth, last night, but were discovered, and the adventurous shot in the attempt drew on a heavy fire from the garrison; as the extent of it was unknown, and the enemy answered with interest, the fire was however thrown away, no casualty happened. To-day, in expectation of the enemy opening another attack on the north side, the garrison are employed in making works in the ditch to plank its bottom."

(True extracts.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to transmit by express a copy of a letter from Lieutenant *Pottinger*, at Herat (No. 1), delivered by me to Hajee Russool, as agent accredited by Prince Kamran, who has also been sent to me in Cabool, and brings the letters (Nos. 2 and 3), of which translations are appended.

2. It will be seen from these documents that Herat is now completely invested, and that Lieutenant *Pottinger*, on the 23d ultimo, did not consider it would hold out a month longer; and that if I refuse to aid Prince Kamran in the manner stated the Persians must be successful.

3. Under these circumstances, and reflecting on the high importance attachable to Herat, I at first considered that the sum required being so small, I might cause it to be secretly transmitted from my own funds which would be nothing more than a resort to the same means which placed Mahomed Shah on his throne; but a reference to your Despatch of the 20th of January last at once convinces me that, under the interpretation placed on the treaty of Tehran, it is my duty, however reluctantly, to stand entirely aloof; but I shall address a conciliatory letter to Kamran and his minister, enlarging on the good we have done by keeping away his Eastern enemies, and inform him that I have forwarded the matter for his Lordship's further consideration.

4. I avail myself of this opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th ultimo, which relieves my anxiety at having continued at Cabool, as reported in my last letter (13th instant). The arrival of one of the Candahar Chiefs has had salutary effect, which, combined with a feigned indifference that I have assumed as to the ultimate termination of forming a friendship in Afghanistan, has worked a change in Dost Mahomed Khan. He now agrees to write to Runjeet Sing, and to do anything short of sending him horses, which he flatly refuses. He has also actually arranged for Captain Vickovitch leaving; but the Candahar family have given full powers to their brother; and the Ameer, as well as Mihr Dil Khan, request of me the interest of Government to expel the Persians from Candahar (before finally consigning themselves to the British Government), if it falls, which, I need not say, I have refused them. I have told them of the improbability of such an event, and of our never forsaking those who are acknowledged as our friends, and such general arguments as the occasion required; and I hope, in the end, this may satisfy them, when I shall report my proceedings to Government.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 19 April 1838.

No. 1.

COPY of a Letter from Lieutenant *Pottinger* to Captain *Burnes*, on Service,
dated Herat, 23 March 1838.

My dear Burnes,

IN the letter I sent by the Shah and Vuzeer to you on the 27th February, they refer you to me for full information of their wishes and wants; but apparently thinking that I must know

know them by intuition, neglected to tell them me; and my frequent requests for information until a short time ago, when the outward pressure became too heavy for them to support, alone drew a result.

On the 13th instant, having sent a message to the Vuzeer's principal secretary, Mirza Ibrahim, to say I intended (if he were at leisure) to return a visit he had paid me, he replied by requesting I would come over at once to the next house (where my messenger found him), as he had a few words to say to me touching the state of affairs, which required despatch. I therefore went, and, after much circumlocution, found he wanted to sound me as to my ability of supplying money. I then cut him short by asking him direct if that was his meaning. He replied it was, but that he was unauthorised by the Vuzeer, and only took the step from knowing the actual state of affairs, which he represented to me nearly at a stand still for want of money. He also said, that the Vuzeer wished to ask me; but, from my being a guest, his modesty had hitherto prevented him. I then told him if such was the Vuzeer's wish, let him tell me so personally, and further fully acquaint me with the state of affairs and his future intentions; knowing which, I would be able to give an answer as to how far I could assist in raising money.

I further told him, that previous to any attempt at my part to even consider the subject, a trustworthy agent must be despatched to you on the part of this Government; that I was a totally unauthorised person, and my acts were binding on my Government in no way; consequently I expected he would take some steps, by which I could look forward to a chance of the state supporting me.

The Mirza went thence to the Vuzeer and related what had passed. The following day he sent to request I would meet the Vuzeer privately for dinner in his house, as that personage could not manage to have a private meeting in his own quarters. In the evening I accordingly went; but as the Vuzeer brought the Topehee Bashee in company, nothing took place, and we separated after some common conversation.

The following day Mirza Ibrahim begged I would stop after the evening assembly broke up at the Vuzeer's. This latter, however, passed the evening on the fortifications and I was again put off. Thus several days, of which the details are unnecessary, elapsed without any thing more taking place. Yesterday, Mirza Ibrahim came to me again, and begged me once more to go; I, however, pointed out the folly of this mode of going on, and suggested, if the Vuzeer disliked speaking, that he could write; this idea pleased the Mirza, and he arranged the Vuzeer should do so.

Then, joining the Vuzeer, I found him inspecting the works, in which employment I accompanied him. On reaching his quarters, I gave him Mirza Ibrahim's note (enclosure A., *q. v.*); having read it, he wrote enclosure B. (*q. v.*); and I, in reply, that marked C.; to which he replied, he had plenty of jewels of the Shah's, but that the Hindoos were afraid to buy them, or take them as security, and he, therefore, wanted me to either buy them or pawn them for him.

I told him I was not a merchant, and that it was not correct for me to buy or sell, but that I would see what I could do; that, as to buying them myself, I had no means; and, if I had, I should willingly give it without the jewels. He then cleared the room of all the people but Dyn Mahomed Khan (son of the late Vuzeer), the Topehee Bashee, Hajee Ibrahim, and myself, and repeated, *viva voce*, the contents of enclosure B., and asked me what I would do. I said I was not acquainted with the merchants or people of this place; that it was for him to point out how I could raise the money, and then I should see what I could do.

The Vuzeer then pointed out that he would give me the jewels, and that I could send for the Hindoos or Syuds of Pisheen, and tell them. I then said, that the first step to be taken must be the despatch of a man to you, and that he must go before I interfere. After a great deal of discussion, they agreed, and to-night was fixed on for his departure. Mirza Ibrahim was directed to prepare a letter to be approved of by me, the Vuzeer saying, "We are desirous of becoming your servants, and will agree to any terms you like to impose on our entering your service;" adding, in Pushtoo, "The English and the Russians are two powerful states, in the quarrel between which, sooner or later, we will inevitably be trampled (paamal) to death, and the English are the most upright, so we had better join them."

The Vuzeer's letter is, as far as I can judge, a true statement of the case, and nothing but absolute necessity would, I am convinced, have drawn it from him. I do not think they can hold out a month longer without assistance, or the hope of speedy help. What is mentioned in the letter is, however, sufficient to keep the Persians at bay for a year at least. Food they have; at least, by turning the useless mouths out, and seizing on their grain, they will be able to procure enough; they only want money, and to be assured of a support sufficient to bear them up hereafter. In my former letters, though I mentioned the want of money, I had no idea of the utter destitution to which they are reduced, and this knowledge has changed my confidence in the success of the besieged. The result now depends upon the answer you send to this application; if you comply with it, I still feel confident the Persians must raise the siege; if you do not, the letter containing your refusal will be the death-warrant of the Sudozye monarchy.

Though the assistance as to money (3,000 ducats the first month, and 2,000 the following ones) is sufficient, yet as to men, if the number were doubled, and 2,000 sent, it would, in my opinion, be much better; as, in that case, the rehauts in the city could be turned out to worry the enemy's lines of communication, for which they are much better adapted than mounting garrison guards. Besides, the cattle of the party must be left outside in some of

the neighbouring forts (say Kurroagh) where they will require 200 or 300 men to look after them.

The force under the Persian chief Asuful Dowlah returned from the northward the day before yesterday, on which day it encamped north-west of the city. Yesterday it moved, and took up a position on the north-east of the city in a plain called the Aulungi Kahdistan; the enemy has almost ceased to work at the trenches, and they fire only a few rounds of shells; their metal ones, however, appear to be expended, and they chiefly use carved stones. On finding the damaged tower of the citadel rebuilt, they left off firing at it; and now their ordnance appears to be fired as fancy directs.

I have made several public attempts to communicate with Lieutenant-colonel Stoddart, but have failed in getting replies; a few days ago, I sent a secret emissary, but he has not returned, and begin to fear he has been seized. I shall make one more trial. The deserters say that Barowski, one of the European mercenaries with the enemy, has died of a wound he received in the skirmish of the 26th of January, and the soldiers call from the trenches that Asuful Dowlah is about to send in Kumber Ali Khan with proposals.

In the city there is a little sickness. The soldiery have not as yet begun to suffer. Provisions have risen to about treble their usual prices; mutton is not to be had, but horse and ox flesh is plentiful. Forage is nearly wholly expended; another month will finish it; powder and lead are both scarce; the latter want diligence can supply, as the lead mines are not more than 10 fursungs off, and substitutes, that failing, can be found. Powder is more difficult to supply, but nitre can be made so soon as the hot weather begins.

Money is, however, the great want. I shall, much as I dislike the undertaking, endeavour to pawn the jewels, and trust I shall be able to raise sufficient to last till your reply comes. I shall, as the price of my aid in selling them, stipulate that no foreign connexion or intercourse shall be kept up without the consent of the Governor General of India, and that the prisoners shall not be sold, but detained for ransom and exchange.

Thus having given you a statement of affairs here, I beg to say a word regarding myself. Without any authority, I am acting the part of a British agent here, thereby laying myself open to the displeasure of Government, not only for meddling in what does not concern me, but also for neglecting the duties on which I was sent to these countries; while, except from the private communications of Colonel Stoddart and Mr. Leech,* I am totally ignorant of the wishes of Government, nor have I any information on the state of our connexions with Persia, from which I might draw conclusions. In this state, considering that most probably Government is desirous of preserving the integrity of Herat, I have done, and shall continue to do my utmost to preserve our interests here, taking care to commit no act of positive hostility which can be construed into involving the British Government.

Further, I beg to represent, that having never contemplated such a draw on my finances as my stay here, in the character of a British officer, involves, I have not made any arrangements to meet it, and the distance from Kutch precludes my doing so. I have, therefore, been obliged to borrow money, and am now a debtor to a very considerable extent; my creditor has, however, taken my orders on Bhoog for the money, and I therefore am at ease on that point, but beg you will supply me with funds† for my future expenses, if you do not send one of your assistants to relieve me.

You wrote to me in October that you were authorised to send one of your assistants to this place; I shall consider it a personal favour if you do so, and thus relieve me from the anxieties of my present situation, and if not able to do so, that you will authorise me to act here on the part of Government till orders may arrive.

Herat, 23 March 1838.

Yours, &c.
(signed) Eldred Pottinger.

(True copy.)
(signed) Alex. Burnes.

A.

TRANSLATION of a Note from Mirza Ibrahim, written by the Advice of Lieutenant Pottinger, to the Address of the Vuzeer.

A. C.,

After what I said to Mr. Pottinger about his intentions in respect to your affairs, he replied, that he had talked much to the Vuzeer, but did not comprehend what were his (the Vuzeer's) wishes. At length the result of our conversation was, that you yourself should write in your own hand on them and their settlement. On receiving your note, Lieutenant Pottinger will write to you in reply, that you and he may both understand each other.

* N.B. I have repeatedly and regularly written to Lieutenant Pottinger, and if former letters have miscarried, he must ere this have received duplicates. He has got all letters up to October.
(signed) Alex. Burnes.

† N.B. The funds have been supplied long ago, and duplicate drafts sent, and Lieutenant Leech has been requested to honour all his private bills on my own responsibility. (signed) A. B.

B.

TRANSLATION of a Reply from Vuzeer Yar Mahomed Khan to the Note of Mirza Ibrahim.

A. C.,

We Afghans, and especially myself, have a great desire to connect ourselves with the British Government, but distance has prevented us doing so. Lieutenant Pottinger is now our guest, and an enemy has come upon us. I want two kinds of assistance, one of troops, the other of money; the former cannot come here on account of the distance of the road, but the latter he could give, either by taking jewels in pledge or in loan. As he has not come here on business, I did not think it right to speak to him about it.

You ask me now, What are my objects? I reply, that Lieutenant Pottinger cannot assist me with troops; if he lends me money, buying or pledging the jewels, it would remove all our difficulties; but now Mr. Pottinger is our guest, and has no money, why then should I trouble him?

C.

TRANSLATION of a Note from Lieutenant Pottinger, in reply to the Vuzeer's Note.

I ADVISE you to send an agent, because I am not here as an elchee. I do not think of any assistance but money. Do not believe that troops from Candahar and Cabool can come to assist you, and the English army is very distant.

If you have jewels, why do you not give them to the Hindoos that they may get money for you from Candahar?

If you think that I may assist you on that point tell me, have I power to do so? And, if so, in what manner? I will do my best.

(True translations.)

(signed) Alex. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) Eldred Pottinger.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Prince Kamran to the Address of Captain Burnes, received at Cabool on the 17th April 1838.

A. C.,

As the British officers are always said to establish peace between the two states, and, in particular, I have heard a great deal of your wisdom, I have appointed Haji Rasul Khan Doerani to proceed to Cabool and deliver this letter to you. I have directed my respectable Vizier, Yar Mahomed Khan, to write to you fully about the affairs of this quarter. Look on the contents of his letter to you with great confidence, and to be all right and proper. Consider it all true, and do according to his proposals.

No. 3.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Vizier Yar Mahomed Khan, of Herat, to the Address of Captain Burnes, received at Cabool, 17th April 1838.

A. C.,

It is six months since Mahomed Shah has besieged Herat, and being a friend of the British Government, my master thought it incumbent to direct me to write fully to you the circumstances and expenses of this place, which we hope will be protected by the English. Now you will be in possession of all the particulars of this place, and I trust that you will do something immediately, and let me know without loss of the time.

Since Mahomed Shah and the Persian army entered the country of Herat, we have spent the money belonging to the Shah, of myself, and that of subjects acquired by force, to oppose the enemy for these six months. We have got no cash now to spend, which is a hard case. By the grace of God, if we could get some cash, we would preserve Herat in the manner we have hitherto done. In case we have no money, it is impossible for us to save Herat, and therefore I solicit the protection of the English.

I have sent to you the respectable Haji Rasul Khan Noorzeje to ask your assistance. If your Government send, in the first month, the sum of 3,000 ducats (about 16,000 rupees), and in the following months 2,000 ducats, and also 1,000 soldiers (Jazailchees), each of them bearing two maunds of gunpowder, we will save Herat from Persia. The money you may send here in cash or by bill, and the soldiers by the road of the Hazarahjat. I beg you will not delay in meeting our requests. Lieutenant Pottinger, who has been here for a long time, will tell you minutely what has passed between him and myself, and also what is going on here.

Herat has belonged of old to the Afghans; we will not surrender it to the Persians, or anyone else. Friendship or animosity we will make with no power but through the English Government. We will also abolish the system of slavery in this country.

In case you send us money, and have power to negotiate on the affairs of this country, it would be better if you send one of your companions to Herat, or give power to Lieutenant Pottinger, who is now here, that I may settle with him, and then despatch an agent from this court to wait on the Governor General of India, who, I hope, will kindly set all our affairs in future to rights.

I have sent you a horse of the Persian breed, which pray accept.

(True translations.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to report the termination of the visit to the Chief of Koondooz, made by Messrs. Lord and Wood, and the circumstances attending it, which cannot fail to give satisfaction to the Right Honourable the Governor General of India.

No. 1. 2. Judging from the friendly letters addressed to me by the Chief of Koondooz, and the favourable testimony borne to the disposition of that personage by Mr. Lord, I resolved, as far as it was in my power, to invite him to an association with the British Government in working out its commercial views; and I accordingly transmitted to him, on the 12th ultimo, the annexed letter (No. 1). Along with it I forwarded to Mr. Lord my late report to Government regarding the proposed wish to establish an entrepôt for the Indus trade, and requested that gentleman to communicate with the Chief of Koondooz on the subject, and see how far he was ready to co-operate in the scheme, by protecting the merchants who should in consequence pass through his country.

No. 2. 3. The reply which the ruler of Koondooz has addressed to me (No. 2) is strongly illustrative of his good feelings on this matter, nor has he confined himself to this single expression of his sentiments, but addressed the Governor General in person, which appeared to me most desirable, to give a stamp of authenticity to the pledge. The translation of this letter (No. 3) is annexed, along with the original.

No. 3. 4. Illustrative of the subject of all these communications, I annex an official letter from Mr. Lord (No. 4) to myself, and it is again due to that officer to notice the skill and dexterity with which he has turned his presence to account at Koondooz, and particularly in procuring so prompt an assent from the chief to the suggestions presented to him.

No. 4. 5. The presence of a Russian agent at Balkh, noticed by Mr. Lord, will not pass unobserved at this time.

Cabool,
21 April 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

COPY of a Letter addressed to Mahomed Moorad Beg, Chief of Koondooz, from Captain-
Burnes, at Cabool, dated 12th March 1838.

A. C.,

I HAVE had great pleasure in receiving your very friendly letter, which was safely transmitted to me by Dr. Lord. It gives me much pain to learn from that gentleman that there are no hopes of curing your brother's eyes, and that the disease is without remedy. All things are in the hand of Providence, and to the will of God it is our duty to submit.

I have heard with great satisfaction that you have been so kind to Dr. Lord and Mr. Wood. I am now desired, in the name of the Governor General of India (Furman Turmai Hind) to thank you for your good offices. By Hindoostan lies, as you well know, the road
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to the holy city of Mecca; and if your brother, or any one bringing recommendatory letters from you, reaches Bombay, I am directed to assure you that all kindness and attention will be paid, and every facility given for making the pilgrimage (haj). On this subject have no doubts; when friendship is once established with the British, it endures for ever.

From every quarter I hear praise bestowed on your protection of the merchants; and though this is only according to the laws of Islam, it gives you a great name, and much pleasure to my Government. I have written to Mr. Lord to make known to you certain arrangements regarding the going and coming of merchants to and from Hind to your country and Bokhara Shureef, and, from what I already know, I think they will prove agreeable to you; but before Dr. Lord is dismissed by you, I would like to hear from yourself on the point. My master, the Governor General of India, has expressed to me his high satisfaction at my having attended so promptly to your wishes; how much more it will gratify his Lordship to hear from yourself that you are satisfied, and ready to co-operate with the British Government in giving encouragement and protection to the trade of these countries.

(True translation.)

(signed) *A. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Meer Moorad Beg, Chief of Koondooz, to the address of Captain *Burnes*, received at Cabool, 21st April 1838.

A. C.

YOUR friendly letter containing the happy tidings of your health reached me through Dr. Lord, and gave me great pleasure.

Dr. Lord did his utmost to cure the eyes of my brother, but as all things are in the hands of God, his eyes continue the same as they were before. I have now dismissed Dr. Lord with satisfaction, and he will shortly reach you safe.

What you wrote about commerce, and the coming and going of the merchants, is very good indeed. You will settle with Dost Mahomed Khan that he should convey the loads from Cabool safe to the pass of Hindoo Koosh, and thence I promise to conduct them safe through my possessions, either by the road of Khinjan or Sarghan. Be assured on this point, and that they will sustain no loss; and if it pleases God, after finishing their business, they will return with satisfaction.

I send you a horse; and whatever Dr. Lord tells you take it as true, and continue to write to me the news of that quarter, with accounts of your welfare.

No. 3.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Meer Moorad Beg, Chief of Koondooz, to the Address of the Right Honourable Lord *Auckland*, the Governor General of India.

A. C.

I HEAR that your Lordship is highly gratified by the coming and going of the merchants, therefore I solicit that you will make arrangements with the respectable Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan on that subject. Whenever any British or other merchants may come to Cabool, the Ameer should convey them safe to the end of his possessions; and on their entering my country, I pledge myself to stand security, and be responsible for their losses.

The merchants should come and go in my country with full confidence that they will be kindly treated. Whatever countries the merchant frequents he makes that country rich.

(True translation.)

(signed) *A. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 4.

Sir,

Koondooz, 11 April 1838.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, in compliance with the instructions contained in your letter of the 14th March, I have this day obtained an audience from Meer Mahomed Moorad Beg, and communicated to him the intentions of the British Government respecting the establishment of an annual fair on the banks of the Indus, and generally as regards the extension of our commerce with Central Asia. I explained the numerous benefits which would accrue to his country from a project which would make it the thoroughfare of so important a trade, and I begged to know how far the plan met his approbation, and whether he would so far co-operate as to become responsible for the security of the merchant and his goods in their passage through his territories.

2. In reply he expressed himself highly favourable to the project, and has directed a letter under his own seal, containing the required promise, to be addressed to the Governor General. This letter, along with one to yourself, I have now the honour to forward.

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3. This audience has also been an audience of leave. I have requested and received permission to return by the Punjsheer Pass, which will enable Lieutenant Wood, who accompanies me, to connect Koondooz and Cabool by a new route, and so obtain a most valuable check on his former surveys, and complete our knowledge of the passes of Hindoo Koosh.

4. You will learn with satisfaction, that the Meer has to the last continued to treat Lieutenant Wood and myself with every mark of consideration. At our audience of leave, which was granted in a private apartment, no one was present but the Meer and his eldest son, both of whom rose at our entrance, and descended some steps to meet us. At parting the Meer expressed his hopes that we left his country pleased.

5. Since I last had the honour of addressing you, I have visited Khooloom and Muzar, and, at the former of these places, which is the resort of a large number of merchants from all quarters, particularly Bokhara and Herat, I used every exertion to diffuse intelligence regarding the contemplated bazaar; I also took the opportunity, by means of a small present and the interchange of visits and letters, to establish a friendly feeling with the Meers of Heibuk and Khooloom and the Khan of Muzar, and have every reason to believe they are favourably inclined towards the British Government, and might readily be got to advance our commercial views in case of their becoming independent, which, as regards the two former, I look on as almost a certainty on the death of Meer Mahomed Moorad Beg. Regarding this point, I hope to explain myself more fully when I have had time to digest the information I have received about the political condition of this part of the Uzbekh territories.

6. I have reason to believe that a Russian emissary is at present in Balkh, having returned after an unsuccessful attempt to pass by way of Kokan and Yarkund to Kashmir. He is said to employ himself much in writing and making maps, but is not, as far as I could learn, entrusted with any political commission. I have sent a trusty man to see him and make the necessary inquiries respecting him; when he returns, I shall let you know the result.

7. I hope, in company with Lieutenant Wood, to start from Koondooz to-morrow (12th), and to reach Cabool, if the snow permits, in 10 or 12 days.

I have, &c.

(signed) P. B. Lord,

Captain A. Burnes, &c. &c. &c.

On Deputation to Kundooz.

(True copy.)

(signed)

A. Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) H. Torrens,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor-General.

To W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Simla.

Sir,

On the 26th ultimo I had the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, the mode in which my discussions with the Ameer of Cabool had terminated; and that, though hope then existed of some ultimate good understanding being established, it has day by day grown more faint, and I have now received my dismissal from Cabool, and am preparing without loss of time to quit this city and retire upon Peshawur. The immediate cause of such a step being necessary is the arrival of Sirdar Mihr Dil Khan from Candahar, and the demands in consequence made by him, in which he has been joined by the Ameer, for a direct promise of protection from Persia should Herat fall, of which there is no doubt now entertained by the authorities here. I shall report in detail the circumstances which have led to this untoward event at Cabool.

2. Shortly after Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan reached this, he waited upon me, and we conversed upon all which had passed; when I plainly told him, that the manner in which the Ameer had met the views of the British Government was by no means likely to satisfy it, and instanced his declining to open any communication, direct or indirect, with Maharajah Runjeet Singh, as the clearest proof of his neglect of our advice and his own interests. The Sirdar expressed great concern at what had passed, but immediately turned upon the affairs of Candahar, stating that he had full powers from his two brothers there to treat with me, and that he must have, as the price of adhering to us in the present critical state of affairs at Herat, a pledge of protection from Persia. I told him, that he could have no stronger or better pledge from Government than the presence of Mr.

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Leech at such a juncture, for the British never deserted their friends, and who would presume to disturb them when an agent, accredited by it, was resident at Candahar. This was far from satisfying the Sirdar, who declared that neither he nor his brothers could accept such general promises, and that they had a claim on the British, since, whatever might have been the behaviour of the Ameer at Cabool, the Candahar family had done nothing wrong and adhered to our Government, which was bound in consequence to protect them. This interview took place on the 12th instant.

3. On the 15th I received another visit from Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan, who was accompanied by the Nuwab Jubbar Khan, Mirza Samee Khan, and the Naibs of Candahar and Cabool; the deputation was a formal one from both branches of the family. The Sirdar now informed me that the Ameer had agreed to write to the Maharaja through the Governor General to dismiss Captain Vickovitch, to hold no further communication with other powers, to write to the Shah of Persia, that he was done with his Majesty for ever; and the Sirdars of Candahar, on their part, agreed to address the Shah, recall Allahdad, the agent who had accompanied Kumber Ali, and to place themselves, along with their brother the Ameer, entirely under the protection of the British Government; in return for which, they claimed at its hands two things: first, a direct promise of its good offices to establish peace at Peshawur, and an amelioration in the condition of Sooltan Mahomed Khan; and second, a promise equally direct to afford them protection from Persia, in whatever way the British judged it best for their interest, it being clearly understood that Candahar was not to be allowed to suffer injury.

4. In reply to these observations, I observed that it was very satisfactory to hear what had been stated regarding the intentions of the Ameer and the Chiefs of Candahar; but the deputation must not wonder at my being sceptical as to their sincerity after my having received, so long since as the 23d ultimo, a letter of promise, addressed to the Governor General, to dismiss Captain Vickovitch while that officer still continued in Cabool; that with respect to Peshawur, the whole matter rested on Maharajah Runjeet Sing, with whom we were willing to use our good offices if they behaved in a suitable manner, and I had nothing further to say than to regret their fixed determination not to address that personage directly, which might protract, to a remote period, a settlement so much to be desired for the good of all parties. With reference to their desisting from all intercourse with other powers, that followed as a mere matter of course if they expected our friendship, but it was a very grave question for me to answer, that we should immediately secure Candahar from the attacks of Persia. Mr. Leech was there by my orders and with the sanction of the Governor General, and what proof of our intention not to forsake them, more valuable than this, could they desire; that, for my part, their apprehension seemed very premature, for Herat was not yet captured, and the brave defence it was making should dispel their despondency; above all, said I, your proceedings seem singularly inconsistent, when it was but three months ago that you informed me you did not fear Persia, but the ruler of Herat.

5. To this the Sirdar replied, that I could not have considered that they had not only received an agent from the Emperor of Russia in Cabool, but a written promise under the seal and signature of Mr. Goutte, the Russian agent with the Shah of Persia at Herat, which he had with him, granting all that they desired, and it was for me to consider how far, under such circumstances, they could receive my arguments in opposition to such direct and recorded pledges. I asked if they reposed confidence in these papers; Most certainly, was the reply, since they are from Europeans, whose word is inviolable. But, continued I, is not Russia to aid you through means of Persia, and how does the Shah act towards you? He addresses you as his vassals, and calls your country a part of his own; are Lord Auckland's letters or views couched in such terms? certainly not. That may be all true enough, said the Sirdar, but a powerful enemy threatens us, and if you will do no more than use general terms, and go no farther than keeping Mr. Leech at Candahar, we must take measures to secure ourselves in the manner best suited for our advantage. The interview lasted about four hours, and I need not repeat the many arguments adduced for their abstaining from an alliance with Persia, since there was nothing new in them further than has been now given.

6. On the 17th instant, as I have already reported to Government, an agent reached this from Herat, bringing, as now appears [in addition to the letters for myself,]

myself,] a communication from Vizier Yar Mahomed Khan, begging for assistance, and setting forth the difficulties which increased upon them, all of which [together with the urgent solicitation made to me for pecuniary assistance] went to still further excite the fears of the Ameer and his brothers for their own safety, since the fall of Herat was again placed before them, and with it, as they believed, a shaking of their own stability, with which they could only contend by throwing themselves on Persia through Russia, or by drawing from me; as the agent of the British Government, a pledge that no harm would befall them.

7. On the 19th I received a second deputation, consisting of the Nuwab Mirza Samee Khan and Reshid a Akhpoondzadee, the adviser of the Candahar Chiefs, but Mehr Dil Khan was not of the party; the chief spokesman on this occasion was Reshid, and he set forth at great length the views of his master. It appeared, said he, that this is no longer an affair between one nation and another, but it is Russia and Persia against England and the Sikhs, for Captain Vickovitch has publicly declared to the Ameer, that the interests of the Emperor and the Shah are identified, and though we would not trust the Shah himself, we may safely rely upon Russia. Mirza Samee Khan stated, that a termination, one way or the other, was now at hand, and as the Ameer and his brothers had no other wish but to adhere to the British, I might easily keep them in our interests by giving the promises asked of me, though there was little hope of my doing so, when a single word from the Government might have long since settled Peshawur, and we refrained from saying it. Besides replies of a justificatory nature to these points, I told the party that they very unnecessarily obtruded upon us the power of Russia; that she was a very remote nation, to say nothing further of the inutility of an alliance with her, and that as for the comparison between Persia and Runjeet Singh, I could assure them, that the Maharajah's power was far superior to that of Mahomed Shah, and I spoke from personal observation. On my declining to give the promises asked of me regarding Candahar and Peshawur, the interview terminated; [and I must do the Nuwab Jubbar Khan the justice to say, that he again and again observed, that nothing further than what I stated was necessary, and this too in presence of the deputation.]

8. On the following day I had a private interview with [Mirza Samee Khan,] who did not [now] conceal from me that the Ameer had withdrawn his hopes from our Government, and though he did not tell me on whom he had centered them, it was not difficult to discover. He repeated to me, that Captain Vickovitch had informed him of his Government and Persia being one, and [a short time ago he had told me] that the Russian agent had been explaining to him in what manner Mahomed Shah had been raised to the throne of Persia. The English and Russian Governments had both given him their hand, but the object of Russia was to exalt his Majesty, and of England to lower him. Any doubts as to the course which the Ameer and his advisers were to follow were soon removed, for he opened at once an intercourse in person with Captain Vickovitch, and besides having been long closeted with him, sent for him publicly on the 21st instant, when he was conducted through the streets of Cabool, and received a greater degree of respect than had been hitherto shown to him. The nature of the intercourse between him and the Ameer has been reported to me on good authority, and is anything but complimentary to the British, but as it rests on report alone, I shall not here record it.

9. Seeing that the Ameer was now almost reckless, and if respectable people were to be relied on, even encouraged to commit himself by some acts of indiscretion towards the mission, I resolved on the 22d to address him a firm but temperate Note, drawing to his mind all past events, not from any hope that advantage could be derived from it in my negotiations, but to place as distinctly as possibly before him, how much he might have himself to blame for anything that followed. This document is appended (No. 1). On the day after it had been transmitted, I received a reply containing the notification of his having done with the British Government (No. 2), in which, as there were some circumstances requiring explanation, I again addressed him in writing (No. 3), and applied for carriage to convey the mission to Peshawur. This I sent for delivery to himself, when he enlarged upon his ill fortunes and our want of appreciation either of himself or the dangers which threatened him; adding, that he would most certainly attend to my requests for carriage, and see the party safely carried beyond his country, which would still be open to all people of the English nation who visited it.

No. 1.

No. 2.

No. 3.

10. On

10. On the 24th I had no communication with the officers of the Ameer, but several notes regarding the arrangements for my departure, in all of which every and prompt attention was paid to my wishes, and proper persons appointed to accompany me to the frontier. [I had, however, a visit from Nawab Jabbar Khan, who was full of grief and concern at my departure, and inveighed against the Persian faction, which was too strong for him and the Afghans. He was also much displeased with the Ameer.]

11. On the 25th I was visited by Sirdar Mihr Dil Khan, the Nuwab Mirza Samee Khan, and the Naib of the Ameer, but it appeared to be of entirely a complimentary nature, for though they set out with professing to do all the Government wished, there was no change in what has been previously stated. Mihr Dil Khan said that the Ameer had understood it had been reported that Captain Vickovitch had written to Maharajah Runjeet Singh to desire him to quit Peshawur, and I said at once, that it was as public as report could make it, when the Sirdar said that it had been talked of, but not settled. He then said, that the presence of an agent from Kamran, now with me, was not consistent with a due regard to our friendly professions towards them. To this I replied, that I had not sent for an agent from Herat; that it was well known to them, if the British had mediated for the safety of Herat, the price of that was to be the discontinuance of attack on Candahar; and what was still further, the Ameer in his note had included Herat as a part of Afghanistan to be protected, and there had been so little concealment in the object of the agent's mission, that I had given the letters of which he was the bearer, for the perusal of the Mirza of the Ameer. This was unanswerable, [and even Mirza Samee Khan declared that what I said was undoubted.]

In the afternoon I had my audience of leave with the Ameer, whom I found considerably excited; he ran over the contents of the note No. 2, and said very distinctly, that he had erred in applying to the British Government. I answered, that it was ready to do what he had asked of it, and he interrupted me by saying, that if the Governor General believed it was a protection of Cabool he had sued for, it was a mistake. Seeing the tone of feeling exhibited, I thought it advisable to say no more on what had passed, and preparatory to leave-taking, thanked him for his attention and arrangements for my returning to Peshawur. He on this renewed the question of my departure, declared he was not to blame, that he had discarded Persia in the hope of pleasing us, and likewise slighted Russia, for instead of caressing Captain Vickovitch, as was due to a great Government like Russia, he had paid him no attention, and came always in person to visit me, while he had sent no one to him. He now appealed to me if he had not been indifferent to the Russian agent, and knowing, as I did, what had passed within these few days, I looked surprised. He then observed, that he did not allude to what had passed this day or two, as he had certainly seen and consulted with Captain Vickovitch, and meant to avail himself of his services to rid Afghanistan of its present difficulties; but here again, continued he, I suffer from having called in your Government; Persia will perhaps refuse my offers because I treated her agent slightly, and Russia may tell me that I only clung to her when you have cast me off.

Seeing matters in this state, I said but little, and referred him to my written papers, when the Ameer launched forth in praise of the English nation, and the conduct of the mission, &c., &c., and begged I would stay as his guest for a few days. I replied that the servants of the public were not their own masters, and after what he had written and stated, it was my duty to quit his country without delay, as I would never feel satisfied in a land where the good-will of my Government was not appreciated; that that good will was implored throughout Asia, but had lost its virtue in Cabool. I added that this was the second instance of failure in this country; and that, where a man so celebrated as Mr. Elphinstone had failed, it might have been presumptuous in me to have hoped for success. To this he replied, that Mr. Elphinstone's failure arose with the inability of the Afghans, but my failure with the disinclination of the British, for what other meaning was attachable to words when Herat was about to fall and Candahar threatened? After some further conversation I took my leave with many apparently kind and gracious expressions on his part.

[I have made every arrangement, and quit Cabool to-morrow forenoon. In forwarding the duplicate of this letter I will supply the remaining particulars. I have sent orders to Lieutenant Leech, as shown in the annexed letter (No. 4),

to fall back upon Shikarpoor. I shall be accompanied by Mr. Masson, who does not deem it safe to continue here, in which I agree with him; and I shall await at Peshawur the commands of his Lordship regarding my future proceedings, and the pleasure of Government on what instructions I shall give to Lieutenant Leech and Mr. Masson.

Cabool, 25 April 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

NOTE.

MR. BURNES begs to recall the Ameer's attention to two notes formerly delivered, adverting to certain points connected with his presence at Cabool, on the part of the British Government. As the arrival of Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan from Candahar has given rise to new subjects of discussion, Mr. Burnes deems it due to all parties, to the Ameer especially, once more to record the objects of his mission, in case they may have been (which is scarcely possible) misunderstood.

The Ameer need not be reminded, that in consequence of a letter addressed by himself to Lord Auckland, setting forth his differences with the Sikhs, and expressing his desire to form a friendship with the British Government, that a mission was deputed to Cabool—why? because his Lordship considered he could do good to all parties.

The Ameer need not be further reminded that in the letters alluded to, no mention was made of Persian affairs, therefore the mission was sent to Cabool without instructions respecting such matters. When the Persians came to Herat, Mr. Burnes did not, however, leave Cabool, but remained with the Ameer, to show how much the British Government was his well-wisher, for whatever may be necessary to be said on Persian affairs, will be said in Persia itself.

The objects of this mission have reference to other matters, to the differences between yourself and the Sikhs, to their adjustment to the honour and satisfaction of all parties, and that a union between yourself and all your brothers may strengthen you as a State, that under the strong arm of British friendship and connexion, you may, in future, be able to repel [Persians,] all invaders and enemies, for the powerful enemies which now threaten the country of the Afghans would have then retired. These were the views of the British Government towards the Afghan nation and its rulers, they were full of friendship and disinterestedness; the friendship when concluded was not likely to be diminished, but it would have gone on increasing day by day. It was impossible to know the fruits of friendship before the tree was planted; but Captain Burnes begs again to declare that the intention of the British Government was to have planted that tree and watched its growth.

Captain Burnes cannot express his anxiety too strongly that the Ameer will review all these circumstances. The propositions of the British Government were made in the full confidence that they were those best suited to the state of circumstances, and which if agreed to, were the most likely to place the Afghan nation in a state of security from all enemies. Hitherto the Ameer has not even acceded to the preliminaries for arranging these things, and brings forward matters quite foreign to the objects of the mission, viz., protection against Persia, from which there is no fear, when the differences among the Afghan Chiefs cease.

The justice of Lord Auckland's proposition was obvious, for if the Ameer seeks certain good offices from two governments, one of them only can give, and from one government only can the Ameer receive such good offices. If the Ameer receives the good offices of any power to the west, he need not complain of being refused those of the British Government in his difficulties hereafter.

In conclusion, Captain Burnes must express to the Ameer that, as he was rejoiced at being deputed with such propositions to the Ameer, so will he feel sincere sorrow at carrying back to the Governor General the Ameer's non-acquiescence in them; and as his well-wisher, he hopes that he never will see cause to repent that he did not listen to them. The Ameer will observe that he has the perfect exercise of his discretion, and that if he considers the Governor General's views at variance with his interests, he is the best judge. It only seems due to the Ameer and to Mr. Burnes himself, to repeat all these circumstances, that there may be no mistake hereafter, and that the Ameer may reflect well before he abandons the friendship of the British Government, who wish him and all the Afghan people to be prosperous and happy; after all the conversation which has passed, and the letter which the Ameer sent to the Governor-General, he would not now give the Ameer this trouble, but the conversation with Sirdar Mihr Dil Khan, and other persons, makes Mr. Burnes very anxious that all doubt of the objects and intentions of his Government should be removed, and he again states them in writing. The Ameer knows best what suits his own interests, and he knows also individually how much Mr. Burnes wishes him well.

Cabool, 22 April 1838.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Note from Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, Chief of Cabool, to the
Address of Captain *Burnes*, dated 23 April 1838.

A. C.

I HAVE perused your note and understood its contents. Though I have successively explained and placed all my objects in your mind, I repeat them again here to you.

After the arrival of Abbas Mirza in Meshid, and his subjection of Kokan and Shurukha, as well as when Kuramut Alee was appointed as a news-writer, on the part of the British Government at Cabool, I commenced a correspondence with your Government, and every one expected great advantages from the English.

When the Sikhs took possession of Peshawur, either with or without the permission of Maharaja Runjeet Singh, I explained all the circumstances minutely to the Governor General of India, as well as to Captain Wade, and my object was merely the restoration of Peshawur.

The correspondence which took place respecting Peshawur, between myself and Maharaja Runjeet Singh, I sent all to your Government, through Mr. Masson. When the British authorities got a knowledge of my wishes, they kindly deputed you to this quarter.

After the conflict of the late Sirdar Hurree Singh with my son Sirdar Mahomed Akbar Khan, a correspondence passed between the latter and the Sikh authorities, copy of which I sent to you through Mr. Masson, and in every place I have mentioned the restoration of Peshawur.

On your arrival, and the inquiry which you made into my wishes, I told you the same as I had written from the beginning, hopes arose of the restoration of Peshawur, you made a report upon my views to Government, and what has taken place from that day to this is well known to you.

In the former days of distress, when I heard nothing from the British Government to cure my pains, I was obliged to solicit pecuniary aid of the Russian, Persian, and Toorkistan Governments, and from every direction I received satisfactory promises, but your presence, and the friendly opinion which I entertained of the British Government, made me abandon the friendship of all others, which is no secret from you; at length I saw no signs of your sympathising with me.

All the British officers used to say and write that they are the well-wishers of Afghanistan, and my ideas were that you would protect Afghanistan, which includes Herat, Candahar, Cabool and Peshawur; when Mahomed Shah entered the country of Herat you sent Mr. Leech to the Sirdars of Candahar, saying that you will assist them with money and troops. We then saw good by connecting ourselves with the English, and thus made no friendship with others.

On the arrival of your letter, the Sirdars of Candahar abandoned the design of sending their son to Mahomed Shah, and valued it as a good proof of your sympathy to Afghanistan, but to this day neither Peshawur is restored, nor have we been released from the impending dangers of the Shah of Persia.

As you say that you are deputed to settle the affairs of Peshawur, and have nothing to do with other business, then on what account have you sent Mr. Leech to Candahar? Before and after the arrival of my brother, Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan, I always mentioned to you about the restoration of Peshawur and protection of Candahar against Persia; I have never spoken of anything else foreign to sympathy with Afghanistan. From the beginning to the end the contents of the letters of your Government gave me great hopes, and I expected the restoration of Peshawur and the protection of Afghanistan. To show this to the people, I publicly solicited the above favour that every one should learn that you have sincere sympathy with us.

Mankind have no patience without obtaining their objects, and, as my hopes on your Government are gone, I will be forced to have recourse to other governments. It will be for the protection of Afghanistan to save our honour, and, God forbid, not from any ill design towards the British.

You write that a connexion with the western governments may create disturbances here, and the result of which will be repentance. If the return of my good hopes is this, and such be the law of the great, then all this nation must rely upon God, in whose hands are the good and ill of this world. The Afghans have done nothing wrong that other governments should blame them, nor have they received any injury from the English.

In making friendship with any government my object will be to save and enlarge Afghanistan, and during this last seven months I have told you everything worthy of note, and you know the good and bad. Now I have consigned myself to God, and in this no government can blame me. All the Afghans will be grateful to the government which obliges them.

There is no more to say which is not said; if you like to speak in person or examine all the correspondence that passed between us, there will be no objection.

I am very much obliged to you for the trouble you took to come so far; I expected very much from your Government, and hoped for the protection and enlargement of Afghanistan. Now I am disappointed, which I attribute not to the ill favour of the English, but my own bad fortune.

Creatures must rely on the Creator.

(A true translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 3.

REPLY to the Ameer's Note.

I have received your note in reply to mine, and perfectly understood its contents, it is useless, therefore, to repeat them. Two points of explanation are now only necessary, as relates to Peshawur and Candahar.

First, as to Peshawur, you are well aware that my design was to ascertain your wishes and dispositions that the British Government might use its good offices, when you become its friend to make a peace between you and Maharaja Runjeet Singh, which should preserve the honour of both parties. This was the hope that I gave you; as this sympathy is not all which you wish, it need not be further dwelt upon.

Second, as regards Candahar. Truly, I came here under a hope of terminating your differences with the Sikhs, the result of which would bring many other advantages to all Afghans, and also to your brothers at Candahar, because the Chiefship of Candahar has strength from your strength. Seeing, therefore, that there was great hope of terminating all future differences between you and the Sikhs, it was incumbent on me to ask your co-operation to prevent the Chiefs of Candahar going to Mahomed Shah, and you were pleased to write a letter of advice to them. I did the same, but a cold reply was returned, saying that Mahomed Omar Khan had gone to Ghirisk; that the treaty made with Persia would do no harm to you or the British; at length after some time it was known here that this son had not gone to Persia, and the Chiefs of Candahar changed their mind, and expressed a wish to join you, the head of their family, which was most advisable. On this, I sent Mr. Leech to Candahar (first asking your leave) that I might give them confidence, and I made in truth the offers of money to which you allude.

Before Mr. Leech or my letters got to Candahar, the Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan wrote to you that "the respectable Kohin Dil Khan wishes Mr. Burnes to come himself or send any of the officers with him to Candahar, that we may learn each other's objects, and it will be no harm if you endeavour to induce Mr. Burnes to do so." These were the reasons of sending Mr. Leech to Candahar.

When my letter, making the offers which I did, reached Candahar, the sirdars, instead of accepting them, sent in reply that "our object in sending Mahomed Omar Khan to Persia was to keep off Mahomed Shah, and to ruin Kamran, and to make ourselves the masters of Herat, and it was not from fear that his Majesty would invade Candahar. We have now postponed the departure of Mahomed Omar Khan, hoping that evil may befall Kamran." What is the meaning of this? I ask, let the Ameer be judge; it is a refusal of the money, and a declaration that the Chiefs of Candahar do not fear Persia, but Kamran. Now it is reversed.

In truth, the British Government wishes to protect Afghanistan, and prevent any injury befalling it; but it is proper to make peace near at hand before doing so at a distance, and such are the sentiments of the Governor General. Till Peshawur affairs are settled, it is needless to talk of Candahar further than that an officer of the British Government is now there to show to all the world that the Afghans and English are one, and the Ameer well knows that two neighbouring states, the Sikhs and Sindians, had their differences lately settled by the presence of an officer of the British.

It now appears that the Ameer is not satisfied with the good offices tendered by the British Government, and does not rely on it. It is the duty of all the creatures of God to rely on God, as the Ameer justly says; but as the note of the Ameer is a clear dismissal of the mission sent to him, I shall be ready to have my audience of leave whenever the Ameer may fix a time; and I beg the Ameer will now do me the favour to give orders for carriage being provided for my baggage as far as Peshawur. I will also send orders to Lieutenant Leech to leave Candahar without delay.

(signed) A. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool,
23 April 1838.

No. 4.

To R. Leech, Esq., Assistant, &c., &c.

Sir,

[I HAVE the honour to inform you that on account of Sirdar Mihr Dil Khan's presence at Cabool, discussions have arisen with the Ameer which involve the necessity of my forthwith quitting Cabool. I have the honour to request that you will, therefore, at your earliest convenience, quit Candahar, and pass down to Shikarpoor, in Sindh, where you will notify your arrival to Colonel Pottinger, the Agent to the Governor General, and await the instructions which I shall send you on hearing from Government. I transmit to you letters to the Chiefs of Candahar and Sindh, which will ensure your safety and good treatment; but you must be especially careful not to excite the suspicion of the lawless tribes in and about the Pass of Bolan. If you cannot follow that route (which is, however, eminently desirable), you will use your discretion, only losing no time in repairing to Sindh.

2. As the fate of Herat is of great moment, you perhaps may be able secretly to secure, through Moheen Shah, or some trustworthy person, regular information from Candahar. If this can be managed, and the intelligence which reaches you appears valuable, you will address letters notifying it to Capt. Wade, the Political Agent at Ludhiana, for the information

tion of the Governor General, sending them to Bhawal Khan for transmission, and paying that chief the compliment of writing to him. Copies of these letters you will also transmit to me at Peshawur, where I shall await his Lordship's commands. On all subjects connected with the mission, you will of course, as usual, send your papers, &c. to me.

3. It is not proper under present circumstances that you hold any further open communication with Herat, and you can, therefore, reply to the Vizier through Hajee Russool, who is just quitting this, leaving the letter behind you at Candahar to be delivered to him. You will also desist from your intercourse with the Khan of Kelat, so long as you are in the Afghan country.

Cabool,
25 April 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*

(True copy.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.]

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

[I AM directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your several Despatches of the dates noted in the margin* on the political affairs of Afghanistan and the adjacent countries.

*6 March 1838.

2. His Lordship much regrets to observe from these papers, that your negotiations with Dost Mahomed Khan must be considered to have decidedly failed. That chief had promised indeed, at one time, to dismiss the Russian agent, although it does not appear from your Despatches that anything had been done towards carrying such promise into effect; but has given no assent to the general views of the British Government; his feelings, as regards the Sikhs, are still obviously opposed to that just and pacific course of proceeding which we have sought to inculcate. It is avowed by him or his advisers, that his object in applying for aid from different quarters against the Sikh power was for aggression, and not for protection; he peremptorily refused to smooth the way to a reconciliation with Maharaja Runjeet Singh, by addressing a letter to him expressive of a desire for tranquillity and friendship; and he has replied to the letter of the Governor General, of the 20th January last, by dwelling on the expediency of a combination for the purpose of openly resisting the advance of the Persians into Afghanistan, which, although the topic may be, with him, a fair and natural subject of anxiety, was yet in no degree alluded to or contemplated in the propositions tendered for his acceptance by your Government.

7	"	"
13	"	"
17	"	"
17	"	"
21	"	"
22	"	"
23	"	"
24	"	"

3. Dost Mahomed Khan and his advisers would appear to his Lordship to be impressed with a conviction of the great importance to us of his alliance, in order to ward off danger from designs against the British dominion in India. But they should be made clearly to understand that, although it is always a subject of gratification to the Government of India to establish a cordial identity of feeling with the chiefs on the borders of its territories, it yet stands in need of no aid for its defence. And it is not its policy, in the present crisis of affairs in Afghanistan, could it even place any reliance upon the adherence of Dost Mahomed Khan to its interests, to engage itself in those measures of direct support to his power, for which he seeks to stipulate.

4. The views of his Lordship in this respect will appear from the accompanying extract of a Despatch to the Honourable the Secret Committee, dated the 8th February last, and the copy of a further Despatch, this day addressed to that authority, which are transmitted to you for your information.

5. It is stated in the former of these papers, that "under extreme circumstances of danger, the Chiefs of Cabool and Candahar might look to finding a safe asylum within the British territories;" and in the event of their being compelled to succumb, after a determined resistance with all the means at their disposal, to Persian aggression, such a refuge, you are authorised to state, would not be denied to them.

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6. As

6. As regards, however, the immediate subject of your negotiations, I am desired to state, that his Lordship feels that he can no longer, with any prospect of benefit, continue to tender to Dost Mahomed Khan his good offices for peace with the Sikhs. And his Lordship would, therefore, at once and absolutely, direct your recall from Cabool, were it not possible that the measure might even yet influence unfavourably the fate of Herat.

7. Leaving then to you a discretion to remain for a short time longer at Cabool, only in the one event of the fate of Herat being still undetermined, and of your departure appearing to you to be decidedly calculated to accelerate the fall of that place, his Lordship directs me to transmit to you a letter of recall (copy of which is enclosed for your information), to be delivered by you at the proper time, with a brief explanation of the grounds of the proceeding, as now stated to you. This letter of recall you will at once deliver, if before the receipt of it you should have had authentic information, either of the fall of Herat, or of the siege of that city having been raised by the Persian army; you will speak of this cessation of intercourse as having been directed by his Lordship with regret, and in consequence of the views entertained by the Ameer of his position and policy not being such as can be concurred in by your Government. Of course he will understand, that having thus declined our good offices on the only terms on which it has appeared to us that, consistently with justice, we could engage to exercise them, he cannot look for further benefit from our interesting ourselves in his behalf with the Sikh ruler, and must abide the consequences of his decision. At the same time, he should also be made fully sensible that, if he should seek to form a connexion with Persia, and not content with courting the favour of that power by tendering submission or allegiance, he should, in subservience to her, be led into any proceedings hostile or offensive to the British Government or its ally, Maharaja Runjeet Singh, he will incur a new danger, probably far more serious than is to be apprehended by him, under any circumstances, from Persian enmity or estrangement.

8. It is, I am desired to add to these directions, far from the wish of his Lordship nicely to weigh every step which you may have thought it your duty to take, or every expression which you may have used in these difficult and embarrassing negotiations; he collects, however, from your Despatches, that the hope of the restoration of Afghan power in Peshawur has been entertained by the Ameer in a far greater degree than it ever was intended by his Lordship to encourage; and great as has been the object of avoiding all open rupture, and difficult as it may occasionally have appeared to uphold the opinions and intentions of your Government against the representations of the Ameer and his counsellors, his Lordship would yet have been glad to observe a more undoubted explicitness on this head, and must regret any occasion on which a charge of a departure from perfect frankness and consistency on our part can be founded.]

9. In regard to the recent open interference of the Russian functionary in the camp of the Shah of Persia in the intrigues of that power with the Chiefs of Candahar, I am directed to refer you to the observations in the accompanying copy of the Despatch of this date to the Honourable the Secret Committee. It is satisfactory to his Lordship that those intrigues have not, at least immediately, been successful.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

Simla, 27 April 1838.

(A true copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

[ON the night of the 25th of April I had the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, that I had had my audience of leave with the Ameer of Cabool, and I quitted the city on the following day (the 26th), being escorted about two miles from its gates by three of the Ameer's sons, and also accompanied to the first halting place, Bootkhak, by Mirza Sumee Khan. It is now my purpose to lay before his Lordship such additional particulars as illustrate the opinions of Dost Mahomed Khan, and the views which it seems he has in contemplation, and which, since we can no longer act with him, will, as it appears to me, require counteraction.

2. In the morning before I quitted Cabool, I was visited by the Newab Jubbar Khan, who was filled with concern and consternation at what had occurred, blamed his brother most loudly for his conduct towards the British, which he declared to be little short of insanity, and besought me to convey to the Governor General his feelings of devotion and respect towards it, and his chagrin and vexation at the good offices, which had been tendered, having been met in the manner they had been, and that, whatever futurity was to bring forth, the Government was to view him as an adherent of it in Cabool, ready to do anything that was asked of him, be it to assist in the removal of the Ameer, or to forward any scheme which received the approval of the British Government.

3. I thanked the Newab, but professed my inability to give any reply to his declaration, but did not conceal from him that my Government would view the Ameer's conduct as a direct breach of friendship. I then inquired into the truth of the reports in circulation regarding the Ameer having actually gone over to Persia and sought the security of Russia, which he, with emotions of sorrow, said were too true. I asked what had really occurred, and he said that he had shunned their meetings as much as possible, but he had clearly learned that some of the Ameer's family, or that of his brothers at Candahar, were to be sent with letters to the Shah; that Captain Vitkievitch had promised to get the guarantee of Russia to all their arrangements; when Herat fell, either to send part of the Persian force through the Huzarajat to Cabool, or furnish the Ameer with money to expel the Sikhs from Peshawur, which he had said was the more easily to be exacted from the Shah, who was a large debtor to Russia. I said to the Newab that there appeared so much folly in all that was proposed that I could not credit such to be fact, particularly when I considered the religious disinclination of the Afghans towards Persia. He said that he wished it were untrue, and that all the Soonees of Cabool were horror-struck at the design, and that, please God, there will be more opposition than the Ameer anticipated, but such plans were certainly in contemplation, whatever they might come to.

4. It will be remembered, that the Ameer in my last interview with him offered no palliation of the intercourse which he had had within the last few days with Captain Vitkievitch, and though he did not of course state the nature of it, I have had intelligence of it from several other individuals, that leaves little or no doubt on the subject. One of the best of my authorities is Ghoolam Khan, a Suddoozye Dooranee, of high family, and whose good disposition to the British Government was rendered stable by the hospitality and kindness recorded to him at Delhi by the late lamented Mr. Fraser, who received him when he visited India for the purpose of advice regarding his eye-sight, which he has nearly lost. This gentleman has sent me most perfect information regarding all the secret meetings and designs, which has been proved correct by tallying with what reached me, as well as Mr. Masson, through other channels. This confirms the intention mentioned by the Newab, and Captain Vitkievitch has already asked leave to set out forthwith for Herat to arrange them. Such a circumstance might excite a suspicion on the mind of the Ameer and his advisers, that after his succeeding in disturbing his friendship with the British he had probably gained his objects, and that his wish to withdraw was founded thereupon; but this thought does not appear to have occurred, and most certainly, whatever are the plans of Persia and Russia, it will now be no fault of the chief of Cabool if they come not to maturity. He still gives out that he

would not trust Persia alone, but, seconded by Mr. Goutt and Captain Vitkievitch, he considers the Russian guarantee will gain for him all his ends, and, besides being able successfully to contend with the Sikhs, is certain of ministering to his ambition and fixing his supremacy.

5. On the morning of the 27th, before I set out from the first halting place, I was visited by Mirza Samee Khan, who came to take his leave and present me with two horses from the Ameer. He pretended to be distressed at all that had occurred; said that Sirdar Mihr Dil Khan had brought it about; but he did not conceal that he thought neither the Ameer nor the Candahar family had been appreciated, since it was not actually a sum of money they wished, but a promise of protection from the West for withstanding the offers of those who had power to injure them. He consequently defended the conduct of the Ameer. He asked me, when I avoided all particulars by making general remarks, if there was any chance of matters being yet adjusted with our Government, and I replied that I now saw no prospect whatever, though I only spoke from myself. He then asked if I would reply to any letters he or the Ameer might hereafter send to me, and I said that such would depend upon circumstances. I desired him to convey my personal thanks to Dost Mahomed Khan for his personal civilities to my companions and myself; and when I said nothing more, he asked if I had no other message to convey to the Ameer; I said none, save that I feared he would soon find out he was trusting to those who could not befriend him, and that the gratification of enemies was a pretty clear proof in worldly affairs that all was not right; and the day of my quitting Cabool was one of rejoicing to Shah Shoojah, to Runjeet Singh, and to Mahomed Shah. We then parted.

6. Two days' march from Cabool, I received the enclosed letter to the address of the Governor General from the Ameer, a translation of which I append (No. 1): the Ameer informed me on leaving him that he would write to his Lordship and simply notify that he had dismissed me; but Sirdar Mihr Dil Khan, finding that the Soonce party laid all the blame upon him, and that the whole mercantile community were roused at my departure, which they as publicly expressed to myself as to Dost Mahomed Khan, prevailed upon the Ameer's allowing him to set forth at length the affairs of Candahar in his own justification, and the singular sentiments are exhibited of claiming fulfilment of the treaty said to have been entered into by Mr. Elphinstone with the former dynasty of Suddozye kings. The interpretation of a sympathy with the Afghans on the part of the British Government also receives the widest interpretation; and it is in this manner that Dost Mahomed, in the document (No. 2) appended to my letter of the 25th instant, infers the views of Government, when he directly says, that "from the beginning to the end the contents of the letters of your Government gave me great hopes, and I expected the restoration of Peshawar and the protection of Afghanistan." Of course such matters were never promised him, nor have I the first letter of the present Governor General to the Ameer to refer to on which they are founded, no doubt erroneously, but our policy in Persia has raised up among Afghans and all Asiatics the hope of most substantial assistance whenever sympathy is spoken of.

7. It is however useless to dwell further on what were either the hopes or expectations of the Ameer and his family. No arguments drawn from my presence or that of Mr. Leech at Candahar, being proofs of our sympathy, would satisfy them, nor would they view the cessation of hostilities at Peshawur, the clear result of such presence in that light, but demanded of me a clear explicit pledge of protection from Persia, or money to raise troops to protect themselves, which I could not grant. Mihr Dil Khan is without doubt a man of talent, and it was readily perceivable in his intercourse with me, but I had a secret message conveyed to me from Sirdar Kobun Dil Khan, the chief of Candahar, when sending Mihr Dil Khan to Cabool, that he would rather come himself if any treaty were to be entered upon. Mihr Dil Khan therefore, in so strongly urging the Candahar question, quite overlooked that of Peshawur, and the peace at the latter city seems to have rendered the Ameer less solicitous about Sikh affairs, and hence the untimely termination of these negotiations. An Affghan cannot be disposed to understand the moral influence of British power, and arguments unsupported by acts had no weight in Cabool; and it is to be remembered that the menacing attitude of Persia, openly and undisguisedly aided by Russia, sharpens the apprehensions of the Afghan chiefs. The Ameer too I hear always
states

states, in his own version of the proceedings, that he refused to send for the Persian elchee to Cabool, threatened to break with Candahar if the chiefs there sent their sons to Persia, and, finally, exposed the whole of Captain Vitkievitch's intrigue, all of which was known to the Governor General when he wrote the letter delivered to him on the 22d of February, but for which he received no acknowledgment, and for which I would not even promise him protection from the Shah, whom he had done so much to offend.]

8. It will be some satisfaction to the Governor General to learn, that however unfortunate has been the termination of our present intercourse at Cabool, the Government will be thereby possessed of most potent arguments for remonstrance with Persia, at the line of conduct which she has pursued towards a friendly ally like Britain, in the counteraction of her plans to see peace established in Central Asia. With reference to Russia, her proceedings are open to so much remark after Count Nesselrode's disavowals, that I presume she must either disavow Captain Vitkievitch and Mr. Goutt as her emissaries, or be made responsible for her proceedings. I have only again to repeat my most deliberate conviction, founded on much reflection, regarding the passing events in Central Asia, that consequences of the most serious nature must in the end flow from them, unless the British Government applies a prompt, active, and decided counteraction. I do not offer these as opinions founded on the periodical publications of all Europe, though the coincidence of sentiment in all parties does not want its weight, but as formed in the scene of their intrigues, and it is my duty, as a public servant, earnestly to state them to my superiors, [and with deference to observe that England with her honesty has no chance in coping with a nation which makes no scruple to dazzle men's minds by promises, and to overwhelm those whom she thus deceives at their own expense and that of others].

9. As I am despatching this communication from Jullalabad half way to Peshawur, I have received good information [from the gentleman mentioned in the four paragraphs of this letter], that the Ameer has been constantly with Captain Vitkievitch since I left, and that officer has earnestly solicited permission to proceed to Herat by the direct road of Huzarajat, and offered the solemn pledges to do all which the Ameer wishes under a month. He has also bound himself to address Maharaja Runjeet Singh about retiring from Peshawur, and when Dost Mahomed Khan asked if he had authority to do so, he replied that he had a letter [from the Emperor] to that potentate, which would soon set matters right. [That all this has been promised, and the conversation now reported has taken place, I do not doubt, but it remains to be seen what will be the performance; but I can rely on my informant, and his intelligence is corroboration of former reports.]

Jullalabad,
30 April 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)
(signed) H. Torrens,
Dept. Sect. to Gov. of India, with the Gov. Genl.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Simla.
Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, that I reached Peshawur yesterday evening, where I have been received with every attention by the Maharajah's French officers. I have not failed to notify to his Highness that I was to enter his dominions, but I have said nothing on the causes of my quitting Cabool, leaving that to be explained as his Lordship deems fit.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
Peshawur, 5 May 1838. On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)
(signed) H. Torrens,
Dept. Secy. to Govt. of India, with the Gov. Genl.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India.

Sir,

As Captain Wade has probably transmitted his letter to me of the 8th ultimo, I do myself the honour to forward, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, my reply to the same.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,

Peshawur, 6 May 1838.

On a Mission to Cabool.

To Captain *C. M. Wade*, Political Agent, Loodhiana.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, notifying your views on an adjustment of differences between the Afghans and Sikhs, and the reply of the Maharaja to the first overtures of the Ameer of Cabool, which reached me on my way to Peshawur, where I have arrived, last night.

2. My Despatches to Government, which I have left open for your perusal, will explain the events which have led to my quitting Cabool; and I deeply lament, with Government, that more explicit replies were not drawn from the Maharaja in this matter, and that too much earlier, when other subjects of a nature so vitally important depended upon it. Seven months had elapsed, and the answer to the Ameer's proposals reached me but at Gundamuk, on the 29th ultimo, and from them I am even yet at a loss to know what is meant.

3. In the present state of parties in Afghanistan an adjustment of Peshawur affairs to preserve the honour of all parties was the base on which we could only hope to work, and I believe it will be found, on a review of all which has passed, that the delay regarding it, in whatever it may have originated, has been one of the principal causes of Dost Mahomed Khan's rejecting the good offices of the British Government; and what is worse, of his doubts being raised, if it ever really had any serious intention of seeking to establish peace between himself and the Sikhs.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*.

Peshawur, 5 May 1838.

(True copy.)

(signed) - *Alex. Burnes*,

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,

Dy. Secy. to Govt. of India, with the Gov. Genl.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Simla.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, the translation of a letter which I have just received from Cabool, explaining further the plans of the chiefs of Cabool and Candahar, consequent on their new alliance with Persia and Russia. [The author of this communication is Mahomed Hoossein Kashee, the quondam elchee of Dost Mahomed Khan to Persia, and whom I had an opportunity of obliging at Cabool, which gives rise to this return favour. Corroborative as is the intelligence of that received from other channels, it may be relied upon.

2. In my letter of the 13th of March last, when speaking on the probable results of a Persian alliance in Afghanistan, it will be seen, in the 20th paragraph of that Despatch, that the anticipations therein set forth are now in process of being realised.]

I have, &c.

(signed) *A. Burnes*,

On a Mission to Cabool.

Peshawur,
9 May 1838.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from [*Mahomed Hoossein Kashee*, at] Kabool, to the address of Captain Burnes, received at Peshawur, 8th May 1838.

A. C.

THE day after you left Cabool, the Ameer had a private meeting with Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan, Reshid Akhoond-Zada, and Mirza Sumee Khan. They have settled that Mahomed Azeem Khan, the Ameer's son, and Mirza Sumee Khan should leave Cabool, and having joined Mahomed Omar Khan and Moollah Reshid at Candahar, proceed to Herat, and wait upon Mahomed Shah on the part of the Cabool and Candahar chiefs.

Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan has addressed a letter to Mahomed Shah which, after being sealed by his brothers at Candahar, will be sent by express. The contents of the letter are as follows:—

“On

"On the arrival of Kumber Ali Khan, your Majesty's agent at Candahar, it was resolved that Mahomed Omar Khan should wait upon the Shah on the part of the Candahar chiefs. Meanwhile Captain Burnes reached Cabool, as an agent of the British Government, on which our elder brother Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan sent a letter preventing us sending Mahomed Omar Khan to his Majesty on the following grounds. The British Government and Runjeet Singh are very near the Affghans, and Mahomed Shah is at a distance of three months' journey, and the Ameer feared these two powers might be offended and endeavour to ruin him, which his Majesty could not prevent. Regarding the superiority of our brother (the Ameer), and seeing the good of the Governments, we recalled Mahomed Omar Khan from Grishk on account of the confusion. When we received authentic information of his Majesty's arrival at Herat, I left Candahar and came to Cabool, and brought about the dismissal of Captain Burnes, and induced the Ameer to send his Minister Mirza Sumee Khan to his Majesty, and from Candahar, Mahomed Omar Khan and Moollah Reshid will wait upon his Majesty."

It is expected that the above-mentioned individuals will leave this on the 6th of May.

The contents of the Ameer's letter to Mahomed Shah are as follows:—

"When Kumber Ali Khan reached Candahar, Captain Burnes also came to Cabool, on the part of the English Government. He prevented my entering into an alliance with your Majesty. As the Shah was at a distance, I kept Captain Burnes in evasive discourse, and on having the sure information of your Majesty's arrival at Herat, I dismissed him instantly. I have now appointed my son Mahomed Azeem Khan and my minister Mirza Sumee Khan to wait upon your Majesty. I will obey the orders (aman) of his Majesty in future."

The chupper has been despatched with the above letter to Herat.

Yesterday, Mirza Sumee told the Ameer that he must get another person to go to Mahomed Shah in lieu of him, as he does not want to go himself. On asking the reason of the Mirza's refusal, he stated to the Ameer that he was a Kuzzilbash, and in case Mahomed Shah does not agree to the proposals of the Ameer, he would imprison his son and himself (Mirza), and advance on Candahar, which will excite the suspicion of the Affghans, and they will ruin him; and further, that it would be better if the Ameer sent along with him either his agent (Naibi Ameer) Ameer Akhoondjuda, or Abdoolah Khan, to Mahomed Shah.

This proposal of the Mirza to the Ameer originates in his sagacity, for he has settled everything with Captain Vitkevitch, who has promised that on reaching the camp of Mahomed Shah, he will send to the Ameer the sum of 40 lacs of rupees. The above officer is boasting very much what he will do to protect and exalt the Ameer; but it is needless to mention these affairs minutely.

(A true translation.)

(signed) *A. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Dy. Secy. to the Govt. of India, with the Gov. Genl.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on Political Employ on the North-West Frontier.

Sir,

I AM directed to intimate to you the desire of the Governor General, that you should with all convenient speed make your way to Deenanuggur, a place about 70 miles to the north-east of Lahore, for the purpose of consulting with me and Captain Wade upon the measures expedient in the present position of affairs in Cabul. Political Department.

2. The date upon which it is most probable that I shall arrive at the place of meeting above named is the 25th instant.

I have, &c.

Simla, 14 May 1838.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten,*
Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

Political
Department.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, Peshawur.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General to acknowledge the receipt of your three letters, of the dates and on the subjects noted in the margin.*

2. On the subject of these communications, the Governor General deems it sufficient on the present occasion to express his regret at the critical condition of Herat, and at the conduct of the Barackzie chiefs, which has been such as to induce you to quit Cabool, and to retire upon Peshawur. The Governor General will proceed to take into his immediate consideration the measures to which it may be necessary to have recourse in the present crisis.

3. The success which has attended the labours of Messrs. Lord and Wood is exceedingly gratifying, and highly creditable to the character of those officers.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,

Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

Simla, 15 May 1838.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,

Deputy Secretary to Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Simla.

Sir,

[I HAVE the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, a précis of the latest intelligence from Cabool, which has just reached me from Ghoolam Khan Dooranee, through the hands of Messrs. Lord and Wood, who joined me yesterday. These gentlemen received at Cabool itself from the Ameer, and throughout their journey back from his officers, every attention and kindness.]

2. It will again be seen that affairs at Cabool undergo further change, and that Russia, despairing of Cabool, has now stepped forward to detach Candahar of itself, and the promises held out by her have led to a difference between the Ameer and Mihr Dil Khan. [This at first might appear a subject for gratulation, but when it is remembered that the chiefships of Candahar and Cabool form the last remaining nucleus of Afghan rule, and the promises of Russia and Persia are clearly without faith, it is certainly a subject for deep regret.

3. It appears that the Ameer had discussed the propriety of sending one of his sons after me to prevail on my return to Cabool; and that such a request was actually transmitted to his son at Julalabad, but it was only a momentary change, for he observed that he had nothing to expect from the British, while these fresh offers from Russia to Candahar, coming, as they are believed to do, from Count Simonitch in person, who is said to have reached Herat, lead him to rely more than ever on their greater appreciation of himself as the head of the Barukzye family. Whether the Russian Ambassador has or has not reached Herat, I know not, but Mr. Macneill I should think certainly had, as well from his Excellency's letter to myself, as from the annexed communication.

4. Affairs at Peshawur itself, and in its neighbourhood, are far from satisfactory. The city is only kept under by the strictest vigilance on the part of Mr. Avitabile and a cordon of strong picquets around it. Poynder Khan, the chief of Tumokla on the Sinde, above Attock, has raised a large body of men, and commits daily excesses, while the Khuttuks and people of Tak and Bunnoo are carrying on an open war against the Maharaja's forces, who has sent his grandson to aid in checking them; besides this, the Chief of Cabool has, since we left, been forwarding powder and munitions of war to Jullalabad.

5. In

* Letter dated 19th April 1838, forwarding important letters from Herat, soliciting pecuniary aid, which, if not given, the place must, it seems, fall; his refusal, and other particulars. Letter dated 21st April 1838, reporting the successful termination of the visit to Koondooz by Messrs. Lord and Wood, and the presence of a Russian agent at Balkh. Letter dated 25th April 1838, reporting that Russian and Persian influence, together with the state of affairs at Herat, has compelled him to quit Cabool, and retire into Peshawur.

5. In this state of things, together with the impending fate of Herat, the French officers have been very urgent with me, briefly to inform the Maharaja of the threatening aspect of affairs, aggravated by the bridge across the Indus having been swept away, that his Highness might at least send reinforcements to Attok; I, however, declined to do so, stating that it would be an interference in matters that did not belong to me, and that as Captain Wade saw my letters and reports, he could, if advised by the Governor General, make the true state of matters known to Runjeet Sing.

6. I find further that the French officers here are extremely surprised at my having quitted Cabool, for they state that the Maharaja was so anxious to make some new settlement on Peshawur affairs, that his Highness had of late peremptorily prohibited their visiting the new fort at Jumrood, that Dost Mahomed Khan's suspicions might not be excited; and that if necessity took them there, they were to go as slightly attended as was consistent with safety. I have of course avoided political subjects with these gentlemen, beyond the conversation usual on the rumours of the day, but I gather from them that his Highness will be much disappointed at the prospect of a renewal of hostilities, where an escape with honour, and without a further waste of money, appeared to be so near at hand.]

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

[TRANSLATION of a] Letter [from Gholam Khan Dooranee] to the Address of
Captain *Burnes*, Received at Peshawur, 16 May 1838.

A. C.,

AFTER your departure from this place, the Ameer sends for Captain Vitkievitch daily to his court, and makes arrangement with him which are not as yet written.

[It was settled that Mirza Samee Khan, along with the son of the Ameer, should proceed to the camp of Mahomed Shah, and contract an alliance with his Majesty on the security of the Russian agent. The son of Kohin Dil Khan was also to accompany them. The Ameer is going to send to the Shah of Persia an elephant, with a golden howda, along with 30 pieces of valuable shawls, which were seized some days ago from Abdolla Khan Achukzye.

Hajee Russool, the agent of Prince Kamran, is not permitted to go till Monday, and if he gets leave to start, he will be again stopped at Candahar, of which I have informed him. I have told him to forward your letter to Herat, in case he may be delayed at Candahar, as the object of the Ameer is, that your letters should not reach their addresses.]

On Tuesday evening, a man by the name of Bahor, in the service of Kohin Dil Khan, came to Cabool with letters from the Russian agent with Mahomed Shah to Captain Vitkievitch. Allahdad, who had accompanied Kumber Ali Khan, has also returned to Candahar with other letters from Mahomed Shah and the Russian agent to the address of the Candahar Chiefs.

[Allahdad reports that when the 'Asifu'd returned from Maimuna, he came near the ditch of Herat to speak to Yar Mahomed Khan, who was on the other side of it. The 'Asifu'd said to the Vuzzer Yar Mahomed Khan, if you deliver Herat to the Shah, his character and fame will be saved, and whatever country you like in Persia, the Shah will be glad to give in lieu of Herat. The Khan replied, that he would not surrender Herat but with his life, and that he had provisions for six months more inside of the city of Herat, and he has strength enough to defend it for that time, but as you (the 'Asifu'd) tell me to regard the character of the Shah, I, Yar Mahomed, will satisfy the Shah, if he likes, in the following manner: Kamran will agree to give one of his daughters to the son of the Shah, and your ('Asifu'd's) son shall be married to mine; money will be hereafter coined in the name of the Shah, and in the mosques of Herat, the "khootba" or prayer will be read in the name of the Shah. The Vuzzer (Yar Mahomed) also promised one of Kamran's and his own sons as hostages with the Shah.

On this, the daulah came and explained it to the Shah, but Mirza Musood, the principal minister of the Shah, being an enemy of the daulah, told his Majesty that the daulah is making intrigues with the Afghans, and doing everything secret without authority. The Shah was incensed at this, and told the Asifu'd if he were not his uncle, he would put him to death for such conduct.

The Shah has now sent the 'Asifu'd to Ghorian to repair the walls, and keep 5,000 kharwars of grain in that fort, and send the other 5,000 kharwars to camp. This grain is said to come from Meshud. The Shah has dismissed all the hostages of Toorkistan with dresses of honour through his minister Mirza Masood.

The British agent* in the camp offered to the Shah to make peace between Kamran and his Majesty. The Shah was angry at this, and inquired of the agent, if he had any benefit in the settlement of the Herat war. His Majesty has now ordered the agent of the English to pitch outside of his camp, and has kept a guard to prevent communication with him.]

The Russian Ambassador at Tehran, has written to Mahomed Shah to take Herat by all means if he can, as he will never be able to conquer Toorkistan without reducing Herat to subjection. His Excellency has instructed the Shah to satisfy the Chiefs of Candahar, and the Ameer of Cabool, at any rate, and give whatever they want, since they have written to him (the Ambassador) through Captain Vitkievitch, and accepted the friendship of Russia.

[The chupper, by the name of Bahur, came here from Candahar in four days; the contents of his letters are as I have written. Allahdad secretly told Kohin Dil Khan, that Mahomed Shah is very much disheartened by the long resistance of Herat, and is now of the opinion that he will not take it by force, but by storming the garrison. The Shah has written a letter to Kohin Dil Khan to wait upon his Majesty, and after solemn oaths, has promised that he will make him the master of Herat, and the country as far as Ghorian, and will assist him in taking the other countries of Afghanistan; besides, he will be honoured with the title of Meeri Afghan. "Rely upon my word, that I will satisfy you," writes the Shah at the end of the letter.

Kohin Dil Khan has now got confidence in the Shah of Persia, and without writing of this to the Ameer of Cabool, he has sent express for his brother Mehr Dil Khan, saying that he is sure of the protection and favour of Mahomed Shah, therefore it is better to join his Majesty, than to make friendship with others, because every person looks to his own welfare.

When you were at Cabool, Mehr Dil Khan and the Ameer, with other nobles, made solemn oaths to be partners in each others pains and comforts; also, that the Ameer was to be acknowledged head of the family, and furnished with authority, that he may keep friendship with those whom he likes, and be an enemy to them whom he hates, in which all the brothers should unanimously join him. After this, they proposed to send one of the Ameer's sons with Mirza Samee to the Shah and Russia.

Mirza Samee refused to go, saying that if the Shah of Persia does what the Ameer wants, it will be attributed by the Afghans to the good luck of the chiefs, and if the affairs take a contrary side, it will be applied to his own intrigues and disloyalty, and, to avoid all these difficulties, he will be very thankful if the Ameer appointed some other Afghan to wait upon the Shah.

The chupper Bahur, who did not bring any letter for the Ameer, is urging Mehr Dil Khan to quit Cabool instantly, which has created a misunderstanding between him and the Ameer. The Ameer now repents very much of not agreeing to what Captain Burnes had told him to do at Cabool. He said to Mehr Dil Khan, as he had acknowledged him (the Ameer) as head of the family, it will be now proper if he does not meddle in politics, and leave their settlement to the Ameer. He replied that the Ameer was chief of the family, and the Sirdars of Candahar would join him in need, but they would not consign themselves to him, and that they must make arrangements with the Shah separate, and the Ameer must settle separately, because Mahomed Shah has promised to give Herat to them, and make their family the "Meer Afghan," but, as we are your (Amir's) brothers, we will give half of Herat to you, and keep half of it for ourselves.

The Ameer replied to Mehr Dil, that two rulers cannot govern one country; if it pleases you, go and make separate settlements with Persia. I will not now send my son to the Shah, and if I like, I will send hereafter by the Huzara road. Mehr Dil then said to the Ameer that he was afraid to consign the Candahar affairs to him since he did not behave properly to Nuwab Jubbar Khan, and Mahomed Zuman Khan his brother, who had thrown themselves on his protection. In case he imitates them, he is sure that the Ameer will treat him and his brothers in the same manner. Such misunderstandings produced a quarrel and very high words.

I have received information from Khoja Khunjee, the brother of Khoja Muzar, at Candahar, that the Asof of Mahomed Shah, has gone inside of Herat, and has been treated with the greatest consideration. He has received valuable presents from Prince Kamran, and was endeavouring to settle a peace between the two Governments, and it is expected that peace has been established ere this.

I have heard from Mirza Samee, that Captain Vitkievitch says, there are wars in Europe commencing by sea, and also that the Russian Ambassador has lately informed Mahomed Shah, at Herat, of this.

It is true that the Candahar Chiefs will go to Mahomed Shah, without the wish of the Ameer, but the former are friends of Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed Khan, who, if you think proper, might prevent their going to the Shah.

Mahomed

* Probably Mr. M'Neill. (signed) A. B.

Mahomed Shah is seeking a pretence for leaving Herat to its former state since he could not take it by force, but as soon as the Sirdars of Candahar will join his Majesty, the Afghan of Herat will be obliged to surrender it, because the family and relations of every one of them live in the country of Candahar, and to save their honour, they will surrender the fort.

You might prevent the Candahar Chiefs, either by threats or friendship, from going to Mahomed Shah.

Mirza Samee's going to Mahomed Shah, has been postponed at present, and the Ameer and the Candaharees are very angry with each other.]

(True translation).

(signed)

Alex. Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed)

H. Torrens,

Depy. Sec. to Government of India with the Gov. Gen.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Simla.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the arrival of your letter of the 1st instant, which reached me late last night. I have forwarded with every expedition the packets for his Excellency the Ambassador at Herat. The Ameer of Cabool has shut up, as far as is possible, all communication with Herat through his territories, and seized already upon several cossids on suspicion. I have therefore sent the packet by Cohat, Bungish, and the Hazara country, and to ensure its reaching Mr. McNeill, I mean to forward a duplicate, *via* Budukshan, Balkh, and Maimuna to Herat.

I have, &c.

(signed)

Alex. Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

Peshawur, 20 May 1838.

(True copy.)

(signed)

H. Torrens,

Depy. Secy. to Govt. of India with the Gov. Genl.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on Political Employ, North Western Frontier.

Sir,

[I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatches under date the 30th ult., and the 5th, 6th, and 9th instants.

Political Department.

2. The Governor General deems it unnecessary to communicate detailed remarks upon the contents of the above letters, as, upon your meeting Mr. Macnaghten at Adeena Nuggur, you will be put in full possession of his Lordship's views by that gentleman.

3. With reference, however, to the remarks made by you upon the alleged long silence as to the feelings of Runjeet Singh regarding Peshawur, the Governor General desires me to recall to your recollection that, in the instructions to you of the 20th January and 7th March, it was stated to you that Dost Mahomed Khan must disclaim all intention of insisting upon the restoration, or more properly cession, to him of Peshawur, wholly or in part, before his Lordship could open any final negotiation with the Lahore Durbar.

4. That disclaimer, I am directed to remind you, has never been made, and Dost Mahomed has in the end avowed that he will insist upon those pretensions to the possession of Peshawur, which it is now obvious it had from the beginning been his intention to urge and to maintain.]

5. The details given by you as to the intrigues of the Russian agent at Cabool will be communicated to the Home Government as well as to Her Majesty's agent at Tehran.

I have, &c.

(signed)

H. Torrens,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

Simla, 22 May 1838.

(A true copy.)

(signed)

H. Torrens,

Dy. Secy. to the Govt. of India with the Gov. Genl.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Simla.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, the following authentic intelligence from Cabool. The Ameer has dismissed Captain Vitkievitch with all honour and respect, and that officer has proceeded to Candahar along with Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan, accompanied, on the part of Dost Mahomed Khan, by Huboo Khan, a Barukzye enjoying the Ameer's confidence. After the Ameer had made every preparation for sending his son and Mirza Samee Khan to wait on Mahomed Shah at his camp before Herat, the plan was suspended *pro tempore* by the arrangement above given. The Candahar family will wait on the Shah without delay and be introduced, through Captain Vitkievitch, and it is understood at Cabool that the Ameer will send his own subsequent messengers direct to Herat by the Hazara road.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Peshawur, 25 May 1838.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Depy. Secy. to Govt. of India with the Gov. Genl.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Simla.

Sir,

WITH reference to the last paragraph of my letter of the 21st ultimo, reporting the presence of a Russian traveller at Balkh, I do myself the honour to annex an extract from Mr. Lord's Journal regarding him, [No. 1, (and a further account, No. 2,) of the individual taken down by a messenger of Mr. Lord, who had been sent to Balkh, which may prove interesting].

I have, &c.

(signed) *A. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Peshawar, 27 May 1838.

No. 1.

EXTRACT from Mr. Lord's Journal regarding a Russian Jew Traveller at Balkh, dated Khooloom, April 1838.

* Left blank in the "Original Published Papers."

* [Ghoolam Khoosa and Kashwatte] have just returned from Balkh. They report that they met there a man who represented himself as a Jew, but allowed he was from Russia. He has for two years been on his travels, has visited Bokhara, Samarcand, Kakan, but was induced to give up the project he had formed of penetrating by way of Yarkand, &c. to Kashmeer, by learning that it would be impossible to get beyond the Chinese posts without leaving his papers behind. He is said to write much, and to draw maps, but this he himself denied. He spoke Persian, but not fluently. He first inquired whether our men could speak English, then Russian, then Turkee, then Persian, and last of all spoke a few words of Hindoostanee, which he said was all he knew of that language. He was not staying with the Jews, but living by himself in a hired house in the bazar. He was well dressed. He declined eating, saying this was his fast, that it would be over in 10 or 12 days, and that then he would come to us, as he wished to accompany us to Cabool, and get by that road to Kashmeer. This account would either suit his being a Jew or a Christian, as Easter (Passover) is on the 15th of this month. He gave his name first as Murat, but on [Ghulam Hoosu] observing that that is not a Jewish name, he said his name was Murdehâs (Mordecai). He is described as having a fair complexion, a scanty beard of light brown; his head not shaved in any part, but he wore a turban. He had arrived from Bokhara only five days. He denied the report that any Russian troops had come to join the Kuzzilbash.

[Wishing to know something more particularly of this gentleman, I sent off this morning Ghulam Hoosu with a polite note to him, saying I heard he was a Feringhee traveller in these countries, and therefore was most anxious to make his acquaintance, or be serviceable to him in any way, if he required it, and inviting him to come to me. I desired Ghulam Hoosu to obtain as much information about him as he could.]

(True extract.)

(signed) *A. Burnes*.

No. 2.

[ACCOUNT of a Russian Jew Traveller, as given to a Messenger sent to him by Dr. Lord at Balkh, April 1838.

I AM a native of Wulkosh, the capital of which is Wurshof (Warsaw); my name is Murrut.

I have travelled in the disguise of a Durveih into the following countries: From Wurshof to the country of Ninuz (Germany), Vienna, and Zin its capital, Banur, Moldavia, Bucharest in the neighbourhood of the River Tona (Danube), thence to Constantinople by the White River, Alexandria, Cairo, Birlis, Syria, Aleppo, Mosul, Armi, Tabrez, Korasan, now in the possession of Russia (from 30 years ago); Tiflis and Daghistan, which has the following five cities, Shake, Sherman, Shali Manjee, Kuba, and Durband, that lie near Kaglah, but I did not visit the town of Kuzlah. From Kuzlah I went to Chuchan Kara, Buksh, Shasha, the River Arnas, Bagdad, Tehran, Meshid, Bokhara, Kokan, where there are many people from Samarcand. From this place I could not advance further on account of the dangers of the road, and the many inquiries made by the officers of Government at different stations.

From Kokan I was obliged to come to Balkh; if it pleases God, after the "Eed" is over, or 15 days hence, I will go from this place to Tajkargan (Khooloom), and thence by the way of Kabool to Cashmeer, and the Moving Sand (Reg Raman), which is near to the river called Konas.

Other things I will tell when I see you; I did not write to you by my own hands, because it was Saturday.

I am very anxious to make your acquaintance.

Gholam Hoosu, your man, spoke well of you both. I would be glad to see you with Gholam Hoosu, but Saturday prevented me. I will come to you in the course of 15 days.

The letter which you had kindly sent me I was glad to receive.

I am living in the house of Moolla Yahooodee, and he has sent to you his respects.

(True translation.)

(signed) A. Burnes.]

(True copies.)

(signed) H. Torrens,

Depy. Secy. to Govt. of India with the Gov. Genl.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Simla.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to transmit a memorandum with its accompaniments, from Mr. Lord, regarding the recovery of Mr. Moorcroft's books and some of his papers, which cannot fail to prove interesting to Government and those concerned in the fate and fortune of that traveller. It will be remembered that Morad Beg, agreed to restore the books in question to Mr. Lord, and he has nobly redeemed his promise.

2. I think it proper to forward to Government without delay the book of accounts described by Mr. Lord, and the map on which the traveller's journey is marked, to within a stage of the place where he died. The other works I retain till I receive the orders of the Governor General regarding their despatch.

I have, &c.

(signed) Alex. Burnes,

Peshawur, 27 May 1838.

On a Mission to Cabool.

MEMORANDUM regarding Books and Papers of the late Mr. Moorcroft, by Mr. Lord.

To Captain A. Burnes, &c., &c.

I HAVE the honour to present you a list of books and papers belonging to the late Mr. Moorcroft, which I have been so fortunate as to recover during my recent journey to Toorkistan.

2. For the greater part of them I am indebted to Meer Mahomed Moorad Beg, who, immediately on my arrival at Koondooz, wrote to the Khan of Muzar, desiring that all such relics of the European traveller should forthwith be sent. In reply to this, 50 volumes, all of printed works, were immediately forwarded; the remainder, including the map, Mr. Moorcroft's passport in English and Persian from the Marquis of Hastings, and a manuscript volume, with several loose manuscript sheets, chiefly of accounts, I was enabled to recover, when, by the Meer's permission, I myself made a visit to Khooloom and Muzar.

3. I think the evidence I have received proves, as strongly as the nature of negative evidence will admit, that no manuscript papers of any value belonging to that ill-fated expedition remain to be recovered. I paid every person who brought books, and always explained that I would give double reward for anything that was written, and, though, in consequence

consequence of this, several loose sheets of manuscript were brought me, they never appeared on examination to contain anything beyond accounts and such routine matters. Now as the natives must be unable to make the distinction, the chances evidently are, that if any papers of importance existed, one or two of them at least would have found their way to me amongst the numbers presented.

4. I append a letter from Meerza Humeedoodeen, the principal secretary to the Khan of Muzar, and a man who attended Mr. Trebeck in his last moments, saying, that two printed and one manuscript volume are in existence at Shehr Sulz, and that he had sent a man to recover them for me. As I have since been obliged to leave the country, and all communication is, by the present state of affairs at Cabool, rendered impossible, I mention this fact as one worthy the attention of some future traveller.

5. The map is in itself a document of much interest, as containing Mr. Moorcroft's route, traced evidently with his own hand, and continued as far as Akcha, within one stage of Andkhoe, where he is known to have fallen a victim, not more, I believe, to the baneful effects of the climate, than to the web of treachery and intrigue by which he found himself surrounded and his return cut off. On the back of the map is a manuscript sketch of the route through Andkhoe, Meimuna, and back through Sireepool to Balkh, as though he had planned a tour through those little independent states, partly perhaps to see the horses for which they are famed, and partly to while away the weariness of expectation till a safe conduct should be granted him through the territories of the ruler of Koondooz. We can thus almost trace the last object that engaged his mind, and in the prosecution of which he laid down his life.

6. Connected with this I beg to subjoin a slip of paper which I found amongst a pile of loose accounts, and which bears in Mr. Trebeck's writing the following entry, date 6 September 1825: "Arrived at Balkh, August 25; Mr. M. died August 27," placing the date of Mr. Moorcroft's death beyond a doubt, and also, I think, affording negative evidence against the supposition of its having been caused by any unfair means.

But the same paper is further interesting from an accidental coincidence. The Mirza, I have before mentioned, accompanied me from Tash Koorghhan to Muzar, and in the course of conversation, which naturally turned in a great measure on the melancholy fate of Moorcroft's party, he said that about a month before the death of Trebeck, he had one day gone to him by desire of the Khan to purchase some pearls which he heard he had. Trebeck produced the pearls, but when questioned about the price, said in a desponding tone, "Take them for what you please; my heart is broken; what care I for price now?" The entry is this—

"Total on the strings, 280 grs.

October 15, Taken by Meerza, 131 grs. or 4 miskals.

October 16, taken by Dewan Beghee, 33 grs. or 1 miskal."

It will be observed no price is affixed, probably none was received. A stranger in a foreign land, far from the soothing voice of countrymen or kinsfolk, surrounded by rude hordes, who looked upon him as the only obstacle to possessing themselves of the countless treasures which they believed to be in his charge, his youthful spirit pined and sunk; the bright visions with which he had commenced his career had long since vanished; where he had looked for pleasures he had found toils, where for rest he had to guard against dangers. Sickness had carried off many of the companions with whom he had set out, and when at last it struck his guide, his own familiar friend, to whom he had looked for support under every adversity, and for rescue from every difficulty, and when in addition he found that all hopes of return to his native land seemed, if not cut off, at least indefinitely deferred, his heart, as he too truly said, was broke, and in a few short weeks he sunk into an untimely grave. I should apologise for a digression, unsuited, I confess, to the character of an official paper, but it is impossible to hear the warm terms in which poor Trebeck is still mentioned by the rude natives amongst whom he died, without feeling the deepest sympathy in the fate of one who fell "so young and yet so full of promise."

7. It is only necessary I should add one or two more observations. The account book which I now forward is a valuable document in more respects than one. It contains an accurate list of the stock originally purchased by Mr. Moorcroft when starting for his journey, and will serve to modify considerably the extravagant ideas that have been entertained of the quantities of goods which he carried. Taken in connexion with the loose MS. accounts, it will serve also to evince that the greater part of this stock was sold off previous to his leaving Bokhara, and as far as my information goes, I am inclined to believe the proceeds were chiefly expended in the purchase of horses, of which I understood he had when he died somewhat under a hundred, including specimens of all the best Uzbek and Turkman breeds.

8. The account book is further interesting, as containing in Mr. Moorcroft's own handwriting a list of the articles which he offered on his presentation to the King of Bokhara, and a note at the end to the effect that the king had in return ordered him a remission of the duties on his merchandise, rather more than equalling the estimated value of the goods. It is further satisfactory to be able to add, on the authority of several Bokhara merchants who were on terms of intimacy with him during his stay in that city, that his character was highly appreciated by the king, who frequently sent for him to enjoy the pleasure of his conversation, and conferred on him the high privilege, never before granted to a Christian, of riding through the city and even to the gate of the king's palace on horseback.

9. In

9. In addition to the list of his merchandise, this account book contains also a list of his private property, which it appears Mr. Moorcroft was obliged, by order of the Koosh Begge, to make out on entering Bokhara. From this list we learn that he possessed 90 volumes of books. The number I have recovered, and which I have now the honour to place at your disposal, is - - - - - 57

Amongst them are several odd volumes, of which the sets, if complete, would give an addition of about - - - - - 30

TOTAL - - - - - 87

so that there are probably not more than two or three volumes of which we may not consider ourselves to have ascertained the fate. As to MSS. I have already shown the high improbability that any of consequence have eluded our researches.

10. Scattered through the printed volumes numerous notes and corrections in Mr. Moorcroft's own hand-writing will be found. Of these some referring incidentally to the dangers of his journey, or laying down plans as to the route by which he meant to return, cannot be read without emotion.

11. In conclusion, it is but justice to add that the impression everywhere left by this enterprising but ill-fated party has been in a high degree favourable to our national character.

Peshawur, 26 May 1838.

(signed) P. B. Lord.

(True copy.)
(signed) Alex. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Mirza Hameedo Deen to P. B. Lord, Esq.

A. C.—Two books and one manuscript are in the city of Shuhr Subz. I have sent a person to bring them, and, when they reach me, I shall send them to you. In all things I will never forget your good offices. Let me always hear of your welfare. Believe what the man says, and that I am your well wisher. Dated Mohurru 1254, A. H.

(True translation.)
(signed) Alex. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

List of Mr. Moorcroft's Books recovered at Koondooz, Khooloom, and Muzar, by P. B. Lord, Esq.

	Vols.
Gladwin's Persian Munshee - - - - -	1
Bedingfield on Diseases - - - - -	1
Murray's Chemistry - - - - -	4
Saumarez's Physiology, vol. ii. (odd) - - - - -	1
Nautical Almanack for the year 1823 - - - - -	1
Ditto - - ditto - - - for 1820 - - - - -	1
The Complete Grazier - - - - -	1
Bell on the Urethra - - - - -	1
Fry's Pantographia - - - - -	1
Heron on War - - - - -	1
Duncan's Edinburgh Dispensatory - - - - -	1
Paley's Natural Theology - - - - -	1
Marco Polo's Travels - - - - -	1
The New Testament in Toorkee - - - - -	1
Nories' Nautical Tables - - - - -	1
Hey's Surgery - - - - -	1
Maladies Chirurgicales (in French) - - - - -	1
Reece's Medical Guide - - - - -	1
Hamilton's East India Gazetteer - - - - -	1
Hopkins' Persian, Arabic, and English Vocabulary - - - - -	1
Scarpa on the Eye - - - - -	1
Saunders on the Eye - - - - -	1
Gladwin's Materia Medica in the Arabic and Persian languages (English Translation) - - - - -	1
Fordyce on Fevers - - - - -	2
Hutton's Mathematics, vol. i. (odd) - - - - -	1
Nicholson's Encyclopædia, vols. i., ii., iii., v. (odd) - - - - -	4
Histoire des Decouvertes (French), vol. ii. (odd) - - - - -	1
Gibbon's Roman Empire, vols. ix., x., and xii. (odd) - - - - -	3
Cullen's Practice of Physic, vols. ii. iii. iv. (odd) - - - - -	3
Histoire Russie, in French, vols. i. ii. iii. v. vii. and viii (odd) - - - - -	6
Art of Cookery - - - - -	1
Elphinstone's Cabool, with Map - - - - -	1

1—Sess. 2.

G G 4

Malcolm's

	Vols.
Malcolm's History of Persia, 2 vols. (odd)	1
Berchtold's Essay for Patriotic Travellers	1
Murray's Discoveries and Travels in Asia	3
Hunter's Hindoostanee Dictionary, vol. ii. (odd)	1
Torn leaves, forming part of an Essay on Vaccination	1
Ditto, a Pamphlet on Trade with India and China	1
Ditto, several loose sheets of MS. Accounts and an Account Book in Manuscript	1
TOTAL Vols.	57

(signed) *P. B. Lord,*

(True copy.)

(signed) Alex. Burnes.

(True copies.)

(signed) H. Torrens,

Depy. Secy. to Govt. of India with the Gov. Genl.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Adeenanuggur.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt, this morning, of your letter (without date) directing me to repair to Adeena Nuggur, and have the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, that I shall forthwith attend to the instructions, and quit Peshawur to-morrow in prosecution of the journey. I shall hereafter inform you when I shall probably reach you.

Peshawur, 29 May 1838.

I have, &c.

(signed) *A. Burnes.*

(True copy.)

(signed) H. Torrens,

Depy. Secy. to Govt. of India with the Gov. Genl.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on Political Embassy, North Western Frontier.

Sir,

Political Department.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch under date 17th ultimo.

2. The Governor General is interested by the intelligence which you transmit from Cabool, and approves your making use of every means at your command for obtaining early and accurate information as to the course of important events in Afghanistan, and will authorise you (relying upon your judgment and your prudence) to make, within reasonable bounds, such disbursements as may appear to you to be absolutely necessary for this purpose.

3. It appears from Captain Wade's reports that Runjeet Singh has taken measures for strengthening his military force on the Peshawur frontier, and preserving uninterrupted the communication between that province and Lahore. Any suggestions upon this point must be left to the judgment of Mr. Macnaghten and Captain Wade.

4. The Governor General desires me to observe, that, notwithstanding the impression you have received upon the subject of the Maharajah's intention of ceding Peshawur, he himself cannot doubt that the Chief of Lahore has never contemplated such a measure in favour of any of the Afghan chiefs. The whole tenor of the Maharajah's conduct, and indeed his own direct assertion, leave no room for doubt upon the subject.

I have, &c.

(signed) *H. Torrens,*

Simla, 1 June 1838.

Depy. Secy. to Govt. of India, with Gov. Genl.

(True copy.)

(signed) H. Torrens,

Depy. Secy. to Govt. of India with Gov. Genl.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., &c. &c. &c., Adeena-Nuggur.

My dear Mr. Macnaghten,

Just as I was entering this place, I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 23d ultimo, requesting me to state the views on the means of counteraction which should be presented to Dost Mahomed Khan in the policy that he is pursuing. I should have liked to have conversed with you on this important subject, for it has so many bearings, and involves so many conflicting interests, that it is impossible to do it justice; but I do not delay a moment in meeting your wishes, as far as can be done in a letter.

It is clear that the British Government cannot, with any credit or justice to itself, permit the present state of affairs at Cabool to continue. The counteraction applied must, however, extend beyond Dost Mahomed Khan, and to both Persia and Russia. A demand of explanation from the cabinet of St. Petersburg would, I conceive, be met by an evasive answer, and gain for us no end; besides, the policy of Russia is now fairly developed, and requires no explanation, for it explains itself, since that Government is clearly resolved upon using the influence she possesses in Persia (which is as great there as what the British command in India) to extend her power eastward. It is better therefore to assume at once that such are her plans, and remonstrate accordingly. If we can do but little with Russia, the case is widely different with Persia. She should at once be warned off Afghanistan, and our continuance of an alliance with her should depend upon her compliance. I believe that a letter from the Governor General of India sent to the Shah of Persia at Herat would gain our end; this effected, there is nothing to fear from the proceedings of Dost Mahomed Khan, or any other of the Afghan chiefs. If this be left undone, they will succumb to Persia and Russia, and become the instruments for whatever these powers desire. I therefore distinctly state my conviction that the evil lies beyond Afghanistan itself, and must be dealt with accordingly.

If it is the object of Government to destroy the power of the present chief of Cabool, it may be effected by the agency of his brother, Sooltan Mahomed Khan, or of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk; but to ensure complete success to the plan, the British Government must appear directly in it, that is, it must not be left to the Sikhs themselves. Let us discuss the merits of these two plans; but first, I must speak on the establishment of Sikh power in Afghanistan, to which you refer, as a general question.

No one entertains a more exalted opinion than I do of the Maharaja's head to plan, and ability to achieve, but I look upon the power of the Sikhs beyond the Indus to be dependent on his life alone. It is mere temporising, therefore, to seek to follow up any such plan; and were this of itself not conclusive against it, the fact of its alienating the Afghan people, who are cordially disposed, as a nation, to join us, would be a sufficiently solid objection for not persevering in it. It is, I assure you, a mere visionary delusion to hope for establishing Sikh ascendancy in Cabool: for arguments' sake, I will admit that the Maharaja may take it, but how is it to be retained? Why, he cannot keep his ground with credit in Peshawur, and the Sikhs themselves are averse to service beyond the Indus. But facts are more illustrative than arguments. The French officers could not with safety leave their houses to an evening dinner while we were at Peshawur, and our intercourse was confined to breakfast: I saw this morning two tumbrils of money, the followers of dozens others, on their way to Peshawur, to pay the troops, and the Maharaja only wishes a road of honour to retreat from it. If you use him, therefore, as an agent to go further ahead, the first request he will ask of the British will be for money, and we shall waste our treasure without gaining our ends, which are, as I understand them, an influence in Cabool to exclude all intrigues from the west.

Of Sooltan Mahomed Khan, the first instrument, you will remember that his brother, Dost Mahomed, plainly confessed his dread of him, if guided by Sikh gold; and with such aid, the ruler of Cabool may be readily destroyed. But Sooltan Mahomed has not the ability to rule Cabool; he is a very good man; but incapable of acting for himself; and, though fit as an instrument in getting rid of a present evil, he would still leave affairs as unsettled as ever when fixed to Cabool, and he is consequently a very questionable agent to be used at all.

1—Sess. 2.

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As for Shooja-ool-Moolk, the British Government have only to send him to Peshawur with an agent and two of its own regiments, as an honorary escort, and an avowal to the Afghans, that we have taken up his cause, to ensure his being fixed for ever on his throne. The present time is perhaps better than any previous to it, for the Afghans, as a nation, detest Persia; and Dost Mahomed's having gone over to the Court of Tehran, though he believes it to be from dire necessity, converts many a doubting Afghan into a bitter enemy. The Maharaja's permission has only therefore to be asked for the ex-King's advance on Peshawur, granting him at the same time some four or five of his regiments, which have no Sikhs in their ranks, and Shooja becomes King. He need not move from Peshawur, but address the Khyberees, the Kohistanees of Cabool, and all the Afghans from that city, that he has the co-operation of the British and the Maharaja; and with but a little distribution of ready money, say two or three lacs of rupees, he will find himself the real King of the Afghans in a couple of months. It is, however, to be remembered always, that we must appear directly in the transaction, for the Afghans are a superstitious people, and believe Shooja to have no fortune (*bukht*), but our name will invest him with it. You will also have a good argument with the Maharaja in the honour of "Taj Bukhshee;" but still his Highness will be more disposed to use Sooltan Mahomed Khan as an instrument than Shooja, for he will perhaps have exaggerated notions of Afghan power in prospect; but our security must be given to him, and we must identify ourselves with all proceedings to make any arrangements durable.

I have thus pointed out to you how the Chief of Cabool is to be destroyed, and the best means which have occurred to me for effecting it; but I am necessarily ignorant of the Governor General's views, or what his Lordship considers the best mode of hereafter managing Afghanistan. It has been notified to me in various Despatches, that this end was best to be gained by using one small State to balance another, to keep all at peace, and thus prevent any great Mahomedan power growing up beyond the Indus, which might cause future inconvenience. It is with every respect that I differ, but these are not my sentiments; and though in theory nothing may appear more just and more beneficial, I doubt the possibility of putting the theory into practice, and more than doubt the practice producing the benefit expected from it; for while you are trying to bring it about, another power steps in, paves the way for destroying the chiefships in detail, and the policy along with it. Our fears of a powerful Mahomedan neighbour are quickened by what we read of Ahmed Shah's wars in India, and the alarms spread even by Shah Zaman, so late as the days of Lord Wellesley; but our knowledge of these countries has wondrously improved since that time, and though the noble Marquis, in his splendid administration, made the Afghans feel our weight through Persia, and arrested the evil, we should have had none of these present vexations if we had dealt with the Afghans themselves. We then counteracted them through Persia; we now wish to do it through the Sikhs; but, as things stand, I maintain it is the best of all policy to make Cabool in itself as strong as we can make it, and not weaken it by divided power; it has already been too long divided. Cabool owed its strength in by-gone days to the tribute of Cashmere and Sinde; both are irrecoverably gone, and while we do all we can to keep up the Sikhs as a power east of the Indus, either during the Maharaja's life or afterwards, we should consolidate Afghan power west of the Indus, and have a king, and not a collection of chiefs. *Divide et impera* is a temporising creed at any time, and if the Afghans are united, we and they bid defiance to Persia, and instead of distant relations, we have everything under our eye, and a steadily progressing influence all along the Indus.

I have before said that we cannot, with justice to our own position in India, allow things to continue as at present in Cabool, and I have already, in my Despatch of the 30th of April, suggested a prompt and active counteraction of Dost Mahomed Khan, since we cannot act with him. But it remains to be reconsidered why we cannot act with Dost Mahomed. He is a man of undoubted ability, and has at heart high opinions of the British nation; and if half you must do for others were done for him, and offers made which he could see conduced to his interests, he would abandon Persia and Russia to-morrow. It may be said that that opportunity has been given to him, but I would rather discuss this in person with you, for I think there is much to be said for him. Government have
admitted

admitted that at best he had but a choice of difficulties, and it should not be forgotten that we promised nothing, and Persia and Russia held out a great deal. I am not now viewing the question in the light of what is to be said to his rejection of our good offices as far as they went, or to his doing so in the face of a threat held out to him; but these facts show that the man has something in him, and if Affghans are proverbially not to be trusted, I see no reason for having greater mistrust of him than of others. My opinion of Asiatics is that you can only rely upon them when their interests are identified with the line of procedure marked out to them, and this seems now to be a doctrine pretty general in all politics.

I shall say no more at present. It will give me great pleasure again to meet you. I shall be on the banks of the Jelum on the 7th or 8th, and my progress beyond shall depend on the dawk being laid; but if that goes right, I ought to join you in ten days at the furthest.

Believe me, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*

P.S.—I have thought it advisable to send a duplicate of this letter, which Mr. Lord has been so good as to copy for me, by the Maharaja's dawk, as it prevents accidents, and may reach you sooner.

Huss Abdul, 2 June 1838.

(signed) *A. B.*

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Dep. Secy. to Govt. of India with the Govr. General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on Political Embassy, North Western Frontier.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, with enclosures, under date 27th May, and in reply to state that the Governor General has perused, with much interest, the memorandum from Mr. Lord, regarding the unfortunate mission of the late Mr. Moorcroft. Political Department.

2. The account book and map have been forwarded, as interesting relics of that ill-fated traveller, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and I am directed to request that the remaining books and papers may be forwarded hither for transmission in like manner.

Simla,
18 June 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to Government of India
with Governor General.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Dep. Sec. to Govt. of India with Govr. Genl.

MEMORANDUM.

IN the advanced state of the negotiations now carrying on at Lahore, and the successful issue to which they will so soon and probably be brought, it is unnecessary to make any observations on other points than those which lead to maturing the plan that may now be considered adopted of restoring Shoojah-ool-Moolk to the throne of his ancestors. It is a very fortunate circumstance that the Maharajah has not sought to effect this independently; he would have experienced most serious difficulties, and I doubt if he could have accomplished it. A vast object has been gained in securing his co-operation, but the less use that is made of it the better it will be for the British, the restored king, and generally for our relations westward of the Indus.

The two great passes into Afghanistan from Shikarpore to Candahar, and from Peshawar to Cabool, naturally suggest the points where the base of our operations must be laid. Let us look to the advantages of starting the Shah from each, as well as the attendant disadvantages. At this time it is of importance to counter-

act Persia by a movement on Candahar, and by first supplanting Barukzye influence there; but the fall of Candahar does not involve the submission of Cabool, though the submission of Cabool involves that of Candahar. From Shikarpore to Candahar is a distance of about 300 miles, through a bleak, strong, and ill-supplied country. There would, however, be no obstacles presented to the Shah by the Candahar chiefs till he had neared their city, but in possession of Candahar, the Shah would not yet have succeeded in cutting off Dost Mahomed's communication with Persia, for the most direct route from Herat to Cabool does not lie by Candahar, but through the Hazara country due west of Cabool; a line of road that has been passed by troops, and through which the Ameer might be succoured. I incline, therefore, to the opinion that the Shah should move on Cabool at once and from Peshawar, which would be the most efficient and expeditious method of destroying the Barukzye power.

But objections arise to sending Shoojah-ool-Moolk from the country of the Sikhs, of which Dost Mahomed Khan would not be slow to avail himself, agitating the country to war against the infidels who had come to invade him. These objections seem stronger than they really are, and indeed amount to little where we have gained the end of directing the Sikhs. Sikh troops should, if possible, not be used at all; but I adhere to the opinion which I have already expressed, that one if not two of our regiments should be given to the Shah, nominally as an escort to his person, and to show decidedly to the Afghans how much we were interested in his safety and welfare. The smallest number of our troops will be exaggerated at Cabool to an army, and we shall speak at once to men's eyes and senses. If Maharajah Runjeet Singh objects to the use of our troops when he has as many of his own, he might be told they were merely honorary, as their small number proved, and that the Shah required them as the nucleus in which he was to form his future forces. Besides this direct assistance, opportunity should be given to the troops of our own army to volunteer, as they have lately done for the force in Oude, and instead of raw levies, a good army might soon be called; but though it is doubtless necessary to have a force of sufficient strength to cope with the chiefs of Cabool and Candahar, for my part I have more faith in political agitation for the Shah's cause than in physical force.

There is, however, a mode of turning to account both lines of route by a double movement, and the use of both. This plan has many advantages, and nothing against it but the additional expense, which should not be too much considered in this crisis, and which may be met by an arrangement hereafter to be shown. Let, therefore, Shikarpore be occupied by a British force. Let the Shah's son be sent along with it, and a part of the Shah's army, and let the whole be accompanied by Sultan Mahomed Khan, the ex-chief of Peshawar.

Matters being thus arranged, I would recommend the following line of procedure. From Peshawar Shah Shoojah should issue a proclamation, and send it in hundreds through the Afghan country, that he had arrived at Peshawur to resume the throne of his forefathers, to put an end to the wars with the Sikhs, to unite the Afghan nation, to expel the enemies of their creed, the Persians, who had dared to invade the kingdom; that he was now able to chastise his enemies, both internal and external, since he and the British Government were one; and that from the affection he bore his people he could not think of declaring war till he had given all parties a fair opportunity of repairing to his camp and rendering their allegiance; that the treatment all would experience would be according to their early presence, and that His Majesty's object was not to scrutinise particularly what had passed, but to restore the glory of the Dooranee monarchy. This, with a distribution of money in Khyber, where Shah Shoojah has more friends than in any part of Afghanistan, and the Kohistan of Cabool, which could easily be arranged, would, in all human probability, dissolve Dost Mahomed Khan's power, and the Shah's advance on Cabool would be triumphant and without bloodshed; for the Afghan nation never will submit to Persia but by force, and Dost Mahomed Khan, by going over to Mahomed Shah, has converted doubting friends into enemies, and materially contributed thereby to Shah Shoojah's success.

While the Shah announced his intentions from Peshawur, his son could do the same from Shikarpore, and Sultan Mahomed Khan's presence with him would, in all probability, from his influence at Candahar, bring one, if not all, the chiefs there to render homage to the Shah through his son. The double agitation and threat

threat would of course plunge the chief of Cabool into embarrassments that would more than avail us.

The next, probably the most delicate of all questions which present themselves, is the disposal of Dost Mahomed Khan. His ambition makes it more than questionable if he ever would consent to act in a subordinate capacity, but he should have the offer; for he will be a dangerous antagonist if he flees to Persia, and we have the first authority for recording that one of Shah Shooja's most serious errors when king was in failing to conciliate Futteh Khan Barukzye, the brother of Dost Mahomed Khan, and in whose place he may now be clearly said to be. These are the words of Mr. Elphinstone:—

“Futteh Khan was soon after persuaded to make his submission to the new king (Shooja). An opportunity was now offered of securing the attachment of this powerful chief, but it was allowed to escape, and hence arose the misfortunes which disturbed the rest of Shah Shooja's reign, and which drove him at length from his throne.” This is high authority, and though it perhaps would be impolitic to offer the viziership to such a chief, some situation as a Dooranee lord, such as existed in the old court of the Suddozyes, might be found for him, and a liberal provision in land. The presence of a British agent, and an active and decided interference in all that relates to the political affairs of Cabool, which I take for granted is to be our policy, if it does not break the factious spirit of Dost Mahomed Khan, would prevent his doing harm. I think also that it would be highly to the credit of the British Government to aid in such an offer of conciliation; for if the Ameer has disappointed our hopes, the difficulties that beset him from the west are to be considered, and we escape the odium of being privy to his entire destruction, by showing that our object is the restoration of the Dooranee monarchy, and not the punishment of the chief of Cabool. It is to be observed, that Afghan differences are much easier healed than those of other nations; and above all things it should be Shah Shooja's policy to forget the past, and the talents of Dost Mahomed Khan may yet avail him in subduing some of his rebellious subjects. Much is to be said on this subject, and it requires great reflection and consideration, which may and must be given to it when matters are more advanced.

The subject of funds for the expedition is the next point for consideration. I observe that 20 lacs of rupees are to be called for from the Ameers of Sinde as the price of their manumission from allegiance to the crown of Cabool. I think it may be demonstrated that this is by far too small an amount for the enormous advantage which we are to secure to Sinde. That country never was independent at any period of Mahomedan history, having been tributary to Delhi, to Persia, and to Cabool. The effect of our late arrangements might have left it so, and put it likewise beyond the grasp of Runjeet Singh, if this crisis had not fortunately occurred. Every advantage should therefore be taken of the crisis to put our relations on a stable footing. A subsidiary force should be fixed on the Indus, and as the yearly tribute to Cabool amounted to nine lacs of rupees, and has not been paid up since 1808, or for 30 years, and the claim is a solid good one, 50 lacs, if not more, should certainly be our demand. I would dispose of this by granting 20 instead of 10 lacs to pacify the Maharaja for our late jarring with him about Shikarpore, and the remainder will be barely sufficient to set Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk afloat, so that he may maintain himself without being a burthen to us. It is to be remembered that it is the last tribute he is to have from Sinde, which was one of the grand supports of the Cabool monarchy.

It will be asked if Sinde can afford such a draft on her treasury? Undoubtedly she can. I overrated her riches when first writing on the country in 1831, but these are obviously great. In arrears of tribute alone the Ameers have pocketed above two and a half crores of rupees, and they succeeded to all the jewels and wealth of the Coloras, a religious family under whom Sinde was most prosperous. The Ameers, too, have little expenditure, and are great hoarders. It is also a notorious fact that they only gained their “rukum,” or deeds of investiture, from Timoor Shah, at Cabool, by most active and profuse bribery, as they saw that their authority was only thereby to be secured. The document then so important to them we are now to cancel; and as we protect them against Cabool and Lahore, no future opportunity may occur, which is an additional reason for making the most of the present. Our procedure on this occasion in Sinde should partake more of dictation than negotiation, and we should make the freest use of our influence along with the Shah's name. If any hesitation occurs at increasing

the pecuniary demand, safe and sound policy seems to call for the fixing a force in the country to be made a *sine qua non*.

The last observation that occurs to me is, that we should also take this opportunity of doing good to Bhawul Khan. His allegiance to Cabool, at all times nominal, should be formally cancelled; and as this family is hereditarily attached to us, the first opportunity of obliging it in any way should be taken. Our conduct to Bhawul Khan is always admired, and there are many advantages to be gained by not overlooking him. I presume also that Shah Shooja will consider it his duty to mark, by the most signal acts of favour, his and our approbation of the Nawab Jubar Khan; and that, though his protection and favoured treatment may not be made an article in a treaty with him, it will be so understood as never to admit of any doubt at a future period.

In conclusion, it need hardly be remarked, I suppose, that the more promptly we set about compassing our ends the greater is the chance of success. Every day's delay is fraught with manifest disadvantages, for we may have to use our own army instead of that of our ally of Cabool, if we allow the plans beyond the Indus to ripen.

(signed) A. Burnes.

QUESTIONS put to Captain Burnes by Mr. Macnaghten.

1. You have stated your opinion on the feeling regarding Shah Shooja among the Afghans, but you have not stated what probable means he would have of maintaining himself, and probable revenues, were his enterprise successful.

for which I am clear should be drawn from Sindh. On the first opportunity the countries west of the Indus might be allowed to drop into his hands, which would make the Afghans powerful, and not too much so.

2. Are you of opinion that it is essential to the success of Shah Shooja's advance in the direction of Peshawur, that he should be accompanied by one or more Company's regiments?

officers, an honorary escort is not a step far beyond. It is not essential to success, but I think would contribute to it.

3. You appear to be impressed with the conviction that there would be danger in allowing the Sikh troops to advance to Cabool, but you observe that this will be obviated by our having the direction of Runjeet's forces. It must be remembered however that this is agreed to by Runjeet Singh, under the supposition that he was to be merely co-operating in aid of the Shah's advance in the direction of Candahar. Do you anticipate no difficulty in getting Runjeet to surrender his troops to our direction when the Shah moves direct from Peshawur; and what measures would you propose for the protection of the Shah against the rapacity of his Sikh allies if he were to advance, backed by them alone?

4. On what ground do you suppose that the fall of Cabool would involve the fall of Candahar; and if, as seems to be admitted by you, the cause of the Shah would be more popular from his keeping clear of all Sikh aid, why do you propose a reversal of the scheme which has been propounded to Runjeet Singh, to the effect that the Shah should proceed by Shikarpore while his son was to proceed from Peshawur?

I have ventured to suggest the above queries thinking that it may be more satisfactory to the Governor General to have your sentiments

1. With a supremacy established over Cabool and Candahar, and ability to bring under subjection the Hill States around, and an increasing commerce, I rate the Shah's revenue at from 35 to 40 lacs of rupees. It would be sufficient to maintain him when once established on his throne, the means

2. I attach importance to the presence of a small portion from the prestige it will exercise. There are as valid objections to the presence of our officers as of our troops. A deserter in either case would be unfortunate; and going so far as to give money and

It is not essential to success,

3. I look upon the co-operation of Runjeet Singh to restore Shooja-ool-Moolk to have been purchased by our becoming a party to the treaty between the Shah and him, and the present and future benefits to the Maharaja are such that I conclude he would not seek to push his troops beyond Khyber, if we objected; and this would be made almost a certainty, as it appears to me, if we gave him a larger share of the money to be levied from Sindh, which would be very advisable. The actual sum then granted to the Maharaja would be the best check on his rapacity. If the Shah is to advance from Peshawur, backed by the Sikhs alone, his success is problematical, and ought not to be hazarded.

4. Candahar has no strength, but as being held by brothers of Dost Mahomed Khan, and would have fallen to Shooja on his last campaign, had it not been succoured by Cabool. The king, in possession of Cabool, has only to call upon it to surrender, to ensure its fall; but supposing Candahar first captured, Dost Mahomed Khan's hopes of aid from Persia by the Hazara country are not in the least diminished. I would by no means advise a reversal of the scheme proposed to the Maharaja for the Shah proceeding to Shikarpore and his son to Peshawar, if

ments at greater length on the points referred to.

if it involves the chance or necessity of using Sikh troops beyond Khyber. To that there are great objections. I only inclined to the

opinion of sending the Shah from Peshawur, as it would settle the matter more quickly, but I do not hold to the opinion, if the Maharaja is likely to object to it; or to make it a ground for sending his own troops along with the Shah towards his capital, as the route by Shikarpoor will secure every success, though it appears more cumbrous; I did not anticipate other aid from the Sikhs than giving Shooja-ool-Moolk, on our security, permission to raise his army at Peshawur; and the vicinity of that city to Cabool, with the inclination of the Khybercees towards the Shah, led me to offer the suggestion I did as a plan for getting sooner at Dost Mahomed Khan, and destroying his hostile combinations; but if the Maharaja founded new claims upon it, on the ground of his bearing the brunt of the Afghans, or sought to use his own troops along with the Shah, I am clear for setting out from Shikarpoor, and agitating through the Shah's son from the side of Peshawur. As I said before, I had little apprehension of the struggle being other than political, if the Sikhs did not advance beyond Peshawur. I have a high opinion of the approach of the Shah from Shikarpoor, and my suggestion did not imply a belief in the want of soundness of that plan, but from what I have stated.

Lahore, 19 June 1838.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*

SUPPLEMENTAL QUESTIONS.

1. I understood, from the concluding portion of your reply to the third question, that, in your opinion, the success of the Shah's advance, unless supported by Company's troops, would be problematical, and ought not to be hazarded; I beg you will be good enough to state whether I am correct in the understanding?

2. Are you of opinion that Shah Shooja would be joined by Dost Mahomed's army, as well as by the people of the country; and if any considerable portion of Dost Mahomed's army remains faithful to him, would there not be a probability of Shah Shooja's defeat, he having no disciplined troops of his own? If he is to wait till his new levies are disciplined, it seems clear that little will be gained in point of time by the advance of the Shah in the direction of Peshawur?

3. I understood you to be of opinion that the combined movement, both in the direction of Shikarpore and Peshawur, would be almost requisite to success; and if this be the case, it is not clear what would be gained in time by the movement of the Shah in the direction of Peshawur, seeing that in combined movements concert as to time is essential.

gain time while the Shah is assembling troops at Shikarpoor; but of course concert as to the time for action is essential.

June 20.

Supposing that there is a Russian force at Khiva, say, of 10,000 or 12,000 men, what course is it probable, in your opinion, that the Russians will take, on hearing of the demonstration in the Persian Gulf, your departure from Cabool, and our intention, in concert with the Sikhs, to restore Shah Shooja? Is it likely that they will advance to Herat, or is it more likely that they would proceed at once to Cabool; and what time would it take them to get to one or the other of these places? Supposing that there is no Russian force at Khiva, what time would it take them to march 10,000 men to Herat

1—Sess. 2.

REPLIES to the Supplemental Questions.

1. If supported by the Sikhs alone, I consider the Shah's success problematical, and this is my meaning, and not that it is problematical unless supported by Company's troops. I have said that the Company's troops even in the small number stated by me are not essential to success, though they would contribute to it.

2. The Shah would be joined by a considerable portion of Dost Mahomed's troops, as well as the people of the country. The Kuzzilbashes even would prefer Shooja to the King of Persia, and the Kohistanees, who form Dost Mahomed's foot, would gladly come over. Dost Mahomed's army is so small (at most 15,000 men) that the defection mentioned would reduce its power greatly; it has no discipline, and the Shah's troops will have to encounter no superiority on that head.

3. I am clear for the combined movement by Peshawur and Shikarpoor; but the former, supposing the Shah's son to be sent, should partake more of demonstration; I do not adhere to its being necessary to advance the Shah to Peshawur in preference to Shikarpoor, and any time that could be gained would be productive of small advantage, if Runjeet Singh disapproved of the line. It is possible to agitate at Peshawur, and thus

(signed) *A. Burnes.*

My belief is that the immediate object of the Persian campaign at Herat was the possession of Khiva, after that city fell, since the best line of route to attack Khiva leads from Herat by the Ehoorghab. In attacking Khiva, the Persians were certain of the co-operation of Russia, as both powers are interested in subduing it. With Herat and Khiva in their possession, there can be no doubt that the views of Persia or of Russia were ulterior, and towards India; but I do not think they ever contemplated such a movement, till securely fixed there. The effect of the abrupt termination of the British connexion

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Herat or Cabool from Mungushluck or Orenburgh, and what force have they at these places?

connexion with Cabool will induce both Persia and Russia to do now what they might not have done for some years, and the demonstration towards the Gulf of Persia

will, I think, at once lead Russia to send her troops and treasure to assist Persia at Herat; and in the ensuing campaigns she will ground her interference on our demonstrations of hostility towards the ally of Persia, and the British have no resource but instantaneous action; and in the most cordial support of Shooja-ool-Moolk every succeeding event will make a game that is more easy the more complicated.

In possession of Khiva, and the fate of Herat doubtful, Russia would, of course, march to Herat; but in any case she would, I think, send the troops there, though she would advance them in part to Balkh, where she would be joined by a portion of the Persian troops, and thus march on Cabool by Hindoo Koosh, securing supplies by two routes instead of one.

From Mangushluck to Khiva the distance is 10 days for a caravan, say 200 or 220 miles. From Khiva to Herat is about double the distance, say 20 days, in all 30 days, but say 40. The best route to Balkh would be by the Oxus, though it would consume more time (probably treble). From Balkh to Cabool the march would occupy 14 days.

If there were no Russian troops at Khiva, the quickest means of sending troops to Herat would be by the Caspian, landing at Astrabad, and going *viâ* Meshid to Herat. From Astrabad to Herat 10,000 men might march in 45 or 50 days with care, the country being friendly. Cabool has been reached from Herat in 12 days; but double it, and say that in 70 or 75 days the march could be performed from the Caspian to Cabool; and with the authorities friendly, what difficulty is there?

From Orenburg to Bokhara there are two routes, the one of 60, and the other of 48 days. From Bokhara to Balkh is an additional 12 days. The King of Bokhara would not be a cordial ally, and some delay might occur on this route to increase the 60 days above-named to 120; but with Maimuna, and all those small states, in the Persian interest, the ruler of Bokhara could not oppose Russian advances, particularly when encouraged by the Afghan chiefs.

I cannot precisely state the amount of force at Orenburg, but it is very numerous, consisting of the military colonies. I am given to understand that there are 25,000 men there and along the Juik, on which it is situated, and at Tiutaska. Eastward of it, inclusive of this, there is a total of 60,000 or 80,000 men, though not the *élite* of the Russian army.

At Mangushluck the detachment occupies a fort, and, if not reinforced since the Herat campaign, it amounts to about 500 men. My impression all along has been that this outpost has been strengthened, and that, too, considerably, when the Shah marched on Herat.

Lahore, 8 July 1838.

(signed) A. Burnes.

(True copies.)

(signed) H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., on a Political Mission to the Court of Lahore.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to report, for your information, that I received a notification late the night before last from Fakeer Noor-o-Deen, informing me, on the part of Maharajah Runjeet Singh, that he (the fakeer) would wait upon me early in the morning, when he wished for a private interview, to speak on secret and confidential matters, when there should be no one present. The fakeer called on me on the morning of the 19th.

2. The message with which Noor-o-Deen was charged was as follows:—That the Maharajah had desired him to convey to me his warmest thanks for the free and full manner in which I had answered all the questions relating to the countries beyond the Indus, when I visited his Highness in company with yourself and Captain Wade yesterday morning; that the information his Highness had thus acquired had gratified him much, but that, as I was well aware the negotiation now carrying on by you materially depended upon the state of affairs in Afghanistan, the Maharajah hoped I would not object to give a full and minute detail of all I had seen in Cabool, what I had done there, the nature of all my communications with Dost Mahomed Khan, what plans were in progress in Afghanistan, including the affairs of Herat and Candahar, &c. &c. All this the Maharajah

Maharajah sought for with the more confidence, as he was pleased to observe that I was an old friend of his who had been in his country in former times, when the friendship between the States was but in its infancy; and that to a knowledge of what concerned the court of Lahore, I had had an opportunity of adding that of Afghanistan, and he trusted that I would give proofs of the friendly feelings of my Government and myself by readily meeting this request.

3. I at once informed the fakeer that nothing would afford me greater pleasure than to attend to the Maharajah's wishes, that with so old a friend reserve was misplaced, and it was besides the order of the Governor General that the utmost frankness should be used with the court of Lahore, as his Highness must have seen lately in the communications which he had had with Mr. Macnaghten. I then, at the fakeer's request, ran over the whole of my proceedings in Afghanistan from the first appearance of Kumber Ali Khan to my quitting Cabool, freely exposing all the offers of Dost Mahomed Khan about Peshawur, the offers of Persia and Russia to Dost Mahomed Khan, the designs of that chief against the Lahore State, the religious hatred which he bore towards it, and the ardent desire which he cherished, and his allies encouraged, of attacking it. I then explained the state of affairs at Candahar, and how the weakness of that chiefship made its fate depend on Herat; and as regards Herat itself, I entered into a full explanation of our objections to its integrity being disturbed, and to all the unfriendly proceedings of the Shah, who owed us so much. I observed that we might have easily preserved it from the attacks of Persia by a small outlay of the public expenditure, but that the Governor General looked to the treaty with Persia, made some 30 years ago, the nature of which I explained, and I dwelt upon this to show the sacred light in which the British regarded treaties which might easily be disputed. I gave the fakeer the original letter from Prince Kamran and his minister, in which the aid of money was solicited, to peruse, and told him he might show them to the Maharajah, that he might have a specimen of the value of British friendship, and its adherence to engagements. I do not think I omitted any subject which has been treated of in my various despatches that could be made intelligible, and I acted up, as far as I could, to the spirit of his Lordship's intentions, as conveyed in the letter of instructions to yourself, on your coming to Lahore. I said further that I would be ready to meet the Maharajah's wishes by any farther explanations, if called for, either personally or by messenger.

4. The fakeer seemed much delighted at the communications I had made, and asked for permission to make his notes in my presence, which I told him to do; after he had finished these, he informed me that the object of the Maharajah was to make himself fully acquainted with trans-Indus politics and parties, that he might give due consideration to the negotiations now pending, and thereby bring them to a close with you; not that he doubted it was for his good to associate himself on all occasions, and closely, with the British Government, but that these affairs were momentous and required reflection. The interview lasted nearly three hours.

5. In the afternoon I was again visited by Noor-o-deen, who came to offer a profusion of thanks and personal compliments from the Maharajah for the nature of the information that had been given, and the fullness of it. His Highness now wished that I would tell him, not as a public officer but as a friend, and that confidentially, what I thought of your proposal for restoring Shooja-ool-Moolk, if they were for the Maharajah's good or otherwise. I entered very fully on the many advantages attendant upon them; pointed out that instead of an enemy in Cabool, his Highness would now have a friend and ally who could do him no harm, since the British became parties to the treaty; that besides this, he was not only to receive a good sum of money, but to be relieved of the necessity of spending his treasures beyond the Attok; and what must, I believed, be still dearer to the Maharajah, a great accession of reputation was also to ensue from the conferring of a crown (taj bukhshée), along with his old friends, on an exiled monarch; that farther many, if not all, the articles of the treaty with Shooja-ool-Moolk were highly to his advantage, and must speak to the minds of all men as to his Highness's greatness, when the Shah was at once restored, and it was to be remembered that the whole of these articles would be fulfilled from our being parties, and that there were so many positive and present advantages, that I could only account for them in the transcendent good fortune which had always attended the Maharajah.

6. The fakeer then said that the Maharajah concurred in these views, that what I had said he believed to be generally his own sentiments, but he had been further instructed to ask me if I did not think that the acceptance of the 15 lacs of rupees would perpetually cancel his claim on Shikarpoor; and, with reference to the treaty with the British, which gave great validity to his claim on Shikarpoor, if I did not consider that it should not be thus disposed of at a rate so cheap, and that it would be better to allow it to remain in abeyance. To this I replied, that his Highness appeared to have very exaggerated notions of the wealth of Shikarpoor; that I had lived there some days, and that its bazaar contained but 800 or 900 shops, and the surrounding country was by no means very productive; that his Highness would first have to conquer it, and though that might not be difficult, the protection of the conquest would give as much trouble as Peshawar, from the vicinity of the Murees, the Beloochees, the Brahooees, and other wild tribes, and I saw no prospect of realising for years any such sum as he was to receive down; and I foresaw, notwithstanding his Highness's army, considerable chances of bloodshed and disaster, and that undoubtedly I understood the receipt of money from Shooja would cancel any claim on Shikarpoor, which I thought it highly beneficial to the Maharajah to settle in this manner, for his honour was in no way concerned since he had never sent his forces to Shikarpoor; and, finally, that he was to receive fruit and horses, &c. &c. from Cabool, which he should look upon in the light of any claim he might suppose himself to possess on Shikarpoor.

7. To this the fakeer replied, that he would state all that I had said to the Maharajah, but he thought that his Highness would again recur to his claims on Shikarpoor, founding them on the words of the treaty with the British, and it would gratify his Highness if I would give some more satisfactory suggestion or opinion as to the adjustment of this claim. I said to Noor-o-deen in reply, that whatever might be the literal meaning of the treaty, I did think that the great alteration to be made in our relations with the court of Lahore, by our becoming a party to Shah Shooja's treaty, should lead his Highness to abandon all mention of his Shikarpoor claims, since the Sikh and British Governments would be hereafter as one soul and body; that if his Highness ever prosecuted his designs towards Sind, he was to remember that he must unsettle all those countries, and prevent their becoming the asylum of the merchant and the trader, which the British Government and the present Governor General in particular so much desired; that all our treaties with Sind, Bhawal Khan, and his Highness, on the navigation of the Indus, would thus become void. I would therefore put it distinctly to his Highness to consider the tone of cordiality ever evinced by the Governor General, but more particularly in the late transactions at Cabool; and whether, since it was for his Highness's own interests to see the arrangements now in contemplation worked out, it would not be better to do at once that which would please his Lordship, as one friend sought the pleasure of another, and his Lordship's many acts of friendship must be now apparent. To all this I added, that I was not here as an accredited agent of my Government, that all public matters were in your hands, and that I had spoken as I had done, to give the best return in my power for the confidence reposed by his Highness in asking my opinions.

8. Early this morning Noor-o-deen again visited me by desire of the Maharajah; he stated that his Highness had heard all which I had stated, and that he quite coincided in the sentiments of its being his interest, as it was his wish, to agree on all occasions with the Governor General; that the importance which was attached to peace along the line of the Indus by the Governor General was a sufficient reason for his holding a similar opinion, but that it was the part of friends to oblige friends, and supposing Shikarpoor affairs were settled and his claims abandoned, his Highness had another subject for consideration in which he thought he should be obliged. This was the possession of Julalabad. The Governor General, he said, could now have no friendly feeling towards Dost Mahomed Khan, and his Highness had a great desire (shouk) to add that district to his kingdom, and wished to hear from me why it should be objected to, and what I had to say on the subject.

9. I told the fakeer that it had been left to the option of the Maharajah to take his own measures against Dost Mohamed Khan; that the Governor General, as you had told him, would take no exception to his doing what he pleased, but that his Highness had said that he preferred acting in concert with

us;

us; that if Shooja-ool-Meoffk was to be put forth, and his Highness laid claim to Julalabad, where would be the kingdom which the restored Shah was to rule, and where would be the revenues to maintain him? Sinder was to be dismembered. Herat was independent. Cashmere belonged to his Highness, as well as innumerable provinces over which the Dooranees once had rule. It appeared to me, therefore, as an individual, for I only spoke as such, somewhat unreasonable to make such a demand, particularly after the sum of money he was to have from the Shah. With regard to the plan of taking satisfaction independently from the chief of Cabool, I would plainly tell the Maharajah that he had not to cope with that Dost Mohamed Khan he had hitherto been fighting, but a chief who had allied himself to others; and that while in this I saw various difficulties to be surmounted, I saw in his co-operation to place Shooja on his throne, a prospect of terminating all his difficulties beyond the Indus by peace in Tak-Bannoo and those districts which now gave so much trouble, but his Highness was a free agent and could act as he thought best.

10. With these observations the fakcer left me, saying that the Maharajah had remarked, that if there was a great name attachable to the bestowing of a crown, these arrangements, when completed, would confer distinction on all the servants of both Governments who had been concerned in discussing them; and he added from himself, that things were now verging to a close, as the sentiments of all parties had been ascertained.

Lahore, 20 June 1838.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*

(True copy.)

(signed) H. Torrens,

Deputy Secretary to Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Simla.*

Sir,

[I do myself the honour to forward for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, a report on the Chiefship of Candahar, which I have just received from Lieutenant Leech, and which cannot fail to prove useful at the present time.

2. I transmit also three official letters from Lieutenant Leech explanatory of his proceedings since he quitted Candahar on the 15th of May last. He is now on the Brahooee territories, but will shortly move down upon Candahar.]

3. I enclose [at the same time copies of two intercepted letters procured by Lieutenant Leech, that were]* sent by Captain Vitkievitch to Mr. Goutt. [I cannot read them; one appears to be in Russian, the other in cypher.]

* Originally printed, "a copy of a letter that was."

Lahore, 8 July 1838.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*

[NOTICE on the Affairs of Candahar in 1838, with a Sketch of the preceding Dooranee History, by Lieutenant *R. Leech*, Engineers, Assistant on a Mission to Cabool.

PERHAPS at no time since the disorganisation of the kingdom of the Duranees, has Candahar appeared to a greater physical, and, in consequence, a greater moral disadvantage, than at present. Harassed from the west, as the Sardars of Candahar are, by Shah Kamran, of Herat, and dreading the ambition of their brother, Dost Mahammad, of Cabool, their struggles to gain strength to cope with the one and defy the other, are followed by unpopularity, jealousy, and hatred among the inferior chiefs of their own tribes, whom for their own views of aggrandisement they seek to ruin; and by the imprecations of the mercantile and labouring classes, on whom they are obliged to impose burdensome taxes to keep up the little power they possess. Among their immediate retainers, even, they might in vain seek for attachment; arrears of salary, unrewarded services, and arbitrary confiscations, forbid the feeling. Possessing no right to rule than that of fortune and the sword, they have no affection for their country or subjects; their ambition is the ambition of robbers, and their law the law of caprice. This might seem to be the picture of any small state under an arbitrary Government at any time, and in any part of the world; but the existence of this state under a triumvirate of brothers, each jealous of the other, constitutes its peculiarity; and it is a matter of wonder that they should have so long escaped the dagger of the assassin (their tyrannical acts daily procuring them fresh enemies, ruling a barbarous nation, and being undefended by a standing army or even a

General remarks.

body guard). It is only to be accounted for by the fact, that no man could here trust his neighbour with such a plot; and I question whether any of the political factions of the country are composed of more than an individual.

Taxes.

2. Such are the taxes, that they extend from that on the murder of a citizen to that on the sale of a pair of shoes; and the Sardars may literally be said to live from hand to mouth, for, what perhaps is known in no other capital city of the world, the taxes are levied daily.

3. Candahar may be termed the cradle of the Duranees, for in this principality are found the mass of the tribes of Popalzies, Barakzais, and Alakozais, and the tribes included under the title of Panchpay, viz., Noorzai Alezai, Isaeezai, &c.

Ahmed Shah.

4. Before entering on the topic of the connexion which exists between Candahar and the several other powers of Afghanistan, it will be to the purpose to sketch briefly the history of that country subsequent to the time of Ahmed Shah.

5. This chief found himself at the head of the Afghan nation in A.D. 1747, and retained his position chiefly from the fortunate accident of a treasure of the Persian conqueror, Nadir Shah, his predecessor, falling into his hands at the same time; for had he not been thus fortunate, he would have found a rather perplexing opponent in his brother chieftain, Hajee Jamal, a Barakzai, the grandfather of the present chiefs of Afghanistan, whose tribe had at all times been one of the most numerous and powerful of the Duranees.

6. Hajee Jamal, it is said, for some days kept up a separate state, paying his new retainers in leather, a caravan of which commodity had fallen into his hands; Ahmed Shah, however, persuaded the old chief, who was almost in his dotage, to undertake the haj (pilgrimage to Mecca).

Timar Shah.

7. Ahmed Shah, after carrying his arms into Turkistan and India, against the latter of which he made seven campaigns, died in 1773, being succeeded by his son, Timar Shah, not without some opposition being made by his brother, Abdul Khalak, at Ghaznee.

8. This prince had not the ability to follow the successful steps of his father, or to consolidate the conquests of the former reign; he died at Cabool in 1793, without anything worthy of notice marking his reign.

Shah Zeman.

9. On his death, a faction, headed by his favourite queen, placed Prince Zeman on the throne of Cabool. Candahar was seized by his elder brother Hamayoon, Peshawar by Abbas, another prince of the blood, and Herat by Hajee Fairouzaddeen and Mahmood.

10. Shah Zaman during the early part of his reign listened to the counsels of his minister, Ramatulla Khan, and wasted his power in ill-timed invasions of India. It was this king that raised Runjeet Singh to consequence in the Punjab, having created him viceroy there. Shah Zaman, previous to one of his invasions of India, rejected his brother Hamayoon from Candahar, and taking him prisoner with him to Bhag, there blinded him. He had also imprisoned Abbas, and secured Peshawar. On his return from one of his latest campaigns, having detached the Shaheenchee-bashee with a force against the Sikhs (who was killed at Guzerat), his vizier, Ramatulla Khan, persuaded him that his nobles had entered into a conspiracy to dethrone him, and that they held their counsels at the house of a learned and pretending pious man, Myan Ghulam Mahammad. Among the nobles was Penda Khan, the father of the present Afghan chiefs, who received the title of Sarfraz Khan from Timar Shah for his brave conduct in the battle of Multan; Shah Zeman had him, with several others of the principal nobles, put to death in Candahar. His wife, with his eldest son, Fattah Khan, fled to Mahmood who was in retirement in Persia. They collected a force and took Herat, while Shah Zeman was on a campaign in the Punjab, from his sons, Princes Nasar and Hyder. This news brought Shah Zeman from Hindustan. Mahmood had in the interval taken Candahar from Prince Kaisar, and a battle took place between the two rivals at Mukud, which ended in the defeat of Shah Zeman, who fled to Cabool, where, however, he could not keep his position, but retired to Peshbulak almost alone, and took refuge in the house of a mulla, named Ashuk, who betrayed him to a party that Mahmood had sent in pursuit of him, by whom he was taken a prisoner to Cabool, where his eyes were put out; and his vizier, Ramatulla Khan, after being paraded through the streets on an ass, was beheaded.

Conspiracy.

Mahmood Shah.

11. Shuja'l Mulk, the full brother of Shah Zeman, who had been left in charge of the government of Peshawar and of the treasury, collected a force and marched towards Cabool; he encountered the army of Mahmood Shah at Ishpan, where suffering a defeat, he retired to Teera and took refuge with a Khyberee, by name Mahammad Ameer Khan. Mahmood Shah, with his son Prince Kamran, and Vizier Fattah Khan, then proceeded to Peshawar, which having occupied, they again returned to Cabool, bringing with them a considerable treasure.

12. At this time a quarrel took place between Vizier Fattah Khan and the Mukhtyar-adoula Sher Mahammad Khan, the son of Shah Walee Khan, vizier of Ahmed Shah, and father of Ata Mahammad Khan the Governor of Cashmere, for the office of prime minister; Mahmood Shah sent the former, with his son Prince Kamran, to hold the government of Candahar, and kept the latter with him. This chief shortly afterwards performed good service in defeating the Ghilzees, at Maidan, who had proclaimed Abdul Raheem Khan Hotkee king, and Shahbadeen Khan Tokhee, vizier. In this battle, other noblemen, Gulistan Khan and Ahmed Khan Noorzai, performed good service to Mahmood.

13. This monarch had, however, now become indifferent to the distribution of justice, and his reign was for a time threatened with extinction. A sayad had at that time considerable influence over the Sunnee inhabitants of Cabool; this man, by name Meer Waiz, had connected himself with Sher Mahammad Khan, the vizier. A petition was made to the

the king to make retribution on the Kazalbash portion of the inhabitants for the murder, by one of their body, of a Sunnee boy while in the public bath. The king turning a deaf ear, application was made to the Lord Bishop (if he can be so termed), who raised the Sunnee population, and sent an invitation to Shuja'l Mulk to repair to Cabool, who, on his arrival there, found his rival imprisoned, and, at the mediation of the blind Zeman, spared his eyesight, though he kept him in strict confinement.

Shuja'l Mulk.

14. Kamran and Vizier Fattah Khan took refuge in flight and retired to Maroof, while Shuja'l Mulk occupied Candahar; here he installed Poor Dil Khan in the honours of Fattah Khan, his elder brother. He, however, afterwards enticed the latter with promises to Candahar, where he imprisoned him; Meer Alam Khan Noorzai acted as his jailor, and in prison once offered indignity to his captive by kicking him in the face, knocking out two front teeth. Shuja'l Mulk at last released the vizier on the condition of getting his sister Tajbibee in marriage, and restored him to his honours. He then made a descent on Sinde and returned through Derajat and Peshawar to Cabool, where he fitted out an army under Sher Mahammad Khan Mukhtyar-a-doulah for the conquest of Cashmeer, then held by Abdulla Khan, the father of the present Vizier of Herat, Yah Mahammad Khan, who for some time withstood a siege in a fort of his own near Shahbad, but finally surrendered, having first drank poison. Sher Mahammad Khan left his son in charge of the Government of Cashmeer, and returned to Afghanistan with a considerable treasure.

15. Shuja'l Mulk had in the meantime appointed Akram Khan his vizier, and was, at the time of Sher Mahammad's arrival in Cabool, engaged on a descent on Sinde. The latter, enraged at his being superseded, placed himself at the head of a faction, and raised Prince Kaisar, the son of Shah Zeman, whom Shuja'l had left in the Government of Cabool, to the throne. This news reached the Shah while in Sinde; he returned through Derajat (from whence Fattah Khan left him and joined Mahmood) to Peshawar, where Sher Mahammad with Prince Kaisar offered him battle; the latter was forced to flee, and the former fell into the hands of the Shah, who beheaded him. He then fitted out an army under Akram Khan against Cashmeer, held by Ata Mahammad Khan, who had joined his father, the late vizier, in his rebellion.

16. Shuja'l Mulk returned to Cabool, where he found Meer Waiz (the Lord Bishop) had, on account of the execution of Sher Mahammad, released from prison the princes of the blood, and what was a more irreparable act, released Mahmood and Kamran; the former the Shah again secured, but the latter were beyond his power in Herat. The Shah then marched to Candahar, from which place he sent to have Meer Waiz murdered, which act was done to his satisfaction; thence making another descent on Sinde, he returned by Derajat to Peshawar, where he was joined by Akram Khan, who had been defeated in Cashmeer.

17. News at this time arrived that Mahmood, Kamran, and Fattah Khan had collected an army and had taken Candahar, and subsequently Cabool; Shuja collected an army and gave battle to his rivals at Neemla, but being defeated, with the loss of considerable treasure, fled through Chora to Attock, and sought protection with Runjeet Singh, then ruler of the Punjab, where, not receiving good treatment, and being defrauded of the famous diamond, the Kohinoor, by that ruler, he sought protection from the British in Lodiana, having reigned seven years. It was after this battle that Fattah Khan, by the execution of Meer Alam, avenged the loss of his teeth.

18. Mahmood, then for the first time secure of the throne, proceeded to Peshawar, in the government of which place he installed his brother Ayoob, and gave him as a coadjutor Mahammad Azeem Khan, the brother of the vizier Fattah Khan; returning to Cabool, he then installed another brother Prince Husham, with Sultan Mahammad Khan, another of the vizier's brothers, and, proceeding thence to Candahar, left Prince Kamran and Poor Dil Khan in charge of the government; he finally retired to Herat, and appointed his brother, Prince Fairuzodeen, governor, being assisted by Kobin Dil Khan, another of the vizier's brothers, and Nawab Jabbar Khan was made Governor of Derajat.

Shah Mahmood

19. Mahmood then returned to Peshawar, and detached Vizier Fattah Khan for the conquest of Cashmeer, who, leaving his brother Ata Mahammad Khan at Peshawar, took Mahammad Azeem Khan with him, and having defeated Ata Mahammad Bamezai, and taken Cashmeer, installed that brother in the government, who held it for three years before he had to resist an invasion of the Sikhs, and a subsequent one of Shuja'l Mulk. Ata Mahammad fled to Candahar, where Kamran gave him a post about his person, and Jahan Dad Khan, his brother, surrendered Attock to the Sikhs.

20. Mahmood had in the meantime appointed Ibrahim Khan Jamsheedee vizier, which considerably annoyed Vizier Fattah Khan, and he was alone appeased by Mahmood appointing him to proceed with a force and take Herat from Prince Ferozadeen, who had been paying tribute to Persia. This he accomplished, took Ferozadeen prisoner, ransacked his treasure and harem, and, being induced by the promises of assistance made to him by a discontented chief of Khorasan, Mahammad Khan Kohee by name, endeavoured to carry his arms into Khorasan; but, being defeated by the Prince Governor of Meschid, he retired to Herat, where Kamran also repaired, leaving his father Mahmood in Candahar; here, at the instigation of his Vizier Ata Mahammad Bamezai, he seized Vizier Fattah Khan and put out his eyes. Dost Mahammad Khan, who now first figures in Afghan history, was with his brother; he made his escape and joined Mahammad Azeem Khan in Cashmeer; the Sikhs had in the meantime taken Peshawar from Yar Mahammad Khan, though they only occupied it three days.

21. Mahmood Shah and Kamran, taking with them the blind vizier, came to Candahar,

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whence

whence they detached Prince Jehangeer, Kamran's son, and Ata Mahammad Bamezai, to take Cabool from Sultan Mahammad Khan, who vacated the city, and fled to his brothers in Cashmeer, accompanied by Yar Mahammad Khan from Peshawar.

Massacre of Vizier
Fatteh Khan.

22. Dost Mahammad had been furnished in the meantime by his brother, Mahammad Azeem, with 14 lacs of rupees, to collect an army. He proceeded with this force to Cabool, where he defeated Jahangeer, and, seizing Ata Mahammad Bamezai, deprived him of sight. Kamran brought a force from Candahar, and caused Vizier Fatteh Khan to be massacred in his own presence at Saitabad. He then advanced to within a few miles of Cabool to Char Azeeya, where he was engaged by Dost Mahammad, who gave him a signal defeat; and Sher Dil Khan having in the meantime come from Maroof, and seized Candahar, he was obliged to retire to Herat, afterwards paying to Persia the same tribute that Ferozadeen had done.

Habeebulla Khan.

23. Mahammad Azeem Khan leaving his brother, Nawab Jubbar Khan in the Government of Cashmeer, returned with a force to Peshawar, where he, with Yar Mahammad, proclaimed Prince Ayooob king; while Dost Mahammad in Cabool proclaimed Sultan Aly, another of Mahmood's brothers, Azeem Khan, arriving in Cabool, instigated Prince Ismail, the son of Prince Ayooob, to murder Sultan Aly, which he did in open court. Dost Mahammad, taking offence, retired to Ghaznee, which he took from Ghazee Khan, whom he put to death. Here Azeem Khan followed him; a battle took place, which ended in Ghaznee being given to Dost Mahammad. Azeem Khan thence proceeded to Candahar, and made a descent on Shikarpoor, and returned again to Cabool through Derajat and Peshawar, whence he again returned with a force and engaged the Sikhs at Noushera, where he was defeated. The Sikhs occupied Peshawar for 16 days, and then evacuated it in favour of Mahammad Azeem Khan and brothers, on condition of their paying a yearly tribute of 40 horses and 40 kharvars of Bhada rice.

Syad Ahmed.

24. Mahammad Azeem Khan returned to Cabool, where he shortly died, and Habeebulla Khan, his son, succeeded as head of the family. A short time afterwards a dispute arose between him and Dost Mahammad, which ended in an engagement, and the retreat of Dost Mahammad Khan to Candahar, and of Ameer Mahammad Khan to Ghaznee. The former succeeded in interesting his brothers Sher Dil Khan and Poor Dil Khan in his favour, who proceeded to Cabool with him on a pretence of reconciling him to Habeebulla Khan. On their arrival, they, however, seized the latter; Sher Dil and Poor Dil Khans, taking his treasure, proceeded back to Candahar, leaving Dost Mahammad Khan in possession of Cabool, and of the person of Habeebulla, who, however, received an allowance.

25. At this time Syad Ahmed, a fanatic, made his appearance in Cabool. Here he was not treated with the respect, by Dost Mahammad, which he thought his avocation (*viz.*, a religious war on the infidel Sikhs) ought to secure for him. He retired to Peshawar, where Sultan Mahammad Khan, who had been ejected from Cabool by Dost Mahammad and Yar Mahammad Khan joined him, and several engagements took place with the Sikhs. Runjeet Singh succeeded in bribing Yar Mahammad with promises to poison the sayad during one of their engagements. This he attempted, but without success, and the sayad retreated to Panchtar, in the Esafzai country, whence he annoyed the Sikhs in nightly attacks.

26. The Sikhs bribed Yar Mahammad a second time to do away with the sayad; they both collected forces, and a battle took place, in which Yar Mahammad was killed, and Sultan Mahammad was forced to retreat. The sayad, however, recalled him, and, giving him confidence, reinstated him in Peshawar, and himself repaired to the country of the Esafzais, and carried on a predatory war with the Sikhs, in one of which he was slain.

27. Sultan Mahammad Khan continued in possession of Peshawar, paying tribute to Runjeet Singh. Shuja'l Mulk then fitted out an expedition, and promising Runjeet Singh Peshawar, proceeded *via* Sind and besieged Candahar, but, on Dost Mahammad coming to its rescue, he was forced to flee again. The Sikhs having taken possession of Peshawar, Sultan Mahammad retreated to Cabool, where Dost Mahammad collected a force of Ghazees (crusaders), and accompanied Sultan Mahammad to Peshawar, and the armies remained opposed to each other for 15 days, when Runjeet Singh intrigued with Sultan Mahammad Khan to get Dost Mahammad to retire, which he did himself, remaining more dependent than before on Runjeet Singh.

28. This brings events up to the present time, where we find Kamran the same pageant in the hands of Vizier Yar Mahammad, as his father was in those of Vizier Fatteh Khan, holding the city and territory of Herat, and still, when opportunity offers, making campaigns on Candahar, which he considers a revolted province of his kingdom. In Cabool and its dependencies, Ghaznee and Julalabad, we find Dost Mahammad Khan pursuing the example of his illustrious brothers, the Viziers, and trusting none of the subordinate Governments to any but his own sons, picturing in imagination his once becoming a second Ahmed. Peshawar, a province of the Panjab and Candahar, we find ruled by three brothers, Kohin Dil, Raham Dil, and Mehr Dil Khans, yielding a revenue of not more than eight lacs of rupees, and furnishing an army of 3,000 good cavalry and 1,000 infantry, and 15 guns, whose increase would, however, keep pace with any increase of funds.

29. The country, though well watered, is uncultivated, as the rulers, who possess nine-tenths of the land, will not rent it without an immediate return, or grant a water-lease but on exorbitant terms; and the warlike tribes, who, under Ahmed, carried their arms to India and Persia, finding themselves oppressed at home, are ripe for any change of Government, provided it does not interfere with the established religion.

30. Whatever the Sardars have to fear from the two aspirants to the Affghan crown, Shuja'l

Shuja'l Mulk and Kamrau, to whom might, perhaps, be added a third (their brother Dost Mahammad), they were secure from attempts to supplant them by other Duranee chiefs.

With this preface, a consideration of the Candahar Court may be commenced by a picture of—

31. Kohn Dil Khan. His age may be 45, possessing a commanding aspect, index of the superiority and respect he actually possesses above his two coadjutors. He, in the absence of Dost Mahammad Khan, by whom he is at present eclipsed, would ornament the Affghan nation as their head. His natural bravery is checked, and he is alone prevented rising to an equality with his brother of Cabool from poverty, which has become his portion rather to his honour than his reproach, in times when he had only to divest himself of his scruples of right (when all did wrong), to enable him to invest himself with considerable wealth. He is allowed by his brothers of Candahar a carpet throne, and is addressed by Dost Mahammad himself as his superior, as he is the head of the eldest existing branch of the family. He holds the castle and territory of Greeslik, in addition to his share of the whole country. He has a large family, two sons of which are alone of age, Mahammad Sadeek Khan, Governor of Greeslik, and Mahammad Omer Khan, whom it was lately proposed to send to Persia to conciliate Mahammad Shah, and ward off an invasion of Afghanistan, now being prosecuted by that monarch. He is influenced entirely by the counsels of his confessor, Sahabadeen Ghilzee.

Sardar Kohn Dil Khan.

32. Sardar Raham Dil Khan, a man of 43, has in his train the wealthiest nobles of the state, and, being jealous of his elder brother, is constantly involved with him in petty quarrels, and is ever taking affront at childish trifles, and retiring pouting out of the city, till coaxed back. He is avaricious, and on that account has cultivated the friendship of the British Government more than his brothers. He is of an indolent disposition; his counsels are influenced considerably by his uncle, Khuda Nazar, a Ghilzee, with whose tribe he has more intercourse than his other brothers, which he would wish to be thought authority. He is also minister to the triumvirate for the affairs of Balochistan, or, as he would wish to be called, "Lord Governor" of it. Mehrab Khan, the chief, corresponds through him. He is much attached to his brother, Sultan Mahammad Khan, and on that account has been suspected of tampering with the Sikhs. His confessor, or Peer, Myan Ghulam Siddeek, possesses a great influence over him; he has no sons who have yet grown into notice.

Sardar Raham Dil Khan.

33. Sardar Mehr Dil Khan may be 40 years of age, cunning and intriguing, though inclined to dissipation and extravagance. He acts as minister for foreign affairs; is on better terms with Dost Mahammad than his brothers; (his counsellor, Mulla Rasheed, is the brother of Dost Mahammad's naib, Ameer Akhunzada); is mediator between his two brothers in their quarrels, for which office he has a certificate, most solemnly sworn to by both, which is renewed every year; was instrumental in forming the late connexion with Persia, which was nearly producing the ruin either of Afghanistan or of his own house; possessing greater literary talents and taste for diplomacy than his brothers, he conducts all their foreign connexions; and finally, is much disliked by the merchants, as a part of his income is derived from the exorbitant custom duties of the city.

Sardar Mehr Dil Khan.

34. Meer Afzal Khan, the eldest remaining son of Sardar Poor Dil Khan, is about 30 years of age; he is allowed 60,000 rupees a year, and has command of 400 horsemen; he is regarded with jealousy by the Sardars, as kindredship here is but a slight bond; he is a man of agreeable manners and some education, and owes his allowance to the goodwill of Mehr Dil Khan and the Sardar's sister, widow of Meer Alam Khan; he is at enmity with Mahammad Sadeek, and never even meets him; and it is not to be doubted that he entertains wishes prejudicial to the interests of his uncles.

Meer Afzal Khan.

35. The widow of Meer Alam sometimes succeeds as mediator in the quarrels of her brothers, and is treated with much respect by all of them; she is the head of the family of Sardar Mehr Dil Khan, to whom she is much attached.

Widow of Meer Alam.

36. Mulla Sahab deen Ghilzee was formerly a mulla of moderate attainments, and had the fortune to be selected as tutor to Kohn Dil Khan, when a boy; who, when he grew up and became governor of Candahar, treated him still with the respect of a pupil, going constantly to visit him. This honour led to thousands flocking to him daily, many attributing to him supernatural powers. Owing to his having once interceded with Kohn Dil Khan for a thief with success, his village of Mazra, of which he is called the Peer (half saint, half confessor) has become a complete "city of refuge."

37. Hajee Khan, properly Taj Mahammad Khan, a Kaker by caste, a man of considerable note in the country, both as being one of the chiefs of a large independent clan, and as having distinguished himself both in the field and council, has lately sought service with Raham Dil Khan, who has allowed him nominally 60,000 rupees a year, and the command of 300 horsemen, merely to prevent him joining the Sikhs or Persians, on account of a supposed intrigue with the former during the late war, Dost Mahammad having discharged him. He is a man of a ready address, and, from the time of Vizier Fattah Khan, has been constantly handed backward and forward between the Burakzai brothers. He will in a few years most probably join either the Sikhs or Uzbecks. His arguments are heard in council, though his sincerity is often doubted.

Hajee Khan.

38. Khuda Nazar Khan Ghilzee, uncle of the present sardars, is a man of no consequence in his own tribe. He receives 3,000 rupees a month, and commands 300 men, and could collect 1,000 men of his tribe to join the sardars in a campaign. He possesses great wealth for Afghanistan, having ten lacs of rupees worth of jewels and capital; the former

Khuda Nazar Khan Ghilzee.

of which was, it is said, the property of Mahammad Azeem Khan. He is extremely avaricious, and has great influence in the counsels of Sardar Raham Dil Khan.

Faiztallab Khan
Noorzai.

39. Faiztallab Khan Noorzai is the head of a considerable portion of his tribe; was a few months back under Kohn Dil Khan, who on some pretence discharged him. Sardar Raham Dil Khan took up his quarrel, which so offended his brother that the latter threatened to retire from the Government, and become hermit with his confessor, the Peer of Mazra. He, after a few days of sulkiness, permitted Mehr Dil Khan to coax him back, and agreed to the entertainment of Faiztallab, though he forbade him to enter the city. This chief is now in disgrace; but it is impossible to tell in this changing country how soon he may be recalled to place and honour.

Sohbat Khan
Andah Ghilzee.

40. Sohbat Khan Andah Ghilzee is one of the chiefs of Rahim Dil Khan. He receives 2,000 rupees a month, and has command of 20 horsemen. He has some property, perhaps a lac of rupees, and has considerable influence with this sardar. He could bring 500 men of his tribe to the wars of the sardars; his connexions are, however, in the employ of Dost Mahammad Khan.

Ramzan Khan
Hotak Ghilzee.

41. Ramzan Khan Hotak Ghilzie is subservient to Kohn Dil Khan, of whom he is "akhanawada," or nobleman. He enjoys a jagire of a lac of rupees, and could collect 1,000 horsemen from his tribe for the sardars. He possesses considerable influence in Candahar, though not in the confidence of the sardars.

Dost Mahammad
Khan Juwansher.

42. Dost Mahammad Khan Juwansher, Kazalbash Naib of Raham Dil Khan, possesses some wealth; is distinguished in the field; has a lac and a half rupees; and, as his title intimates, is in the confidence of that sardar.

Amenulla Khan.

43. Amenulla Khan receives 30,000 rupees a year from Kohn Dil Khan, and commands 100 horse. He was formerly with Dost Mahammad, and before that with Mahammad Azeem Khan and Habeebulla Khan. He is a Baraky Parseewan by tribe. To his quarrel with Habeebulla Khan, Dost Mahammad partly owes his success. He is an adviser of the sardar.

Mulla Yoonas
Hotak Ghilzee.

44. Mulla Yoonas Hotak Ghilzee is another influential man about the person of Sardar Kohn Dil Khan. He has command of 100 horsemen, and could bring 500 Ghilzees to aid the sardar in his wars.

Meerza Ahmed
Khan Parseewan.

45. Meerza Ahmed Khan Parseewan, a Tajak, is a man of good sound sense, and is one of the men possessing greatest influence with Sardar Raham Dil Khan. He has command of 100 horsemen.

Mulla Nassoo
Mushwanee.

46. Mulla Nassoo, a Mushwanee by caste, is the private secretary of Kohn Dil Khan; has no fixed salary, but is the entire manager of the sardar's revenue. He is a man of rough manners and moderate talents, and connects himself with the Government merely to protect his trade, which he carries on to a considerable extent; and it is from foresight of that increasing that he would wish to see the sardars connect themselves with the British Government.

Mulla Rusheed
Barakzai.

47. Mulla Rusheed Barakzai, the deadly enemy of the former, is the adviser of Sardar Mehr Dil Khan. He is crafty, avaricious, and revengeful, has considerable property, and is engaged in a large trade. He is not, however, trusted on all subjects, as he and his brother, the Naib of Cabool, are in the interest of Dost Mahammad Khan. He might be brought to any bad act that injured others, and could be made instrumental to no good one that did not profit himself. He has been the ruin of many merchants, having excited the cupidity of the sardars by description of the former's wealth. He is entertained, or fattened, like a pigeon to be plucked in the day of the sardar's need.

48. The Mulla, or priest faction, are not regarded with respect by the sardars themselves, who do not respect their order except in the persons of Peers (recluses) or fakeers of the higher order, to whom extraordinary virtues or abstinence from vices are attributed. They are, however, influential with an illiterate public, especially when the rulers depart at all from the written law, as was lately shown to be the case, when the sardars refused to allow the Ghazees (crusaders) of Candahar to go to the succour of Herat; they threatened to shut up the mosques, and forbid the "bany," "call to prayers," to be given.

Sheeah part of the
Kazalbashes.

49. The Sheeah part of the Kazalbashes here cannot be called a faction; as they are either artizans or meeizas (writers), having no power in the Government. The principal man among them is Hajee Abbas, who has been ruined in mercantile speculation. Rahim Dil Khan's naib, Dost Mahammad, and his brother Jan Mahammad, once employed on an embassy to Calcutta, though Kazalbash by tribe, have become Afghanised by habit and interest. Though pleased, and evidently showing they are so, at the prospect of Mahammad Shah taking Herat, the faction are afraid to establish a communication.

The Ghilzee
faction.

50. The Ghilzee faction in Candahar consist of the powerful chiefs above enumerated, who, though hating the Duranees in heart as usurpers of their power, are content to serve them that they may in some way share the profits of their passing power. They are suspected of having lately sent overtures to Mahammad Shah, tendering their obedience and the assistance of their tribe to root out the Duranees, and to be put in their places, for which they would pay homage to Persia. This is, however, a mere report. The men of this faction are not possessed of any high qualities, and are seldom collected among themselves for any length of time.

51. Having thus sketched the Candahar court, the next object will be to give a sketch of the Sardars' connexion with the neighbouring states. (Their power in Seistan, Hazarajat, among the Taimanees and Ghilzees, will be, or has been, described in separate papers.)

Connexion with
Runjeet Singh.

52. Connexion with Runjeet Singh. That ruler, wishing to employ Sultan Mahammad Khan to gain a footing in Afghanistan, and, to bring over his brothers, often reproached him

him with indifference to the interests of him, his master, and as undeserving the title of Meer-i Afghān, which he intended to confer on him when he should have subjugated that people. This acted on the fear of Sultan Mahammad, and as at that time some horses had arrived from his brother, Raham Dil Khan, as a present, in charge of one Nazar Sher Mahammad, he did not hesitate to pass them on to Runjeet Singh, as tribute from Candahar. Runjeet Singh, highly delighted, sent presents of Khinkale elephants, shawls, &c., for the three Sardars, in charge of Khoja Mahammad Khan, the son of Sardar Sultan Mahammad, who, on his arrival in Candahar, was slighted by all but Sardar Raham Dil Khan. The other brothers refusing to receive their presents, this gave offence to the former, who reproached them with their changeability, as they had themselves once suggested an alliance with Runjeet Singh, in order to root out Dost Mahammad. He retired in disgust to Pishāng, whence he dismissed his nephew, with return presents, not for Runjeet Singh, but for his brother, leaving it, however, optional for the latter to pass them on to the Maharaja or not. The name of Sikh is not so much abhorred in Candahar as it is in Cabool; men even talk of the rule of that people being preferable to that of Persia, if one or the other is destined to subjugate them.

53. Their connexion with Sindh will, of course, now be at an end, since the establishment of British interest in that country. In the time of Timur Shah the Sindians paid tribute to the amount of 22 lacs of rupees. In subsequent reigns they paid to Candahar 16 lacs, subsequently 10 lacs, and lastly they paid three lacs of rupees to Sardar Mahammad Azeem Khan. Sardar Raham Dil Khan was the last governor of Shikarpoor, whence he retired, on a pretence of being recalled by his brothers, but actually fearing an attack of the Sindians, leaving a Naib Abdul Mansoor Khan in his place, who was forced, by the threats of the Sindians, to evacuate the place. To Sardar Raham Dil Khan's holding the government of Shikarpoor is entirely to be attributed all the wealth he has.

Connexion with
Sinde.

54. The state of Candahar has lost its influence over Khalat. Ahmed Shah installed Nasser Khan, an Arab by descent, in the government, ordering him to furnish a contingent of 12,000, the pay of which he should always receive. In this state things were until Sher Dil Khan came to the government of Candahar, when Mehrab Khan, the present Chief of Khalat, receded in some manner from his allegiance, which led to an expedition being fitted out, which made a few marches towards Khalat; but Sher Dil Khan being killed by the stroke of a hot wind, the expedition was delayed, until headed next year by Poor Dil Khan and Kohn Dil Khan. Mehrab Khan, in great alarm, sent his mother to Candahar with three lacs of Khalat rupees (which are, however, of little value), to propitiate the Sardars. The expedition was put off, and the old lady despatched with honour and presents. Mehrab Khan, about eight years ago, killed his brother, the ruler of the province of Sarewan, and imprisoned the son, Meer Shah Nawaz Khan, who, during Shuja's expedition, succeeded in escaping, and joined the latter, and, on his defeat, remained in Candahar, receiving a nominal allowance from the Sardars, whom he tries to excite to fit out another expedition against Khalat. This they are afraid to do, as Mehrab Khan would immediately tender his allegiance to Kamran. Shah Nawaz Khan's presence in Candahar is the source of great alarm to his uncle Mehrab, who, to keep his ground and ward off an invasion from Candahar, occasionally sends presents, and asks their instructions in conducting his foreign correspondence. When Herat was first besieged, he wrote to offer his contingent of 12,000 men, provided he received their pay, to accompany the Sardars to Herat. Mehrab Khan will most likely receive the allegiance of more of the Baluch tribes than he already possesses, when Sindh shall have become subject to British control.

Khalat.

55. Candahar connected with Persia. Since the invasion of Afghanistan by Nadir Shah, the country has not seen another enemy further in her territories than Herat, which has on several occasions been besieged, but without success. Agha Mahammad Shah, after his expedition to Meschid, and on his way to punish Ibrahim Khan, the governor of Sheesha, the capital of Karabagh, who had rebelled, despatched an elchy to Shah Zeman, with the following message:—"Tell the son of Timur Shah to expect me as his guest in Candahar, on my way to India, which, by the blessing of God, I intend to subdue." During the reign of his nephew and successor, Fattah Ali Shah Mahmood, his son Kamran and Vizier Fattah Khan, found an asylum for some time in Teheran from the pursuit of Shah Zeman. During this reign two embassies were sent to Candahar by Hasan Aly Meerza, the younger son of Fattah Ali Shah, prince governor of Meschid, to secure the interest of the Afghans in the struggle for the throne, anticipated on the death of his father. This intrigue was made known to the heir apparent, Abbas Meerza, by Raza Kouli Khan Kurd, a chief of Khorasan. It was the fear of this faction that subjected Abbas for a time to the baneful influence of Russia. Hasan Aly Meerza had, in person, sought the interest of Kamran to assist in placing him on the throne. On the accession of Mahammad Shah to the throne of Persia, the Sardars sent a mission of congratulation, at the instigation of a disgraced noble of Kamran, Vakeel by name, under Azeem Khan, a Popalzai, who, during his residence in Teheran, was the guest of one Abbas Khan, formerly groom of the stole to Kamran, which latter the Russian envoy had engaged in his interests. During the stay of the Candahar elchy, a merchant, Hajee Kareem Candahar, at the request of the English envoy, waited on the Candahar elchy, and a visit to the envoy ensued. This, by the representation of the Russian envoy, led to the Shah slighting Azeem Khan. He was afterwards dismissed, in company with a return mission from the Shah, under Meer Mahammad, a servant of Abbas Khan, and a Sayad. This man, on his arrival in Candahar, had the honour of a visit from the two younger Sardars, accompanied by the son of the eldest. This honour was intended of course to reach the ears of the Shah, though the Sardars told their own Court that the visit

Candahar.

was paid merely in consideration of the envoy being a Sayad, and to offer him condolence on the late demise of his brother. Meer Mahammad brought many arguments for the propriety of the Sardars opening a communication with the Russian envoy; on his dismissal he was accompanied by Taj Mahammad Khan, who carried presents for the Shah, with common complimentary letters. He again, on his return, was accompanied by Kambar Aly Khan, who brought proposals for a treaty, the object of which was to occupy the Sardars while Mahammad Shah attacked Herat. Subsequent occurrences have already been detailed in the Despatches of Captain Burnes, as well as the connexion of the Sardars with Russia.

Kamran.

56. The Sardars besides, as Barakzais, looking upon Kamran with hatred, as a Sadozai and a lawful monarch, the enemy of their usurpation and as the descendant of the murderer of their father, are possessed with a still bitterer hatred towards him, not so much for the mutilation and subsequent murder of a brother, the founder of their power in Afghanistan, as for the murder of that brother, considered as the founder of the power of that same Kamran and his father Mahmood; so blinded are they by this hatred that, to use an Eastern phrase, they would throw themselves into fire provided they could draw Kamran after them.

57. Subsequent to the defeat of Kamran by Dost Mahammad Khan, and his final retirement to Herat, he has made two expeditions for the recovery of Candahar: one under his son, Prince Abbas, who was defeated by Sher Dil Khan at Zamindawar; the second was made in person last year; he advanced to Bakwa with a considerable force, and Kohn Dil Khan did the same to Greeshk; whence he detached Bakar Khan to Washer with 100 horsemen, who were surprised by a party under Yah Mahammad Khan, losing three men killed and 26 taken prisoners; they retired to Greeshk; and Kamran turned his arms against Lash, which place he was besieging, when news of the present Persian invasion led him to hasten back to Herat, and make preparations for the siege.

Connexion with Cabool.

58. With Cabool the Sardars see the disadvantage of remaining unconnected; but they fear the Ameer's ambition should they draw close. They speak of him as possessing little ability, and still less honour and faith; they do not, however, fear him, with the Ghilzees between them, as they rely upon having the latter in their interests; had they the guarantee of the British Government for the security of their possessions from his encroachments, they would not hesitate to acknowledge Dost Mahammad's supremacy. Sardar Kohn Dil Khan, it is said, formerly exchanged Korans with Dost Mahammad, as an oath of friendship.

Shah Shuja'l Mulk.

59. Of Shah Shuja'l Mulk they stand in the greatest dread; as he is extremely popular in Afghanistan, and the tyranny of the upstart Barakzais has effaced from the mind of the Afghans that of the Sadozais, while the former cannot support the dignity, power or what is most, the show of monarchy. Though Shah Shuja is very popular in the country, his constant reverses appear fated in the eyes of the multitude, and with great difficulty could any be found to join his fortunes without seeing the greatest certainty of success.

(signed) R. Leech, Assistant.

N.B.—The resources, military and financial, of Candahar will be treated in a separate paper.

(True copy.)
(signed) Alex. Burnes.

To Captain *Alexander Burnes*, &c. &c. &c., on route from Cabool.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that on the 9th instant I communicated to the Sardars the news of your departure from Cabool, and the necessity of my proceeding to Shikarpoor; Sardar Kohn Dil Khan in plain terms said our retirement at the present crisis reflected great discredit on our nation, as a great deal of valuable time had been lost on both sides. He confessed that the Afghans, whatever should happen, could never amalgamate with Persia, but that, if it pleased Providence to release his country from the present invasion, he hoped to make us repent our present neglect; and we might expect the Afghans in Hindustan; I could scarcely restrain a smile at this absurd threat. I explained to him, that, in the absence of letters from you, I could not speak with certainty, but I had reason to suppose that Dost Mahammad had himself given you hints that your presence in Cabool he did not consider beneficial to his affairs; he agreed with me in this supposition. I had an interview subsequently with Sardar Raham Dil Khan, who, in speaking of our retirement, said we had lost our character by the step; but that, nevertheless, his great friendship for Sultan Mahammad Khan and Nawab Jubbar Khan would always tend to attach him to the British Government, who might consider him always their servant; that he had hoped to have been my entertainer in Candhar during my stay, but, as I might myself have observed, his elder brother, Kohn Dil Khan, looked with great jealousy on any connexion he held with the British. He assured me that he had not given his seal, as his brothers had done, to Alladad Khan, to carry to the Persian camp; and that while Kambar Aly, the Persian envoy, was here, he never once granted him an interview, or gave him an entertainment. Several days before the receipt of your short letter by Sardar Mehr Dil Khan's Peshkhidmat Abdul, Mulla Nassoo called on me, and sat till very late; the object of his visit was to praise Sardar Kohn Dil Khan

Khan to the disparagement of the Ameer of Cabool This interview I looked upon as an attempt to probe me how far I was inclined to treat separately with Candhar.

I hope he retired, as I intended and wished him to do, unsatisfied on the point one way or the other.

Candahar, 12 May 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) R. Leech, Assistant.

To Captain *Alex. Burnes*, &c., &c., &c., on route from Cabool.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that I have just received news from Candahar.

2. Mahammad Omar Khan was to leave Candahar for the Persian camp, with an escort of 250 cavalry, on the 21st, and his elder brother, Mahammad Siddock, was to accompany him, with a body of 2,000 cavalry, as far as Farrah, where he was to wait, to observe the treatment shown the young Sardar by the Shah.

3. Reports were prevalent that succour had arrived from Orgunge for Herat; other reports stated that Kamran and his vizier in person had made a sally with great effect, and that an officer on the part of the British envoy had been several days in the city. These reports are symptoms of some favourable change in Kamran's fortunes.

I have, &c.
(signed) R. Leech,
Assistant.

Camp, Pishing, 27 May 1837.

To Captain *Alex. Burnes*, &c., &c., &c., on Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that, during a stay of a few days in the valley of Pishing, occasioned by indisposition, I had several interesting interviews with Taj Mahammad, *alias* Hajee Khan Kaker, once the principal nobleman at the Affghan Court, and still the head of one of the largest tribes.

He honoured me by coming from his fort at some distance, attended by only four horsemen.

He shortly explained to me his history. He was originally but a peasant, and having sought his fortune in Herat, there rose to consequence, and finally attached himself to Dost Mahammad Khan, whose fortunes he was the chief instrument in improving: persuaded him to learn to read, write, and, last, to rule; he also suggested to him the title of Ameer.

During his service, or rather connexion with Dost Mahammad Khan (for the latter treated him as a brother), he first and last furnished the Ameers with a sum not less than 12 lacs of rupees. During the last engagement with the Sikhs he was suspected, not without some cause, of tampering with the enemy, and was, without account, discharged by Dost Mahammad. He is now in the service of Sardar Raham Dil Khan, has command of 400 cavalry, receives nominally 5,000 rupees a month, and is governor of Pishing. Since his difference with the Ameer of Cabool he is in hourly fear of his life, and openly confesses that, were it in his power, he would avenge himself on the Ameer.

He is desirous of becoming a servant of the British Government, and of having its protection extended to his children. He can, by all accounts, collect a force of 80,000 men, mountaineers, Kakers, and Ghilzus, which two tribes are friendly to each other, and mutually afford succour in each other's wars.

His late reverse of fortune has left him a poor man, and, unless the British Government take him in their employ, on a salary, he will be obliged to seek refuge with the Sikhs.

He is a man of great military fame, and of an unblemished name in Persia, Turkisthan, Khorasan, and the Punjab. He raised Dost Mahammad to power, and Shujawol Mulk is convinced he could do the same for him.

I have the honour to suggest, that, whether the British Government have hostile design or not on Affghanisthan at present, he be furnished with a salary sufficient to enable him to live independent among his tribe, and gain absolute influence there, say two lacs of rupees a-year; it being taken into consideration that the tribe of Kakers holds most of the passes west of Indus.

I promised him he would receive an answer from me in the course of one and a half or two months.

I have, &c.
(signed) R. Leech,
Assistant.]

INTELLIGENCE received by Captain *Burnes* from Candhar, on the 7th July 1838,
at Lahore.

WHEN the Sardars of Candhar were disappointed, and sure that the British Government would do nothing for them, they sent the treaty that had been drawn between them and Kumber Ali Khan to the Russian ambassador. The contents of the treaty are well known to you by my late communication.

1—Sess. 2.

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After

After perusing the treaty the Russian envoy took it to Mahomed Shah, who agreed to every article of it. The envoy made himself guarantee for the fulfilment of its articles, and then sent it back to the Sirdars, along with his own letter, the contents of which are as follows:—

"Mahomed Shah has promised to give you the possession of Herat, and I sincerely tell you that you will also get Ghorian, on my account, from the Shah. It is, therefore, advisable that you should send your son, Mahomed Omar Khan, to Herat, where you must also afterwards come.

"When Mahomed Omar Khan arrives here I will ask the Shah to quit Herat, and send your son along with his Majesty to Tehran; I (the Russian envoy) will remain here with 12,000 troops, and, when you join, we will take Herat, which will be afterwards delivered to you."

On the arrival of this letter the Sirdars had no bounds to their joy, and sent it to Cabool. The report was that it did not please the Ameer at all.

Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan has returned to Candahar.

The Russian agent (Vitkievitch) who accompanied him from Cabool to this place was received here with honour, since the Russian envoy at Herat had written strongly to the Sirdars that they must treat Omar Khan, or Vitkievitch, with all sorts of consideration, and believe his tongue, oath, and words, as if they were from him (Russian envoy).

The Sirdars have sent Mahomed Omar, with 250 horsemen, to Herat, to wait for Mahomed Shah, and have sent an elephant for his Majesty, and some shawls for the Russian envoy.

The Sirdars have sent 114 letters, &c., ordering the heads of Seestan, Farah, Sabzwari, and other Afghans, to join their son, Mahomed Sadik Khan, at Farah. They have also informed them that the Russian envoy has made them the "Muri Afghan," and has promised to give them possession of Herat, when, if any of them will not obey our (Sirdar's) orders, he will be banished from the country for ever.

[It is now six days since the above orders have been sent to different quarters.

The Sirdars, or brothers, at Candahar, have been friendly towards each other, though none of the Ameer's people is with them; but they appear one with each other, since a regular dalk has been established between Candahar and Cabool, from which a letter reaches now in four days.

Herat is still under siege, and is making a brave defence.

The English and Russian ambassadors have joined Mahomed Shah. Rumour says that the former was for seven days inside Herat to establish peace between the two States; but it did not come to be the case, or the peace was not made.

Yar Mahomed Khan has sent all the people of Herat out of the city, and has kept his troops and parties with those of Kanuran in the city, which he says he will not surrender to the last breath of his life.]

(True copy.)

(signed) Alex. Burnes.

True copy.)

(signed) H. Torrens,

Deputy Secretary to Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To W. H. Macnaghten, Secretary to the Government of India, Simla.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to forward, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, intelligence from the west, which appears to be of importance, since it conveys details of a repulse which the Persians have met with at Herat.

I have, &c.

(signed) Alex. Burnes.

Simla, 18 August 1838.

No. 1.

COPY of a Letter [from Ghoolam Khan Populzye Doorance] to Captain Burnes
[received at Simla, 18th August 1838], and dated 19th July [or thereabouts] 1838.

[A. C.]

AFTER Major Todd's departure, news in succession has reached from Herat, and full particulars as to your Ambassador's proceedings with the Shah. After much altercation, Mahomed Shah desired Mr. McNeill to quit his camp, and to leave Persia by way of Bunder Abbass (Gombroon), or, if not, to go to Tehran, and remain there. Mr. McNeill quitted Herat in consequence.

When

When the son of the Candahar Sirdar reached the Shah's camp, he was treated in a most distinguished manner, had swords and daggers ornamented with gold given to him, and horses with golden-bridles; and the country of Furor and Sabzewor made over to him.

After this the Shah sent his agent to Kamran, and desired him to submit, as his holding out longer was useless, when the son of the chief of Candahar, the capital of his ancestors, had come to the royal camp. To this message Kamran sent a smart reply, announcing that the submission of such traitors as the chiefs of Candahar in no wise affected him.

On this answer being received the Shah, on the 2d day of the month of Rubee-ool-Sanee (about the 28th June), gathered together all his army, his regiments, his cavalry, and his guns, and marched up to Herat, investing the city from the gate of Kotab-Chak to the gate of Koorhk; the troops crossed the ditch, and some even got to the top of the wall. The Afghans resisted them here for a time till body fell upon body, when they threw open the gates, and rushed sword in hand at the Persians, and drove them back with enormous slaughter, capturing two of their batteries, and actually surrounding the third battery in which Mahomed Shah had taken refuge. The guns the Afghans dragged to the edge of the ditch.

In this action seven or eight men of rank have fallen; one of them, Hoven Khan, a Sirdar of 6,000 men. Two officers attached to the Russian Ambassador have also been killed; the one by two balls; the other fell at the gate of Kootab-Chak; he was the man who brought about the friendship with the Candahar Sirdars (probably Mr. Goult, but it may be Mr. Baronsky); his head was suspended from the walls of Herat.

Besides this certain information, a cossid has arrived from Candahar bringing a corroboration of it from the son of the Candahar Chief in the Shah's camp, who has lost 25 men, and is also wounded. Shamsodeen Populzye is said to be among the slain; but I do not give you this as authentic, it being only rumoured.

The further intelligence from Herat is that the Orgunge army under the Vizier has positively arrived. When he neared Herat he was joined by Shere Mahomed Khan Huzurer; but the Orgunge Chief disturbed Shere Mahomed, and charged him with aiding, instead of resisting, the Persians. To prove that the Orgunge Vizier was mistaken, Shere Mahomed during the night approached within two miles of Herat to the Pilgrimage of Abdoola Unsar, and at daylight succeeded in throwing into Herat 1,000 sheep and a large quantity of roghun (butter). On hearing this, Mahomed Shah, believing himself attacked by the whole of the Orgunge army, took up a position; meanwhile Shere Mahomed Khan seized all the foragers about camp and many horses.

After this the Orgunge troops joined Shere Mahomed Khan, and they, in conjunction, "chupaod" the country from the gate of Meshid to the hillocks of the pigeon-houses (poozin kustus khanu), leaving nothing behind them.

One Ibrahim has been despatched by the Orgunge Vizier and Shere Mahomed Khan to Candahar, upbraiding the chiefs for joining the enemies of their religion, and telling them that if they did not desist they would be disgraced before God and the Prophet. Mihrub Khan, the Brahree Chief of Kelat, has sent letters of a like import.]

You must also know that the days in which you saw Dost Mahomed Khan are departed; he is no longer popular; his joining the Russians has utterly ruined him in the eyes of all Mahomedans.

News has reached Cabool that Lord Auckland has entered into a treaty with Runjeet Sing to restore Shooja ool-Moolk, and that as soon as the rains are over, one army is to march to Shikarpore and Candahar with the Shah, and another to Peshawur with the Shah's son. This has quickened Dost Mahomed Khan's plans; he has set about repairing the Bala Hissar of Cabool and the fort of Ghuzni; he has also increased his taxes in the Kohistan, and, as you know, this only increases his difficulties. He now sends messenger after messenger to the Russian Ambassador and the Shah, urging them to settle affairs at Herat, and come on to Cabool, when the country will be theirs.

[Take my word for it, my friend, that this is the time for your Government to act. If Herat should fall, believe me it is no light matter, and your affairs here will be complicated. If you are determined not to act till the rains are over, do send the Shah's son with 20 horsemen to Peshawur; it will keep up the spirits of the Herat people, who hold out on your account, and it will prevent any faction gathering round the Ameer.

If you will not do this, make some immediate demonstration. You were seven months in Cabool, and know affairs as well as I do; but my opinions are that, if you will start the Shah from Loodiana and come with him yourself, and bring four infantry regiments, two of cavalry, and 20 guns, all will go right, and not a shot will be fired. Come to Peshawur, and send in 20,000 rupees, with which I will please all the Kohistanees. When at Peshawur, all the chiefs will come to you, and the Kohistanees will rise in rebellion. When you see this, send me 80,000 rupees more, in all one lac; but do not send the money till you see Ispack South. For this outlay Cabool is your own, and Dost Mahomed must fly; he now sees his days are numbered in this country. To prove to you how right I am in my conjecture, the people of Kohistan have been cutting down their fruit trees rather than pay the new tax levied. When you approach, I shall send you a list of all the people who are friendly to the British by the hands of Moollah Jular. Take care of him, and also of Mahomed Beg, the bearer of this, as they are ever deserving of your confidence.

My friend, you have never answered my letters. I made many proposals, and am devoted to your Government. Why have you not brought over Hajee Khan Kaker as I

suggested? Pray write to him yourself without a moment's delay, and get Shah Shooja also to address him. So much good can this man do you, that I have written to him from myself that you mean to use him. Mr. Leech is close by him, so do not delay in urging Mr. Leech to make this man his friend. The Candahar Sirdars, report says, are preparing to possess themselves of Furor; they could not do this, or move from Candahar, if Hazee Khan were your friend; for he has influence with the Kakers, the Beloochees, and Ghilzees. A few rupees well laid out will settle the Candahar Chiefs.

It is no use my writing more; the Khohistanees only want flour, and powder and lead, to serve you. I want nothing but to be proved as true and faithful to the interests of the British and the Shah; and till what I write comes to pass, let me not be believed, and let my children be disgraced.

(signed) *Alexander Burnes.*]

Simla, 18 August 1838.

[*N.B.* In another letter just received, it is stated, that the Chiefs of Candahar sent along with their son, or immediately after him, 700 camels laden with grain, butter, and such clothes as they thought would be useful to the Persian army.

(signed) *A. B.*]

No. 2.

[EXTRACT of a Letter from Mr. Masson to Alexander Burnes, Esq.

Sir,

Peshowur, 29 July 1838.

WITH reference to my last, I sit down to note the information I have received from Cabool, although I have not yet procured my letters; but as Mahomed Beg has reached Peshowur, I hope to get them in the course of this day.

The Nuwab's message about Herat I have already communicated; as to the affairs of Dost Mahomed Khan, he said, that as now there was an end of the Persians, there remained Dost Mahomed. If the Government decided to remove him, let it be done quickly or the Lohanees would arrive, and he would take four or five lakhs of rupees from them, and as much from other people, and then would certainly give a battle. He said further, that the Amir was repairing the Bala Hissar, not from fear of Kadjur or Kamran, but from fear of the British Government.

He also expressed a hope that, in the event of Shah Sujah moving, his son at Loodiana might be detained there a little longer, and on no account be sent with the Shah. (This is so reasonable that I presume the Nuwab need not have mentioned it.)

The Nuwab moreover stated that he had received letters from the French officers desiring him to come to Peshowur, and that Peshowur should be given half to him and half to Sultan Mahomed Khan; that he did not know whether these letters were sent with or without my knowledge; if with, he should be very glad of it; if without, he would have nothing to say about it, and that he had not answered their letters, waiting until he heard from me.

In former letters I noted to you that the French officers were driving a correspondence with Cabool; this message of the Nuwab's confirms it; but I had before received pretty satisfactory proof of it and of its nature from a circumstance which occurred here. Pir Mahomed Khan has given to the Nuwab two villages in the Doab, which are in charge of one Hafiz Mahomed Amir. This person has started, or is about to start for Cabool, sent by Sooltan Mahomed and Pir Mahomed, on business to the Nuwab. Some five or six days since he called on me (I am acquainted with him), and telling me where he was going, asked me for letters for the Nuwab. As he told me the French officers would give letters, I said to him that after he had got the French letters, if he would give me a call he should have a letter. In a day or two he came again and said that Mr. Court had given his letter, and had verbally instructed him what to say to the Nuwab and to the Ameer; that yesterday he had called upon Allard, but that, the three Sirdars and the French sahibs being all there, he did not venture to ask either Allard or Avitabile for their letters, and appealed to me if it would not be unbecoming. I said yes, and inquired what Mr. Court had instructed him to say verbally to the Nuwab and the Amir; he replied, that Court had directed him to say, "That for some reason or other the Amir and Burnes sahib had not been able to arrange matters; but that the Amir had done wrong to let him go away; that he should have closed with him under any circumstances; that now his only chance of preventing a movement on Shah Sujah's part, was to send one of his sons with the Nuwab Subar Khan to conciliate the Sirkar." Hafiz Mahomed Amir observed, that to arrange these matters he was deputed to Cabool; and that Sultan Mahomed Khan said, that "Inshallah, he would upset the arrangement with Shah Sujah; for, if carried into effect, it would be the ruin of them all."

In Carron's last letter he noted that the Amir had sent a letter to Sultan Moolook (as I read it), it may have been Sultan Mahomed, and I note this, as I believe some letter has been brought to the latter from the Amir by a cossid who came to Peshawur, having proceeded first through Khonar with letters to the chiefs of Bajore and of the Yusufzai tribes.

I know not what construction may be put upon the efforts of the French officers to induce fresh overtures from Dost Mahomed to the Government, or to make independent ones to the

the Sirkar; but I should judge that they are acting without authority from Lahore, as I never could glean, from any observation made by any one of them, that Runjeet had ever asked their opinions as to the treaty with the Shah. Neither do I imagine that their correspondence with Cabool will lead to anything, but impute it to officiousness merely; although, when no good can follow, it would be as well they should be quiet.

Yesterday I breakfasted with Allard; he said that Dost Mahomed had sent proposals to you; I replied that I feared Dost Mahomed Khan could have no hope that any proposals he could make, would suffice to interrupt the course of the arrangements made at Lahore, whatever they were; he did not seem pleased with the remark. After breakfast the Akhbars from Lahore, and one from Cabool were read; in the latter Mahomed Shah was said to be shut up in Ghorbund (Ghorian, I presume). On a former occasion, when the Lahore Akhbars were read before Allard and Avitabile, detailing the receipts and distributions of khelats on the mission's departure from Lahore, they winked and laughed to each other, remarking that none had been given to Noh Nial Sing or the jemedar. I know too little about Lahore politics and parties to understand their meaning, or why they noticed these two omissions.

The Ameer has from 100 to 150 labourers employed in the repairs of the Bala Hissar. Mahomed Afzil Khan had left Cabool for Zurmat Sher Jan; another son had been sent to Kohistan, Shumsodin Khan, the nephew, having been entirely superseded. No one had been yet sent to Bamian, and Mahomed Akbar Khan was hunting at Kurkacha.

Another part of the Nawab's message was that the Persian (Abu Khan Buruckzai), sent to Mahomed Shah by the Anir through the Hazarjat, had reached his camp, but that no replies had hitherto been received. Another trustworthy person has sent me a message, that Victkovich sent from Candahar a letter to the Amir, upbraiding him for his folly in suffering both you and himself to go away without concluding any satisfactory arrangement with either; also exposing the imbecility of his advisers, and reproaching him with having opened the doctor's packages at Bamian (I do not understand why Victkovich should have written such a letter, but if the doctor should not be Mr. Lord, I suppose Honigberger is intended). This letter, my informant says, caused the Ameer much "fikir."

The Jew that you may remember Mr. Lord inquired about, who was at Bulkhi, came here in company with Mr. Todd, who perhaps may have mentioned him. The Frenchman made a small collection for him, and I gave a trifle to him. He told me Victkovich was from Ley or Anatolia. The Jew was a knowing one; he has gone, as he said to Kashmir, and is going to Thibet.

This should be inquired into. See my public letter of May from Peshowar. (signed) A. Burnes.

I know not if you observed, in the Atheneum for January, the notice of the Russian embassy about to be sent to Khiva and Bhokhara; the presence of a Russian consul at Resht, and of this mission, if it proceeded, will account for the reports spread first of the arrival of a Russian force at Astrabad, and secondly, of an expedition proceeding against Khiva, which were circulated by Victkovich. The presence of such a mission would also account for the withdrawal of the Orgunge troops from their purpose of relieving Herat, as their reappearance in the field would seem to tell that the mission had departed. I hope the letters from Cabool will contain something about these matters.

It is satisfactory to find from universal report, that Kamran has been so fortunate at Herat; of the extent of his success I can hardly judge, the number of Persians slain being loosely talked of as 6,000, 7,000, or 8,000, and the loss of Kamran 1,000 to 1,500. Sampson, the Russian (he who said his father was a Russian and his mother an Englishwoman), is said to be one of the slain. It will be highly gratifying to find that the Organjis and Sher Mahomed Hazara have indeed taken the field, for, in that case, the fate of Mahomed Shah I should conclude to be fixed.

I am told with the kufila from Cabool is a letter to me from Lieutenant Leech, but I have not seen it yet.

P. S.—I had nearly omitted to note an item of intelligence conveyed to me in a message from a friend (not the Nawab), viz., that one of the Russians in the Shah's camp had written to the chiefs at Candahar, that Candahar should be given to Kamran, and that they should be provided with means to expel Dost Mahomed from Cabool. If this be true, the letters must have been sent before the last affair. Dost Mahomed is said to have heard of it, and to have been highly incensed.

Captain Burnes, Simla.

(signed) C. Masson.

(True copy.)

(signed) Alexander Burnes.]

(True copies.)

(signed) H. Torrens,

Deputy Secretary to Government of India,
With the Governor General.

To Captain Burnes, &c. &c. &c., Simla.

Sir,

WITH reference to the concluding paragraph of my letter of the 9th instant, Secret Department. I have now the honour, by desire of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, to forward to you a reply to the letter of the Chief of Koondooz, with a translation of the same.

1—Sess. 2.

K K 4

2. You

2. You will transmit this letter to Dr. Lord, and request him, when he reaches Peshawur to forward it by a safe and early opportunity to Koondooz.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to Government of India,
with the Governor General.

Simla, 23 August 1838.

(True copy.)
(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Simla.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, a report on the state of fords of the River Indus above Attok, by Lieutenant Leech.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alexander Burnes*.

Simla, 25 August 1838.

(General and Geographical, No. 15.)

To Captain *A. Burnes*, &c. &c. &c. on route to Cabool:

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report the return of a man whom, with your permission, I despatched at the end of last year, to examine the state of the fords of the river Indus above Attok.

2. He reports the river to have been extraordinarily low on account of the scarcity of rain in the countries drained by the feeders of the Indus.

3. The bridge across the river this year consisted of 17 boats, and the number of the fords was nine, as follows:

1st Ford. On the south bank Mansar, on the north bank Bazar, five feet deep; this was the minimum in the month of January. It is available every year throughout 300 yards of the river above and below.

2d Ford. The plain of Khushbela on the north of the river, situated between Bazar and Bekee, and on the south side a village called Gadee and Purumbalee; this ford is three feet deep, and extends for 200 yards above and below.

3d Ford. On the south side Mala and Gadee, and on the north side Nabeekkeegadee; six feet water, and extends for 300 yards above and below.

4th Ford. Near the north bank is an island called Haryau ku bela; the ford commences opposite the western extremity. On the south bank are the villages of Esu and Dhaman; the ford extends for 250 yards above and below.

The island divides the stream into two branches; in the northern is three feet water, and in the southern five feet.

This has been a ford for the last three years.

5th Ford. Kila-i-Gazee on the south side, and Ghala on the north side; two feet water. In the stream is an island, or bela; crossing from Ghazee to the island, the plan is to proceed on it till opposite Pihood when the second branch is crossed.

6th Ford. Tar Pakkee on the south bank, marked by a large tree, and Phawya, on the island of Thai in the centre of the stream; having crossed them, the plan is to proceed on the island till opposite Pihood and then to cross. The northern channel is five feet, the southern three feet.

7th Ford. Khabal on the north side, and Dheree on the south, three feet water.

8th Ford. Ruins of Khaupoor on the south side; and on the north, Kaija the less (to the west of the larger Kaija).

9th Ford. Khadee ku burj on the north side, and a place called Kulacee now uninhabited, but marked by a large tree of the ficus indicus kind, called beed.

All the fords, except the two last are available every year, but only to bodies of men.

I have, &c.
(signed) *R. Leech*, Assistant.

Khalat, 3 July 1838.

(True copy.)
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*.

(True copies.)
(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to Government of India, with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.*, Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit further intelligence from Candahar which has just reached me; some of it has been already reported, but I believe the succinct detail in which it is given will prove interesting to the Right Honourable the Governor General.

Simla, 30 August 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Burnes.*

INTELLIGENCE received from Candahar to the address of Captain Burnes, dated early in July.

I HAVE sent four kasids to you, which I hope have safely reached by this time.

The kasid whose letters were taken at Cabool, and waited upon you by my request at Peshawur, is come back to me with a few lines from you, and a note,* the contents of which I perfectly understood. I fear nobody but God; be at ease on my part.

The report has reached here that Mr. Macnaghten and you are with the Maharajah at Kusoolnugur.

You take no notice of the fire which has been kindled in Khorasan and Affghanistan; you will see how far it extends in the course of six months.

Mahomed Shah has written a letter to the Sirdars at Candahar, [and I bribed a person to let me read it]; The contents of the letter were much, [and I feel ashamed to write of it minutely]; but I tell you the result of it.

"Since the arrival of Mahomed Omar Khan, his Majesty has become sure of the attachment of the Sirdars at Candahar to Persia, and that they should be at ease on account of their son Mahomed Omar Khan. After taking Herat, his Majesty will send Vitkievitsch (Omar Khan), the man of the Russian Ambassador, to them, and Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, with the amount of nine lacs of rupees, and then they must hold themselves ready to receive the orders of the Shah."

This letter was sealed by the Shah, his minister, Mirza Hajee Akasee, and the Russian Ambassador.

Mahomed Omar Khan was received by 10,000 Persian cavalry, and presented with four guns and five pairs of dresses of honor. The Shah has given him a place near his own tent; and his agent, Alladad Khan, lives with the Russian Ambassador. Mahomed Omar Khan gets 200 ducats every day for his expenses; and the Shah has told him that he will do much more for the Sirdars than he has promised in his letters.

This intelligence was sent by Mahomed Omar Khan to his father, Kohin Dil Khan, through Khodadad Khan, "chupper,"† who arrived here in 11 days from Herat.

† Courier.

Two days after the arrival of Mahomed Omar Khan, the Persians made an assault on Herat, and lost 400 people, besides 200 or 300 wounded. Browskie and Samson have been dreadfully wounded, and the former nearly killed. The head of one of the Russian officers was cut off, and taken into the city by the Afghans. Yar Mahomed Khan lost 300 men on the field, and 100 Afghans were wounded. After this engagement, both parties returned to their own quarters.

The arrival of Mahomed Omar Khan at the Persian camp has deeply disheartened the Afghans in Herat; many of them have turned against each other; and if the Sirdars at Candahar write to Mahomed Omar Khan, he would, easily take Herat, for the Afghans would likely surrender it to him.

Mahomed Sadik Khan, the eldest son of Kohin Dil Khan, has possessed Surrah, and is repairing it.

Notwithstanding the Sirdars have made friendship with Persia, and the Russian Ambassador, in heart they are anxious to do so with the English, and appear to wait for British assistance.

[The papers which you sent me and Mr. Leech the very day of your departure from Cabool through Moollah Kurrem, are in the hands of Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan; he told me the contents of them, but does not give me the letters, though he promises to deliver them.]

In my former letter, I informed you that the British Ambassador has got leave from the Shah of Persia, and now I have heard that his Excellency has gone to India.

[The servants of the Sirdars are asking money from me, and I give it to them for my safety.]

(True translation.)

(signed) *A. Burnes.*

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

[* It means the note which Dost Mahomed wrote to Tabar, desiring him not to write secretly.]

To Captain *A. Burnes*, Simla.

Sir,

Secret Department.

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to communicate to you the following instructions.

2. You will be pleased to consider your duties as connected with your mission to Cabool, to which you were appointed by my letter of the 5th September 1836, as brought to a close from the first proximo, and you will render all your accounts at your earliest convenience.

3. From the first proximo, you will be appointed to proceed on a special mission to Kelat, subordinate to the Envoy and Minister at the Court of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk. In this capacity you will receive a consolidated salary of 1,800 rupees per mensem, with a further allowance of 200 rupees per mensem on occasions on which you may be detached from the camp of the Shah.

4. On your way to Kelat, you will proceed *via* Loodhiana and Buhawulpore to Shikarpore, and at the latter place you will consider yourself as charged with the duty of assisting the Commissariat Department in providing supplies of grain, and carriage for the army, as well as generally to arrange every facility for the advance of the army into Afghanistan.

5. You will ascertain from Major Parsons and Lieutenant Scott, the officer of the Commissariat Department nominated to accompany you to Shikarpore, all the wants of that department, both as to carriage and provisions.

6. At Loodhiana you will learn from Captain Johnson, the Commissariat officer with the force of Shah Shooja, or (should he not have arrived) from Captain M'Sherry, the wants of that force, and you will render all the assistance in your power to supply them. It is believed that the total wants of this force would not exceed one-third of what will be required for the regular army.

7. Herewith you will receive letters to the address of the several chiefs specified in the margin,* as well as to the Lohani merchants; Colonel Alves will be written to regarding the chiefs within his circle.

8. You will also be authorised to draw for the sums, and on the stations specified in the margin,† and to this effect a notification will be made direct from this office to the Government of Bombay, and the several authorities in charge of the other treasuries referred to. As regards the pecuniary part of the arrangement, your duty will be to supply the commissariat officer with money on his requisition; he being responsible for the outlay. But you will of course be careful to obtain the most advantageous rate of exchange that may be procurable.

9. It occurs to the Governor General that it would be very useful to establish large stores of grain at Dadur, under the protection of the Khan of Kelat, as well as at Gurdava and Kelat in Missur, should a portion of the force march by Kelat.

10. Another commissariat officer, Captain Thompson, will be stationed at Mooltan, for the purpose of facilitating the transmission of grain down the river. That officer will be instructed to apply to Lieutenant Mackeson for funds, should he be unable to raise money in Mooltan by drafts on our treasuries at three months sight, and Lieutenant Mackeson will be desired to raise money in Buhawulpore on these terms, as well for the supply of Captain Thompson's wants as to defray the expenses which he may himself incur in collecting supplies for the troops.

11. You will be pleased to use all possible means for preventing the detention of the army at Shikarpore, as well as to secure ample supplies for the subsequent march; you will be particular in your inquiries at the places at which fuel and water will be scarce on the route between Shikarpore and Candahar, and you will endeavour to make arrangements with any friendly power in their vicinity for the provision of those necessaries. Finally, you will consider it your duty to aid the Pay Department as well as the Commissariat, by providing funds to the extent to which you have been furnished with authority to draw.

12. The Governor General does not deem it necessary that you should be attended

* Meer of Sinde; Meer of Khyrpore; Khan of Khelat; Chiefs of Jessulmere and Bucaneer; Lohani merchants.

† Government of Bombay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 lacs of rupees.
Resident in Cutch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 "
Political Agent, Loodhiana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 "
Collector at Delhi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 "
Superintendent at Ajmere	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 "

Total - - 19 lacs.

attended by a regular guard, but you are authorised to hire such escort as you may deem requisite.

13. As regards the letter for the Ameers of Scinde, you will of course forward it through the Resident, should that officer be present at Hyderabad. Should he be absent, you will send it direct to the Ameer, apprising Colonel Pottinger at the same time of your having done so.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to Government of India,
with the Governor General.

Simla, 6 September 1838.

(True copy).
(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, Simla.

Sir,

By my separate letter of this date, you have been apprised of the new duties which you are called on to perform, with a view to participating the military operations which it is in contemplation to carry on beyond the Indus; and it does not occur to his Lordship to add anything more to those instructions. Secret Department:

2. With reference, however, to political objects, I am directed to desire that you should seek an interview with the chief of Khyrpore. You are aware that the negotiations with this chief have been already entrusted to Colonel Pottinger, and, the confidential communications upon them bearing a very favourable aspect, your visit should rather be one of compliment and friendship, than as from an officer accredited for any distinct political object. At the same time, you are authorised to state to Meer Roostum Khan the object of your mission, and you may assure his ready and willing co-operation in all measures for giving facility to the advance of the army for the collection of supplies, and for their safety when accumulated. You are authorised to speak frankly upon passing events and upon the objects of the British Government; and, with the perfect information which has been imparted to you of all that has passed between the Ameers of Sinde and Colonel Pottinger, you may be able to do so with considerable advantage, and to ascertain in return the disposition of that Chief.

The Governor General, as you are aware, attaches great importance to the possession of Bukkum, and you will probably be able to ascertain from Meer Roostum Khan, how far he would be willing to permit us to occupy it. Here-with you will receive a document, under the seal and signature of the Governor General, certifying that our desire is only for the temporary occupation of that fortress, which you are authorised to produce should occasion require it.

Should Meer Roostum Khan stipulate for any return in consideration of his ceding to us possession of the fortress, such, for instance, as the guaranteed independence of the Khyrpore territory, you will state to him that you will communicate his wishes to the Governor General. You are aware that his Lordship is favourably disposed towards such an arrangement, but the adoption of it must depend upon circumstances as they may hereafter be developed.

It occurs to the Governor General, all circumstances considered, that it will be better for you to remain at Shikarpore, at least until the arrival at that place of Shah Shooja's force; though you are at liberty, should you deem the measure urgently necessary, to proceed at once to Kelat, after the termination of your conferences with the chief of Khyrpore.

You are authorised to expend a sum not exceeding 3,000 rupees in providing presents for the different chiefs whom you may visit.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to Government of India,
with the Governor General.

Simla, 6 September 1838.

(True copy).
(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to Government of India,
with the Governor General.

**CORRESPONDENCE of the Governor General with the Home Government
from 1 September 1837 to 1 October 1839, relating to Affghanistan.**

(No. 15.)

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of
Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

Our last letter to your address on the affairs of Sindé, Lahore, and Affghanistan, was dated the 5th of August last.

2. We had hoped to furnish you with a continuous narrative of events from the period to which we brought them in that Despatch, up to the present time; but the correspondence on those affairs has been so exceedingly voluminous that we find it impossible to prepare such a narrative, in time for transmission by the "Hugh Lindsay" steamer.

3. Aware, however, that your Honourable Committee must be anxious to receive the latest authentic intelligence from so interesting a quarter, we do ourselves the honour of forwarding the correspondence recorded in our consultations of the 11th ultimo, comprising a minute by our President, copy of a letter to Maharajah Runjeet Sing, of letters from Captains Wade and Burnes, and of our instructions in reply to those officers.*

4. We shall take the earliest opportunity of furnishing you with a complete narrative, in continuation of that dated the 5th of August last.

We have, &c.
(signed) *Auckland.*
A. Ross.
W. Morison.
H. Shakespeare.

Fort William, 9 October 1837.

(No. 22.)

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of
Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

IN continuation of the Despatch from this Government, dated the 5th August, No. 9 of 1837, on the affairs of Sindé, Lahore, and Affghanistan, we have now the honour to report our subsequent proceedings in relation to that subject, extending to the end of September last, with the exception of that portion of the correspondence which was forwarded to your Honourable Committee with our intermediate letter, bearing date the 9th September, No. 15 of 1837.

2. In explanation of a passage which had attracted the notice of Government in the instructions issued by the British Agent in Sindé to Syud Azam Oodeen, the native agent deputed to Hyderabad, Colonel Pottinger stated that in all his communications with Noor Mahomed Khan he had been careful to make his Highness distinctly understand that our proposed mediation between the Sikhs and the Sindians was dependent on the pleasure and concurrence of the States of Lahore and Sindé, and that nothing authoritative was contemplated by our Government in this respect. He further stated that he had repeatedly intimated to the Ameer that our even consenting to undertake the office of mediator rested on the previous establishment of a British Minister at Hyderabad, and that it was to this point and not to the general question of a mediation that the expression in his letter to the Syud immediately referred. This explanation was considered to be perfectly satisfactory.

3. With regard to the doubts expressed by Colonel Pottinger as to whether the

* Abstract of contents, 1837. From the Political Agent at Loodhiana, dated 23d August. From Maharaja Runjeet Sing to the Governor General, dated 24th July. From Political Agent, Loodhiana, dated 25th August. From Political Agent, Loodhiana, dated 25th August. From Political Agent, Loodhiana, dated 25th August. From Captain Burnes, dated 31st July. From Captain Burnes, dated 1st August. Minute by the Governor General, dated 9th September. To the Political Agent at Loodhiana, dated 11th September. To Captain Burnes, dated 11th September. To Maharaja Runjeet Sing, dated 11th September.

Sinde.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 10th July,
Nos. 64 and 65.

Abstract, Nos. 3
and 4.

the Ameers would agree to the mode in which Maharajah Runjeet Singh was desirous that a settlement of the Mazari question should be effected, and to the objections which might be urged to Lieutenant Mackeson's employment on that duty unassociated with another officer, the Agent was directed to impress on the Ameers, should any feeling of the nature he apprehended develop itself, that reliance might always be reposed in the impartiality with which British officers conduct whatever negotiations are entrusted to them. It was explained that nothing affecting the interests of the Ameers would be definitively settled without their concurrence, and that it would be time enough for them to object should Lieutenant Mackeson suggest any arrangement which they might deem detrimental to their interests. Our opinion was moreover stated to the effect that the evacuation of Rojhan by the Maharajah's troops would greatly facilitate the adjustment of the existing differences, and that, so long as that occupation was continued, there must always be imminent danger of collision between the opposing parties, as appeared from Captain Burnes's communication marginally referred to, the Khyrpore Chief having expressed his determination to attack Rojhan.

4. In the annexed Despatch, Captain Burnes brought to our notice the relative position of the Hyderabad and Khyrpore Ameers, and stated his opinion to the effect that the consideration which we had evinced for the feelings of Meer Roostum Khan, the Khyrpore Chief, as reported to your Honourable Committee in the 30th paragraph of our letter, No. 9 of 1837, was eminently calculated to promote both our commercial and political views in Sind.

5. Captain Wade having drawn our attention to the connexion subsisting between the Meerpore branch of the Talpoorees and the Lahore Government, and recommended the policy of conciliating the Meerpore Chief, while courting an alliance with his brethren in authority in Sind, we have called on Colonel Pottinger for an expression of his opinion on the subject.

6. We were greatly disappointed at the result of the negotiations which were in progress for the formation of the proposed treaty with the Ameers of Sind. Syud Azeemood deen Hossain, the native Agent, who had been deputed to Hyderabad by Colonel Pottinger, returned with letters addressed by Noor Mahomed Khan to the Governor General and to Colonel Pottinger, accompanied by a yaddasht or memorandum, consisting of five articles. Translations of these documents are noted in the margin.

7. The proposals now made by his Highness were so different from what we had been led to anticipate, and so totally at variance with the spirit and form of the agreement which Colonel Pottinger had been directed to propose, that he addressed a letter to the Ameer expressing his surprise at the tone of his Highness's present communication, informing him that, as his letter to the Governor General was likely to give offence to the British Government, its transmission to his Lordship would be suspended for the present (the Ameer in the meantime being recommended to allow it to be returned to him), and distinctly intimating to his Highness that should he, from whatever cause, feel himself precluded from receiving a British Resident without such stipulations as those now proposed by him, it would be better at once to say so candidly, and to let all matters rest as they were.

8. Under these circumstances, it appeared premature to determine the course to be pursued towards the Ameers, and it was deemed advisable to await the issue of the reference which our Agent had very judiciously made to their Highnesses on the subject.

9. The conduct of Syud Azeemood deen Hossain, the native Agent, in making himself the bearer of the letters from Noor Mahomed Khan, aware as he apparently was of their contents, and of the views and intentions of the Government with respect to the proposed treaty, appeared so highly reprehensible, that it was deemed inexpedient to permit him any longer to be entrusted with the execution of the delicate and responsible duties belonging to his appointment, and his suspension was directed accordingly. His future employment will depend upon any explanation he may furnish as to the motives of the irregular proceeding with which he has been charged.

10. The money presented to the Syud, by the Ameers, was ordered to be brought to the public account.

11. Captain Wade having brought to the notice of Government that some negotiations appeared to have been opened between Maharajah Runjeet Singh,

Cons. 7th August,
No. 102, and reply
(2d para.).
Abstract, Nos. 5
and 6.

Cons. 14th August,
No. 28.
Abstract, No. 7.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 31st July,
No. 18.
Abstract, No. 8.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 31st July,
Nos. 38 to 42.
Abstract, Nos. 9 to
12.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 31st July,
No. 43.
Abstract, No. 13.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 14th August,
Nos. 30 to 32.
Abstract, Nos. 14
and 15.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 25th Sept.,
Nos. 74 to 77.
Abstract, Nos. 16
and 19.

and the agents of the Ameers, then at the Court of Lahore, for the settlement of the Mazari question, it was stated in reply, that the Government would be glad if a good understanding between Sinde and Lahore could be established without further intervention on our part. The terms, however, as reported by the Political Agent, were rather equivocal and undefined, and might be construed, as intended, to lay the foundation of claims of superiority on the part of the Maharajah, sanctioned by British authority.

12. Captain Wade was therefore reminded of our anxious desire that peace should be preserved along the whole line of the Indus, on the basis of the independence of the states which occupy its bank, and he was apprised that it was not deemed expedient that we should become a party to any arrangement which would subvert the independence of any state with which the British Government was in friendly alliance.

13. In forwarding to Colonel Pottinger a transcript of the letter addressed to Captain Wade on this occasion, we adverted to the delay which had attended the former officer's negotiation with the Ameers for the reception of a British agent at Hyderabad, and, in communicating to their highnesses the intelligence referred to in the correspondence with Captain Wade, Colonel Pottinger was instructed to state that, though the Government could not but rejoice at the establishment without its intervention of friendly relations between their highnesses and Maharajah Runjeet Singh on the basis of mutual independence, yet it must be obvious to the Ameers, that any favourable terms which they might gain, must be owing in a great measure to the friendly interest in the welfare of the Sinde State expressed by the British Government, and to take that opportunity of distinctly declaring that, if they continued to manifest so great an aversion to form a closer alliance with the only power competent to render them efficient aid, the British Government must refrain on any future occasion from interfering to promote their welfare, or to secure their independence.

Lahore and Afghanistan.

Political, 1837. Cons. 3d July, Nos. 30 to 32; Cons. 10th July, Nos. 61 to 63; Cons. 17th July, Nos. 32 to 38; Cons. 31st July, Nos. 16 to 22; Cons. 7th August, Nos. 86 to 101, and 109; Cons. 14th August, Nos. 20 and 21, 23 to 25, and 29; Cons. 21st August, Nos. 35 to 38; Cons. 28th August, Nos. 49 and 50; Cons. 4th Sept., Nos. 18 to 21; Cons. 18th Sept., Nos. 94 and 95; Cons. 25th Sept., Nos. 80 to 83.
Abstract, Nos. 20 to 76.

14. The correspondence recorded on our consultations of the annexed date, consists chiefly of reports of intelligence furnished by Captain Wade and Mr. Masson regarding passing events in Afghanistan and the Punjab. Though of much general interest, many of them called for no particular observation from the Government. We shall therefore notice in this place only such portions of these Despatches as from their importance demanded immediate attention, and led to the issue of instructions for the guidance of the British local authority.

15. Your Honourable Committee have been already apprised of the disposition evinced by Maharajah Runjeet Singh to meet the wishes of the British Government for peace and tranquillity on the frontiers of his dominions, and of the degree of influence which we are disposed to exert with a view to effect a reconciliation between the Sikhs and the Afghans, whose armies appear to have retired for the present from the plains of Peshawur, and a pacific disposition seems to be manifested on the part of the Chieftain of Lahore.

16. The tenor of the Political Agent's communication to Runjeet Singh on this subject was entirely approved, and Captain Wade was desired to renew to his Highness the assurance of the satisfaction which the British Government felt at the prospect of peace between the parties, and our earnest wish to promote that desirable state of things by every means in our power. With regard to the manner and extent of our intervention, Captain Wade was referred to the instructions of the 31st July, a copy of which was appended to the postscriptum of the letter to your honourable Committee, dated 5th August, No. 9, of 1837.

17. We experienced great satisfaction at finding that the information contained in Mr. Ellis's Despatches, which had been forwarded to the Political Agent, had proved serviceable to his negotiations, by enabling him to impress on the mind of the Maharajah the risk he would encounter by pressing his conquests towards the interior of Afghanistan.

18. We take this opportunity of stating that, in June last, copies of certain Despatches from Mr. McNeill to Lord Palmerston, referring to the relations of Persia with Afghanistan and the other neighbouring countries, were transmitted for the information of Captain Wade, and he was authorised to put Maharajah Runjeet

Political, 1837.
Cons. 7th August,
No. 95.
Abstract, No. 47.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 12th June,
No. 25.
Abstract, No. 77.

Runjeet Singh in confidential possession of the substance of the information furnished by Mr. McNeill, relative to the designs of Persia in deputing Kumber Ally to Candahar and Cabool, and to assure his Highness that the British Government, although bound by ties of old and close alliance with his Majesty the Shah of Persia, yet would recognise no authority on his part to interfere in matters affecting the interests of his Highness.

19. It would appear that letters purporting to be from the King of Persia, the Russian Envoy at that Court, and Hajee Ibrahim, the individual who had some time ago left Cabool with a letter from Dost Mahomed Khan to the Shah, have been received by the Ameer, and that a mission from Persia was expected at Cabool.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 17th July,
Nos. 35 and 36.
Abstract, Nos. 29
and 30.

20. These communications between Persia and Affghanistan appear to be brought about by a Persian named Abdul Samud, who is now in Cabool, and is described to be a notorious intriguer, as well as one of the most unprincipled men by whom the Ameer is surrounded.

21. With regard to the expected mission from Persia, it was not deemed necessary to furnish the Political Agent with any specific instructions beyond those already conveyed to him as regards the communication to be made to Runjeet Singh on the subject. We at the same time stated our expectation that Mr. Masson would gain as much information as possible regarding the objects of the mission, and the real parties who might have been concerned in sending it.

22. We learned with much gratification the assent of Maharajah Runjeet Singh to the proposition for Dr. Falconer's accompanying Lieutenant Mackeson on his mission (as noticed in the 21st para. of our letter, No. 9, of 1837), exhibiting, as it did, another instance of the readiness of his Highness to comply with the wishes of the British Government.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 31st July,
Nos. 16 and 17.
Abstract, Nos. 33
and 34.

23. Dr. Falconer will draw a consolidated allowance of 1,000 rupees per mensem during the period he may be employed on this duty.

24. Captain Wade brought to the notice of Government the arrival at Looddeana of two emissaries from Cabool, bearing letters for Shah Shooja from parties said to be disaffected towards Dost Mahomed Khan, and at the same time stated the reasons which induced him to remonstrate with the Shah in terms less decided than those which had been prescribed to him by our instructions on a former occasion. We approved the course pursued by the Political Agent, and were of opinion that he had exercised a sound discretion in the matter.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 7th August,
Nos. 88 and 89, and
92.
Abstract, Nos. 41-
44.
Cons. 28th August,
Nos. 49 and 50.
Abstract, Nos. 65
and 66.

25. It would appear that the Shah had attempted also to open a clandestine correspondence with Runjeet Singh, against which Captain Wade remonstrated in suitable terms.

26. It was very satisfactory to us to learn that Captain Burnes, in his advance up the Indus, had reached Dera Ismael Khan, and had been joined there by Lieutenant Mackeson. Captain Burnes has been apprised, that although, as regards his negotiations with Dost Mahomed Khan and the Affghans, he is independent of the authority of the Political Agent at Looddeana, yet that, except under any special or temporary arrangement to be adopted with Captain Wade's concurrence, he should make the Political Agent's office the medium of communication between himself and Runjeet Singh or his officers.

27. The Nuwab Jubbar Khan having solicited a reply from the Governor General to a letter stated to have been addressed by him to his Lordship, we called for further information on this point, and desired Captain Wade to state whether the circumstances and position of Jubbar Khan were such relatively to his brother the Ameer, as to render it desirable that a direct communication should be entered into with him by the British Government.

28. On the subject of the application made by Maharajah Runjeet Singh for General Ventura for permission to proceed to Europe avowedly for the purpose of visiting his family, though also desirous of being charged with a reply to the letter from the King of the French to his Highness, we were of opinion that every consideration of propriety and of respect for the feelings of the Maharajah required that the greatest facility should be afforded to General Ventura while passing through our territories, and the Political Agent was directed to lose no time in forwarding a passport to that officer.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 14th August,
Nos. 20 and 21.
Cons. 21st August,
Nos. 36 and 37.
Abstract, Nos. 55
and 56, and 62 and
63.

29. Captain Wade having reported that the Maharajah had relinquished his intention

intention of answering the French King's letter, we were highly gratified to find that his Highness had so readily conformed to the wish expressed by the Political Agent on the part of the British Government that his Highness should refrain from entering into correspondence with a foreign European power.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 21st August,
No. 35.
Abstract, Nos. 78
to 84.

30. The document referred to in the margin contains information regarding the transactions of a mission deputed by the Court of Nipaul to Lahore. On this subject Captain Wade remarks, with advertence to the present disposition of Runjeet Singh, that there is no probability of his listening to any overtures of a hostile tendency to the British Government which either the ambition or the military spirit of the Nipaulese may induce them to make.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 11th Sept.,
Nos. 27 to 33.
Abstract, No. 61.

31. The Despatches recorded on our Consultation of the annexed date, relate to the interest taken by the Maharajah in promoting commercial enterprise by the line of the Indus, the communications held by Captain Wade with his Highness's Agent on the subject of effecting an adjustment of Runjeet Singh's differences with the ruler of Cabool, and to other items of intelligence regarding events on the north-western frontier. For our views and sentiments on all the subjects comprised in these communications, we beg to refer your Honourable Committee to our Secretary's letter to Captain Wade, dated the 11th September, a transcript of which formed one of the Enclosures in our Despatch to your address, bearing date the 9th October, No. 15, of 1837.

Captain Burnes's
mission.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 17th July,
Nos. 41 to 47.

Abstract, Nos. 85
to 91.

32. We derived much gratification from learning the friendly disposition evinced by the Brahohee Chief of Kelat towards the British Government, as well as the display of a similar feeling by the Nawab of Bahawulpore, who received Captain Burnes with the most marked attentions.

33. A complimentary letter was addressed to the Nawab by the Governor General on the occasion, and, it appearing that his Highness was much interested in the description of an orrery, measures were taken for forwarding one to his Highness through Captain Wade.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 31st July,
Nos. 81 to 83.
Abstract, Nos. 92
to 94.

34. At the period to which this correspondence refers, Captain Burnes was still on the Sikh frontier, and the most friendly communications had passed between him and Dost Mahomed Khan.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 7th August,
Nos. 103 and 104.
Abstract, Nos. 95
and 97.

35. A cessation of hostilities having taken place between the Sikhs and the Affghans, and there being no apprehension of any of those difficulties which might have arisen from entering countries in a state of war, Captain Burnes determined to advance towards Cabool in prosecution of the important duties entrusted to him. With a view to quicken the desire of the ruler of that country for an adjustment of his differences with the Sikhs, Captain Burnes addressed a letter to Dost Mahomed Khan of a very judicious and conciliatory tenor, and calculated to prepare his mind for such friendly counsel as opportunity might admit of his offering.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 14th August,
Nos. 26 and 27.
Abstract, Nos. 97
and 98.

36. In the annexed letter, Captain Burnes gives the history of Hajee Hossein Ally Khan, the individual who, your Honourable Committee will remember, was the bearer of a letter purporting to be from Dost Mahomed Khan to the Governor General, which Captain Burnes concurs with Captain Wade in thinking to be a gross fabrication. The document has been received and retained by Captain Burnes, who will institute further inquiries into the matters on his reaching Cabool. A transcript of Captain Burnes's communication on this subject has been transmitted for the information of the Government of Bombay.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 28th August,
Nos. 27 to 31.
Abstract, Nos. 99
to 103.

37. His Majesty's envoy extraordinary at the Court of Persia has been put in possession of the heads of recent intelligence from Sind, Lahore, and Affghanistan; and copies of his Excellency's Despatches to the address of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs relating to Herat and Khorasan have been forwarded, through Captain Wade, for the information of Captain Burnes, who has been directed, should circumstances and state of affairs between Dost Mahomed Khan and the Sikhs on the Peshawur frontier appear favourable to the journey, to proceed from Cabool to Herat, and there to shape his proceedings according to such instructions as he may receive from his Excellency. For an exposition of our views in regard to this matter, we beg to refer your Honourable Committee to the letter addressed to Mr. M'Neill on this occasion.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 28th August,
No. 29.
Abstract, No. 101.

38. A copy of his Excellency's Despatch to Lord Palmerston, regarding Hajee Hossein Ally Khan, was transmitted to the Government of Bombay, with a request that, should the Hajee arrive there before the receipt of an answer

as

as to the letter purporting to have been entrusted to him by Dost Mahomed Khan, he might receive no mark of attention on the part of Government, nor any further assistance than might be barely sufficient to take him back to Persia, or any other quarter he might prefer.

39. In the letter recorded as per margin, Captain Burnes submitted an explanation of his proceedings relative to Dr. Gerard's debts, and promised to be guided by the spirit of the instructions issued to him on this subject, as reported to your Honourable Committee in the 32d paragraph of our Despatch, No. 9 of 1837.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 4th Sept.,
No. 25.
Abstract, No. 104.

40. In consequence of a representation from the Government of Bombay, the strictest injunctions were conveyed to Captain Burnes to prevent the repetition of the practice, so justly reprobated by that Government, of communications being made on political matters by officers attached to political missions to any other than their official superiors.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 25th Sept.,
Nos. 35 to 38.
Abstract, Nos. 105
to 107.

41. Captain Burnes, on his advance towards Affghanistan, had reached Peshawur, whence he intimated that he had retained the services of Lieutenant Wood, and had directed that officer to attend him throughout his journey. In reply to this communication, Captain Burnes was informed that the arrangement above alluded to could be sanctioned only in the event of Lieutenant Mackeson's services being considered by Captain Wade available for attending the fleet of Runjeet Singh down the Indus. If Lieutenant Mackeson should be unable to accompany the fleet, as originally proposed, Lieutenant Wood must do so, the necessity being indispensable that the fleet in question should be accompanied by an European officer.

Political, 1837.
Cons. 25th Sept.,
Nos. 99 to 101.
Abstract, Nos. 108
to 110.

We have, &c.
(signed) *A. Ross.*
W. Morison.
H. Shakespear.

Fort William,
27 December 1837.

(No. 1.—Secret Department.)

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court
of Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

I AVAIL myself of the occasion of the departure of the Atlantic steamer from Bombay towards the close of this month, to report to your honourable Committee on the existing position of affairs in the Punjab and countries beyond the Indus, in so far as the interests of the British Government are concerned in them. I have to request the earnest attention of your honourable Committee to the enclosures herewith forwarded, and to the general importance of the subject of this Despatch.

2. The papers which form Nos. 3, 4, and 5 of the packet contain a report of the arrival of the presents sent to Maharajah Runjeet Singh by the British Government on the occasion of Now Nihal Singh's marriage, and a notice by Captain Wade of the equivocal character of the Nepaulese mission to Lahore, ostensibly for the purpose of presenting a belt at the Jevala Mukhe shrine, but really with the intention of interchanging presents with the Maharajah. I observed to Captain Wade that I did not see on what grounds the British Government could object to the interchange in question, or interfere to prevent it; but approved of his having thrown difficulties in the way of the Nepaulese agents by delaying the grant of a passport, in consequence of the Maharajah not having given previous intimation of the probable arrival at Loodianah of such persons in company with an officer of his own.

Abstract of con-
tents, Nos. 3 to 5.

3. Your honourable Committee will observe, from the documents noted in the margin, the wish expressed by the Maharaja that the judicial authorities of this Government at Furruckabad and Mirzapoor should be instructed to procure a settlement of accounts with certain merchants of those places on behalf of some traders of Umritsir. I directed Captain Wade to point out in how far such a proceeding would be at variance with the principles of our laws, while I at the same time requested the Lieutenant Governor to take such measures as might be properly in his power, and might tend to further the wishes of his Highness in the matter above noted.

Abstract, Nos. 6
to 8.

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Abstract, Nos. 9 to 15.

4. The papers numbered in the margin are communications from Captain Wade, with my answer;* the most interesting of the subjects discussed in them being the political position of the Afghanistan chiefs with reference to the aggressive designs respectively of the Sikhs and of Persia, and the policy to be observed in the case of the arrival of a Persian envoy at Cabool. My views on the above subject, as communicated to Captain Wade, are submitted in full for readier reference in the annexed extracts. The official report through Captain Wade, of Captain Burnes's arrival at Cabool, entered with the papers above noted, was shortly followed by a communication from that officer direct, of similar purport, together with intelligence of a rumour that Shah Kamran had acknowledged allegiance to Persia, and had sent an ambassador with presents to Tehran.

Abstract, Nos. 16 to 18.

Abstract, Nos. 19 and 20.

5. Captain Wade having, in the documents noted as per margin, forwarded a translated copy of a letter from the Maharajah to him, in which inquiry is made as to the period of my arrival near the frontier of the Sikh territory, and as to the possibility of my meeting his Highness, the annexed instructions† were communicated to Captain Wade wherein to base his reply to the Maharaja.

Abstract, Nos. 21 and 22.

6. Referring to the subject of Enclosure No. 3, alluded to in the 2nd paragraph of this Despatch respecting the dismissal of the Sindian envoys from the durbar at Umritsir, the papers noted in the margin show what reports were prevalent as to the subject of the latest communications between them and the Maharajah, with the instructions which, with a view to certain contingences, I issued to Captain Wade in reply. The rumours were, your honourable Committee will observe, vague and indistinct, and I could do little more than desire the political agent at Loodianah to favour to the utmost an arrangement of differences between the powers concerned, on a footing of mutual independence and without foreign mediation.

Abstract, Nos. 23 to 25.

7. The annexed documents will show that any reliance upon the fidelity of the Maharajah as an ally was not shaken by the suspicions entertained for a time by Captain Wade.

Abstract, Nos. 26 and 27.

8. That officer having referred to Government for instructions as to the mode in which he was to reply to two letters addressed to him by the chiefs of

* Para. 5. The subject discussed in your letter of the 28th ultimo is one of vital importance to the interests of Central Asia. The Governor General entirely concurs with you in thinking that the preservation of the integrity of Herat is an object of the first magnitude, and his Lordship deems it to be very fortunate that at this difficult crisis we have so able a representative as Mr. McNeill to take part in the negotiations between Persia and Herat. In the 8th paragraph of your letter, now acknowledged, you have dwelt on "the impolicy, on the part of the British Government, of voluntarily becoming a party to any renunciation of the sovereignty of the Afghans in the present family of the Suddozees. His Lordship fully concurs with you in opinion, thinking, as he does, that there could be no state of affairs in Central Asia more favourable to the interests of British India than the present division of power among the several rulers of Afghanistan, provided that each state possessed independence within itself, and were willing to maintain social relations with its neighbours; and his Lordship would, therefore, not be disposed to encourage a renunciation of all pretensions to sovereignty on the part of the Suddozees, as he would also be very unwilling to encourage Shah Kamran in any design on Candahar. His Lordship doubts not that Mr. McNeill will have taken the same view of this subject, but his Excellency will be requested, should it not be too late, to stipulate, in any mediation that he may undertake, for the reconciliation of Herat and Persia, as well for the protection of Candahar against the encroachment of Herat, as for the protection of the latter principality against the designs of Persia. His Lordship has not lost sight of the great importance of cultivating a closer connexion than at present subsists between our Government and the rulers of Candahar, but you are aware that for the present it is not considered advisable to take any step towards the attainment of that object. Your remarks as to the efficient control which might be exerted over Candahar by means of our obtaining a stronger footing in the Sinde territories are in unison with the preconceived notions of the Governor General; could we obtain a firm position in those territories, unquestionably much would be effected towards securing the permanent tranquillity of the neighbouring countries.

Para. 6. The Governor General fully concurs in the remarks you have offered in your letter of the 29th ultimo, as to the expediency of preventing the further progress of the Persian envoy. His Lordship trusts that Dost Mahumud will take effectual measures against his coming into Cabool. Should, however, this expectation be disappointed, and should Kumber Ali Khan proceed to and be well received at Cabool, Captain Burnes will of course refrain from any attempt at mediation between the Afghans and the Sikhs. The instructions which that officer has already received, to the effect "that the cultivation of all alliance with powers to the westward must cease, as the indispensable condition of our friendly intervention," will be sufficient to indicate to Captain Burnes the propriety of this course of proceeding.

† Para. 2. In reply, I am desired to state that the Governor General expects to approach the frontier of the British dominions about the middle of next March, and you are directed therefore to apprise his Highness that, subject to those unforeseen contingencies which may arise out of public affairs, and may prevent the completion of any arrangement, however firmly resolved upon or anxiously desired, his Lordship hopes to have the happiness of conversing with the Maharajah about that period; or (though he should be sorry so long to postpone the settlement of any question which might have been reserved for this meeting), should it be more convenient to both parties, in the early part of the following cold season, when his Lordship proposes to return from the hills.

of Rojan and Panjtar* (translations of which are appended to his letter herewith forwarded). I directed him to return answers conceived in such terms as might severally suit the positions in which these chieftains stand with respect to the Maharajah; discouraging, as your honourable Committee will observe, by reference to the marginal extract, any approach to the acknowledgment of our identity of interest with either.

9. The papers noted in the margin are documents of importance from Captain Burnes and Wade, respecting the arrangements regarding Peshawur proposed by Dost Mahomud Khan, and the policy to be pursued by the British Government in treating with that chieftain. I fully approved Captain Wade's resolution to enter upon no negotiation in favour of that individual, until he had relinquished all connexion with Persia, and I observed that the policy of the British Government should be to refrain from lending its influence to induce a preponderance of authority in any one chief, the main object being to preserve, unimpaired, the existing state of affairs in Central Asia; with this proviso, it would afford me, I stated, great satisfaction to hear of the adjustment, by any mode acceptable to the parties, of the differences between the Sikhs and Afghans.

Abstract, Nos. 28 to 33.

10. Among the papers above noted, are a sketch and topographical memorandum of the great Khybur Pass, prepared by Lieutenant Leech, of the Bombay Engineers, in a manner creditable to the zeal and diligence of that officer.

11. The documents which form Nos. 34 and 35 of the packet contain an answer from the Maharajah to my letter, advising him of my tour to the Upper Provinces, and require no comment.

Abstract, Nos. 34 and 35.

12. The letters noted in the margin are a note addressed to Captain Burnes by the political agent at Loodianah in conformity with the views expressed by me as above noted, and my approval of that communication, in so far as might be applicable to the state of affairs at Cabul on the date of its receipt by Captain Burnes.

Abstract, Nos. 36 and 37.

13. The reply of the Maharajah to my letter, inviting his co-operation in the political as well as commercial views of the British Government in and beyond the Indus, is annexed (No. 38), and your Honourable Committee will be well satisfied, I am convinced, with the cordial manner in which the Sikh ruler declares his intention of seconding our policy. I directed Captain Wade to take occasion to intimate to the Maharajah the satisfaction it would give me, could any pending matters of disagreement be arranged at our proposed meeting to the satisfaction and with the consent of all parties. The other papers numbered with this paragraph, consist of voluminous and interesting reports and observations upon the state of parties in Cabul, the state of commerce in Central Asia, and the commercial designs of Russia, which, though valuable in themselves as affording useful information, do not call for any special comment.

Abstract, Nos. 38 to 50.

14. A correspondence

* Para. 2. That from the former has been brought by a respectable person, and appears to have originated in the favourable report of a servant of the Khan, who applied to me about this time last year, for a passport to Lucknow, where he said he was proceeding to purchase some things for his master. He stated, at the same time, that he had been ordered by the Khan to offer me the assurance of his devotion and allegiance, and a tribute in slaves from Kafirstan, as they were the best gifts of the country, if I would accept them. I declined to give a passport, observing, that it was not usual to make such applications in a verbal form; that, had he been the bearer of a letter, I should not only have been happy to comply with his request, but to treat him with such other marks of attention as were due to a chief of his master's rank and character; that his good will and friendly sentiments I duly appreciated; but that, with regard to the proffered tribute, however great its value and kind his intention was, property in human flesh was among the things forbidden by the laws of my country; and, if the Khan sent them here, my satisfaction in receiving them would be to give them their liberty. He now seemed pleased with my plain but civil reception of him, and has apparently been giving a vivid description of it to his master.

Para. 3. Regarding the letter from Futteh Khan Panjtar, I need only remark, that its contents are very consistent with the reputation which belongs to him of being a rude Yusufzar chief, who, in the honest assertion of his own independence and hatred of the Sikhs, can see no virtue in those who will move to re-establish the fallen dignity of his country. Last year, as a reference to my letter of the 19th August 1836 will show, Futteh Khan, disappointed in his overtures to Shah Shooja, sent an emissary to Shah Zuman, entreating him to go to Panjtar, and that he and his brethren would proclaim him as their king. The blind old monarch was so far induced to attend to the invitation, as to invite a party of Rohalas to enter his service; hearing of which, I remonstrated with the Shah on the subject, when they were dismissed. They continued, however, to linger about him for some days, and, adverting to the generally reckless habits of these military adventurers, I deemed it advisable to order them to quit the place. In the mean time the emissary, who had come from Panjtar, proceeded to Sindh to raise a contribution from the arrears of that country, failing in which, he again returned to Loodianah, and resumed his intrigues with the Zuman, on whom I again waited, and pointed out to him the necessity of removing the intruder from his presence. The Shah issued an order to that effect, which not being immediately complied with, he sought my aid, and I felt obliged to desire the man to seek some other place of abode.

Abstract, Nos. 51
to 53.

14. A correspondence which forms Nos. 51 to 53 of the packet, between Meer Sobdar, of Scinde and Ameer Dost Mahumud, was reported by Captain Burnes and the Political Agent at Loodianah; but it was not of sufficient importance to require, in my opinion, the notice of the British Government.

Abstract, Nos. 54
to 59.

15. Your Honourable Committee will read with interest the documents recorded as per margin,* being communications from Captains Burnes and Wade, in which mention is made of the return of the Persian envoy from Candahar, without having effected a visit to Cabul, and of Captain Burnes's policy in endeavouring to counteract the intrigues of Persia in Afghanistan. My approval of the course pursued by that officer is given in the extracts entered in the margin, with the cautions which I judged it necessary to issue on the occasion.

Abstract, Nos. 60
to 63.

16. The papers forming Nos. 60 to 63 of the packet, will prove to your Honourable Committee, that I was not mistaken in attaching but little importance to the overtures made by Meer Sobdar, of Scinde, to Dost Mahumud.

Abstract, Nos. 64
to 67.

17. An opportunity having occurred for opening a more intimate communication with the Meer of Koondooz, Captain Burnes, as reported in the Despatches noted in the margin, with much judgment and promptitude, availed himself of it, to depute Doctor Lord and Lieutenant Wood on a friendly mission to that chief. The opinion expressed by Captain Wade is, your Honourable Committee will observe, adverse to such a measure, but I informed that officer that I nevertheless considered Captain Burnes to have acted on the whole wisely in taking the course above noted.

Abstract, Nos. 68
to 73.

18. The contents of the papers which form Nos. 68 to 73 of the packet, are principally reports of the state of affairs on the Peshawur frontier, by Lieutenant Mackeson, and highly interesting, as showing the relative military efficiency of the Sikhs and Afghans, and the means and motives of the latter for sustaining the conflict against their opponents. The disturbances at Rojhan at this particular crisis, have had at any rate the effect of testing and proving the truth of the Maharajah's profession of friendship, and desire of being guided in his conduct towards neighbouring states by the wishes of the British Government.

Abstract, Nos. 74
to 83.

19. I beg to direct the earnest attention of your Honourable Committee to the subject of the papers noted in the margin; the alleged extension, namely, of Russian influence into Afghanistan, the intrigues of Persia with the chiefs of that country, and the positive conclusion (as reported by Captain Burnes) of a treaty between Persia and the Candahar chieftains. I would insist much more upon the importance of this information, were I prepared to vouch for its authenticity to the full extent herein reported. Captain Wade has, however, in his comments on Captain Burnes's letters, given strong grounds to doubt the authenticity of that information in certain particulars. This opinion I have, as your Honourable Committee will observe, expressed to Captain Burnes, and I, at the same time, laid down rules for his guidance in his intercourse with the powers among whom he is deputed, in terms which the importance of the subject induces me to quote as follows, in the body of this Despatch:—"It is, I observe, undoubtedly to be desired, that a probable source of disturbance in the active animosities existing between the rulers of Herat and Candahar should be removed. In this spirit, in all the communications which have been addressed to you, the importance has been indicated of marking our desire to respect the independence of Candahar as well as that of the other Afghan States; and Mr. McNeill has been requested, in using his good offices for the security

* Para. 2. In reply I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor General approves of the efforts which you caused to be made with a view to arrest the progress of Persian intrigue; and the tenor of your letter to Kohim Dil Khan seems to be highly judicious; but the Candahar chiefs evidently entertain a considerable degree of jealousy of their brother the Ameer; and it appears doubtful therefore whether the dissuasive arguments against a Persian alliance which have been urged by Dost Mahumud Khan may not weaken, rather than strengthen, the effects of your representation.

Para. 3. You will, by this time, probably have ascertained in what spirit those representations may have been received by the chiefs of Candahar, and you will shape your course accordingly; and if you should deem that step advisable, either proceed yourself to Candahar, or depute Lieutenant Lord to that quarter, should your own presence at Cabool be indispensable.

Para. 4. The Governor General trusts that you continue to communicate freely and unreservedly with Mr. McNeill on all matters connected with the political condition of Central Asia. You have already been made acquainted with the judicious efforts which His Excellency has made to secure the independence of Herat, an object which the Governor General has always considered as of first-rate importance.

security of Heerat, to endeavour to provide, at the same time, that the designs of Shah Kamran against Candahar shall not be further prosecuted."

It would be well if the conviction could be impressed on the Herat and Candahar chiefs that, by their mutual contests, they are furnishing the means of threatening and injuring both to Persia; a power which, if once able to establish itself in Afghanistan, would seek only its own aggrandizement in their ruin. The same reasoning will apply, in at least an equal degree, to any attempt on the part of the ruler of Cabool to found upon your presence at his Court any pretensions to superiority, or to an undue influence over the chiefs of Candahar; and, whilst his Lordship thinks that he can trace in none of your late Despatches the existence of such a design in the mind of Dost Mahumud Khan, he relies with perfect confidence upon your strict attention to the instructions which have already been given to you, in regard to the just and impartial policy which it is the wish of the British Government to see pursued. The means of acting to a greater or less degree upon these instructions will, no doubt, arise in the course of your residence in these countries, and his Lordship will rejoice in seeing them judiciously and successfully used. He would further remark that, where so much of our information depends only on uncertain rumours or means of communication not implicitly to be trusted, and where our direct influence is so extremely limited, the most studious caution is indispensably necessary: and his Lordship is of opinion that a visit of friendly intercourse from you, or from some member of your mission, designed to mark our recognition of their independence to the Courts of Candahar and Herat, may become desirable at an earlier period than you seem to anticipate. In the precarious position in which Dost Mahumud is placed, our good offices for the peace and security of his remaining territory should be thankfully accepted by him; but, from the moment that he may begin to form views of ambition and intrigue upon this tender of good offices, it must become your object to reassure those whom such views may affect.

20. Captain Wade having in the Despatches noted in the margin reported the return of the Maharajah to Lahore, and having expressed at the same time his opinion that his Highness would be best pleased were his proposed interviews with me to take place in the spring instead of the autumn, I thought it advisable, with reference to an expression of a somewhat contrary tenor occurring towards the end of his Highness's letter to the Political Agent, forwarded by the agent to my private secretary, to address Captain Wade again, requiring the fullest and most accurate information as to the Maharajah's real wishes. I also desired to be furnished with that officer's opinion as to the precise nature of the subjects which his Highness was likely to bring forward on our meeting for discussion, and the manner in which he would be inclined to press matters upon my notice, the consideration of which it would be most convenient to suspend; and I further requested to be furnished with details of precedents regarding the meeting with the ruler of Lahore, for which I beg to refer your honourable Committee to my letter itself. A copy of Captain Wade's reply also accompanies, and I shall reserve my final opinion until after I have seen and conversed with that officer who, your honourable Committee will observe, is to meet me at Meerut.

Abstract, Nos. 84 and 85.

21. The subjects contained in the papers noted in the margin are too important for me to attempt to give a summary of them, as it is necessary that your honourable Committee should yourselves judge of the character of the recorded events, and the soundness of the policy adopted with regard to them under circumstances of considerable difficulty. Intelligence of the arrival of the Russian envoy in Cabool, with letters to Dost Mahumud from the Emperor of Russia and the Russian envoy at Tehran,* of the terms of the language reported to have been used at an interview between him and the Ameer of the near approach of the Persian army upon Herat, and of the policy of the Candahar chiefs in dismissing the Persian envoy, Kumbur Ali Khan, without the son of the principal chieftain, who was destined to accompany him, reached me almost upon the same date; and I had also the mortification of learning that Captain Burnes had so unadvisedly exceeded his authority as to promise pecuniary aid to

Abstract, No. 86.

Abstract, Nos. 87 to 100.

* The mission of this person was reported to me demi-officially by the envoy of Her Majesty in Persia, early in the month of January.

to the Candahar chiefs on the part of his Government, and further, to express his intention of appearing in person with their troops, in the event of the fall of Herat before the Persian army and of the march of the army from Candahar. I would especially refer your honourable Committee to my letter to Captain Burnes (No. 106) for the full exposition of my views upon the political position of Afghanistan under the present juncture; and as regards the pledge he was induced to give, I distinctly informed him that he must, where occasion for so doing may arise, avow to the Candahar chiefs his having offered it without the authority of his Government, and I directed him, in the event of Dost Mahumud Khan appearing decidedly inclined to listen to the offers of the Russian envoy, to apprise him that he must in that case forfeit all claim to the favourable interference of the British Government. I have supplied Captain Burnes, as your honourable Committee will observe, with a letter to be presented to Dost Mahumud, should occasion require it, and have desired him to retire with his mission upon Peshawur so soon as that chief should have rejected the only terms he was authorised to proffer, or should have manifested unequivocal signs of a leaning to the overtures of Russia. Your honourable Committee will be fully informed, on reference to the enclosures, of the grounds on which I am still inclined to anticipate the adherence of Dost Mahumud to British Government; but the pacification of Central Asia and the protection of our interests no longer depend solely upon the measures I may be enabled to adopt. The open mission of an individual charged with diplomatic powers on the part of the Russian Government to a chief almost on our frontiers, is a fact which, with reference to the insidious and encroaching nature of that Government, demands, in my opinion, the serious consideration of the home authorities.

22. Your honourable Committee will observe that I have kept Her Majesty's envoy in Persia fully apprised of my proceedings, and that gentleman has doubtless already transmitted the intelligence last alluded to, to Her Majesty's minister.

Abstract Nos. 110
to 112.

23. From the communications of Captain Burnes, dated the 26th and 30th ultimo,* which accompanied Captain Wade's letter of the 21st instant, and which form Nos. 110 to 112 of the packet, your honourable Committee will observe that Lieutenant Leech has been deputed to Candahar, and that Ghorian is said to have surrendered to the Persian army. Copy of my replies to the above communications form Nos. 113 to 114 of the packet, and your honourable Committee will observe that, though I have approved the deputation of Lieutenant Leech to Candahar, I have repeated the expression of my disapprobation at the unauthorised promise of pecuniary aid which Captain Burnes had made to the Candahar chiefs. I would still hope that the report of the surrender of Ghorian requires confirmation.

Abstract, Nos. 113
to 114.

Abstract, Nos. 115
to 117.

24. The communications from Captain Wade, dated respectively the 16th, 17th, and 18th instant, with their several enclosures from Lieutenant Mackeson, form Nos. 115 to 117 of the packet. With regard to the communication of the first-mentioned date, regarding Runjeet Singh's desire to consult Lieutenant Mackeson on the expediency of settling the forms and ceremonies of his contemplated meeting with me, I have caused Captain Wade to be informed that I wait his reply to the information called for in Mr. Macnaghten's letter of the 6th instant.

25. On the subject of the communications of the two last mentioned dates, I have contented myself with approving the proceedings of Lieutenant Mackeson, and desiring Captain Wade to afford the Maharajah, in the most frank and unreserved manner, all the information in his power relative to the proceedings of the Russian envoy and the advance of the Persian army; the replies form Nos. 118 and 119 of the packet.

26. As not altogether unconnected with the politics of the countries of which I have been treating, I beg to send, as Nos. 120 to 125 of the packet, copies of the last communications received from Lieutenant Colonel Pottinger, the agent for the affairs of Scinde, and of the reply which I have caused to be addressed to that officer, and of the letter written on the occasion to the two principal Ameers

* The third letter from Captain Burnes, forwarded by Captain Wade on this occasion, was dated the 27th ultimo, and required no notice. It related to the publication in the Bombay newspapers of certain information connected with his mission.

Ameers of Scinde. Those documents will place your Honourable Committee in full possession of my views as regards Scinde, and the present state of our negotiations with the Ameer.

27. In closing this Despatch, it may be convenient that I should recapitulate briefly my views as to the course proper to be taken by the Government of India in the several contingencies to which we have to look for the course of events in the Afghan countries. If the Persian expedition against Herat should fail, fuller opportunity will be afforded for the development of that policy of friendly intercourse, and exhibition of a desire to recognise and respect all existing interests, by which I had hoped to reconcile in a considerable degree those dissensions among the Afghan chiefs which have had a very beneficial influence in facilitating the introduction of foreign intrigue so close to our frontier. If, contrary to my hope and expectation, the expedition should succeed, and threatening demonstrations be made by Persia towards the eastern portions of Afghanistan, I do not contemplate any immediate direct interference by arms or money to arrest the enterprise; such interference would be alike opposed to the tenor of the instructions received from your Honourable Committee, and liable to serious embarrassments in itself from the hazards of measures of that character at so great a distance from our resources. The adoption of this course would indeed appear to be precluded by the terms of the article of the treaty of Tehran, relating to our interposition in disputes between the Persians and Afghans, but I speak on this point with a qualified confidence, as I have not the means of immediately referring to the treaty. Although, also, I am far from being insensible to the evils caused by the excitement and disorders arising out of Persian encroachment, I see so little ground for belief that a weak state like Persia can establish herself with any prospect of permanence in a country and amidst a population such as that of Afghanistan, that I should regard her possession of power in that quarter as likely to be most precarious and transitory, and in the end attended with serious risk of injury to herself. Should she succeed, against all reasonable anticipation, in acquiring a state authority in Afghanistan, and manifest a disposition to interfere with the territories along the course of the Indus, I should then not hesitate to use all the influence and power of the Government to repel her aggressions. In my intercourse with Cabool and Candahar, I shall be, above all things, scrupulous to act with a clear good faith, enabling the chiefs of those principalities to guide their policy as they may judge best for their own security. From their local position and our growing influence in the Punjab and in Scinde, those states must always, it appears to me, be much dependent on us, and may be expected to place more trust in our friendship than in any aid which may be promised by Persia, even with the support of Russian encouragement. Under extreme circumstances of danger the chiefs of Cabool and Candahar might look to finding a safe asylum within the British territories, and it is my hope that these means of influencing them would be found amply sufficient for the attainment of all our just objects. It will remain with the Government in England to aid, as they may judge most proper and advisable, the measures of the Indian administrations, by noticing the part taken by Russia and her agents in these transactions. The letter of the Emperor of Russia to Dost Mahumud Khan, of Cabool, in acknowledgment only of the deputation of an agent from that chief, and expressive of a willingness to protect traders proceeding from Cabool to the Russian dominions, appears *prima facie* liable to no objections, and it will be observed that I have suggested to Dost Mahumud Khan to receive and reply to it in that spirit. But the entire silence of his Excellency Count Simonitch, the Russian envoy at Tehran, to Mr. M'Neill, respecting this mission, coupled with the fact (of which the direct proof has been communicated by Mr. M'Neill to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs) of Count Simonitch having opened an unsolicited communication with the chiefs of Candahar, and having nearly identified himself with the Persian mission to that chiefship, and with the statements also now received from Captain Burnes (further evidence in support of which has, it will be seen, been applied for) of Count Simonitch having requested Dost Mahumud Khan to communicate without reserve with the bearer of the Emperor's letter, as being a confidential agent of his own, affords, as it seems to me, a most reasonable ground for suspicion and inquiry, and may be made, perhaps, the means of exposing these intrigues so detrimental to

the perfect tranquillity and good feeling of the countries on our frontiers, and of arresting their further progress.

28. I shall await with anxiety the early instructions of your honourable Committee on the proceedings which I have now reported, and on the views by which I have described it to be my purpose to be guided.

29. Since the above was written, I have seen Captain Wade, and I now find that, however desirable the interview between myself and Maharajah Runjeet Singh at the present juncture might be, the difficulty of collecting such a retinue as would be proper on the occasion of the meeting would, owing to the great scarcity and drought now unhappily existing in this part of the country, be almost insuperable.

Abstract, Nos. 126 to 128.

30. The instructions I have issued to Captain Wade and the letter to Runjeet Singh, prepared under my directions, will place your honourable Committee in possession of the grounds I have assigned for wishing to postpone the interview with his Highness.

31. But, independently of the considerations therein stated, I may observe that the pending negotiations with Scinde and with Cabool, and the unsettled state of affairs in Central Asia generally, induce me to think that all the questions of our relations with Runjeet Singh and the neighbouring powers are not yet ripe for satisfactory discussion. By postponing the interview to the period of my return from the hills, we may be able to avail ourselves of every contingency that may arise in the interim, and some questions on which I could now speak with doubt may then be susceptible of easy solution; while I have every reason to hope, from the known disposition of the Maharajah to accede to the wishes of the British Government, that the existing tranquillity will not be in the meantime interrupted.

Camp at Meerut, 8 February 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Auckland.*

No. 4.—Secret Department.

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

Abstract of contents, Nos. 3 and 4.

IN continuation of my Despatch, No. 1, dated 8th February 1838, in this department, I have the honour to forward the annexed papers, containing information on our present relations with Afghanistan, which is interesting and important.

Abstract of contents, No. 5.

2. For my views upon the policy to be pursued at the present juncture of affairs, and my instructions to Captain Burnes, I beg to refer your Honourable Court to the enclosures with this Despatch.

Camp at Kurnal,
7 March 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Auckland.*

No. 5.—Secret Department.

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

I AVAIL myself of the departure of the packet "Semiramis," to address a brief Despatch to your Honourable Committee upon the progress of events in Afghanistan, since my last communication on the subject.

Abstract of contents, No. 40.

2. The decision to which Dost Mahumud Khan has come upon the points submitted to him in my letter, under date 20th January, would appear, from Captain Burnes's short Despatch, dated 7th ultimo, to be satisfactory; and the reported failure of the Persian army in their attempt upon Herat, renders it most probable that the Ameer will see no cause to regret his having acted in conformity with the wishes of the British Government.

3. I have

3. I have forborne, your Honourable Committee will observe, to address any reply to the Despatches of Captain Burnes, under date 6th and 7th ultimo, pending the receipt of decisive intelligence as to the fate of Herat, which cannot now be long delayed. It is my intention, however, with reference to what is stated in the communication from that officer, of the 4th ultimo, to address Mr. M'Neill, explaining my sentiments as to the language which should be held to Persia as regards her aggression in Afghanistan, so as not to afford ground for any imputation of violation of treaty on our part.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 39 and 40.

Abstract of contents, No. 32.

4. I would beg to press upon the attention of your Honourable Committee the notice contained in the documents noted in the margin, as to the intended progress of Captain Vicovitch, the Russian agent in Cabool, to Lahore.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 32 and 35.

5. The nature of the communication which I directed the Political Agent at Loodianah to make to Maharajah Runjeet Singh with respect to this person, and the determination of his Highness to prevent his ingress into the Punjaub, will, I trust, appear satisfactory.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 38 and 41.

6. The important papers herewith forwarded will put your Honourable Committee in full possession of all the principal political occurrences which have arisen since my last Despatch upon the north-west frontier, although the necessity of sending off my present communication with the utmost haste prevents my entering into such a discussion of the contents of this interesting correspondence as would be desirable.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 3 to 42.

7. I expect in the course of this month a complimentary mission from Runjeet Singh, and it is my intention to depute the Secretary in the Political Department, with two officers of my personal staff, on a return mission to his Highness.

Simla,
5 April 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) Auckland.

No. 7.—Secret Department.

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

[In continuation of my former Despatches of the dates noted in the margin,* on the proceedings of Captain Burnes at Cabool, and the results of the efforts of Persia to establish her influence in Afghanistan, I have the honour to forward, and to solicit your early and earnest attention to the annexed documents, being transcripts of Despatches from Captain Burnes (with their enclosures, and observations on them by Captain Wade) of dates to the 24th March, and of the orders issued on those communications, under my directions, to the present date.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 3 to 17.

2. The letter of this date to the address of Captain Burnes will show the unsatisfactory position of affairs at Cabool, according to the most recent accounts which I have received, and my decided adherence to the course of policy which I have prescribed to myself, and have already announced to your Honourable Committee.]

Abstract of contents, No. 15.

3. Referring especially to the circumstances represented to your Honourable Committee in my † Despatch of the 8th February last, I have again to submit to your notice a demonstration, still more undisguised, on the part of the Russian agents, of their desire to connect themselves with the Persian schemes of encroachment in Afghanistan, and by that means to extend their own influence and intrigues to the very frontiers of our Indian empire.

† Paras. 27, 28.

4. In my former Despatch I stated that I could not look to any stability of Persian domination in the Afghan countries. But there is a course open to the agents of Russia, in the attempts made by them to extend the power and influence, of their country, which they seem ready to pursue, and to prefer to the support of the direct dominion of Persia over Afghanistan. It may be collected from their language and proceedings that they would, on one side, appear to be aiding

* No. 1, dated 8 February; No. 4, dated 7 March; No. 5, dated 5 April.

aiding Persia in the establishment of a general supremacy over the Afghan chiefships, and on the other as protecting those chiefships from any serious aggression and injury. Professions and promises to this effect may at least assist the immediate views of Persia, but they may also have the ultimate effect, in the actual distracted condition of Afghanistan, of giving to Russia an arbitration over the fortunes of all who exercise authority in that region.

5. It will be observed that an accredited and high officer of the Russian mission in Persia has publicly written to the chiefs of Candahar, urging them to submission to Persia, and promising his best efforts to obtain the guarantee of his court to the transfer to those chiefs of the city and territory of Herat, on these being conquered by the Persian forces.

6. I need not say that we would seem to have the clearest right and interest to remonstrate against such proceedings; for Russia can have no legitimate ground for extending her political connexions to Afghanistan, while we are necessarily interested in the peace and independence of that country by proximity and position.

[7. The measures of her officer will, on this occasion, doubtless be disavowed by Russia, but it would seem reasonable and right to seek to obtain from her some specific pledge as a security that any similar course of proceeding will not be persevered in.]

8. I do not now dwell upon minor circumstances, the acceptance by Russia of Persian recommendations for her agent, Captain Vicovitch, to the chiefs of Candahar and Cabool, or the language reported by Captain Burnes to have been held by that officer at the latter place. The more open and formal proceedings on the part of the Russian functionary in the Shah's camp, in addressing such a communication to the chiefs of Candahar, appears to be that to which attention should most distinctly be pointed.

9. A copy of this Despatch will be forwarded to Mr. McNeill, at Tehran, that he may be apprized of my sentiments, and be prepared to take such notice of the proceedings alluded to as may seem to him proper and consistent with his instructions from Her Majesty's Government.

[10. Your Honourable Committee will observe that, in the course of present policy which I propose to myself, though the treaty of 1814 with Persia could have been framed with no contemplation of any such state of circumstances as that which I have described, I would avoid any violation or rejection of its terms; and it was satisfactory to me to learn that the strained construction put by Lieutenant-colonel Stoddart on a general expression used by me, in a Despatch sent under my orders to Captain Burnes, and which would have led that officer to threaten the Shah of Persia with a direct opposition to his views on the part of the Indian Government, had not been acted upon. Yet I cannot conceal from your Honourable Committee that events may arise which may induce me (although I shall be anxiously desirous to await your instructions where it can possibly be done) to adopt other views; and we may, I think, with perfect justice, assert that Persia has, on her part, in the first instance, departed from the treaty, for she is openly connecting herself with an European power in measures, the tendency of which cannot but be injurious to our interests in India, while the whole purport and effect of the stipulations to which Persia bound herself by the treaty is, that she will co-operate with us in the defence of India against the aggressions of all European powers.]

Simla,
27 April 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) Auckland.

(No. 384.)

From the Honourable the Secret Committee to the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

WE have received a letter from the Governor General, addressed to us in the Secret Department, dated 8th February last, with its 127 enclosures.

We entirely concur with you in thinking that the arrival of a Russian envoy at Cabool, bearing a letter from the Emperor Nicholas to Dost Mahumud, is an event

event demanding your special attention, but we also agree with you in concluding that Captain Burnes exceeded the instructions given to him, and manifested an anxiety which might defeat his own objects in entering into premature engagements with other Affghan princes.

We approve of your instructing Captain Burnes to withdraw from Cabool, if, contrary to his advice and remonstrances, Dost Mahumud should formally accept from the Russian envoy of those offers of assistance which are stated to be contained in the letter of the Emperor Nicholas to Dost Mahumud.

At the same time we must observe that the letter of the Russian Emperor was an answer to an application made to that sovereign by the ruler of Cabool; and that, in dealing with this matter, it will be advisable to avoid any proceedings which may give rise to a controversy with the Russian Ambassador at Tehran, or with the Court of St. Pétersburgh.

The last Despatches from Constantinople have informed us that Mr. McNeill was about to proceed, on the 10th of March, to the Persian head-quarters before Herat, from which it may be inferred that he has received satisfaction for the outrage committed on the messenger attached to the British mission.

We are anxiously waiting for a detailed account of the circumstances which have induced Mr. McNeill to resolve upon his announced journey, and of all matters connected with the operations of the Shah against Herat.

Until we shall have received these communications, and been informed of the actual state of things in that quarter, it would be premature to come to any decision upon the affairs of Affghanistan. We are aware of the difficulties arising out of the late treaty, by which we have stipulated not to interfere between Persia and the Affghans, unless at the express desire of both parties; but we do not conceal from you that it may become a question for the British Government to consider whether, if Persia should persevere in her plans of conquest in Affghanistan, and should appear likely to succeed in them, the danger thence resulting to Great Britain would not be greater than the security which might be derived from that other stipulation of the before-named treaty, by which the Shah undertakes to prevent any European army from traversing Persia, in order to invade British India. In that case we might feel ourselves called upon to declare the whole treaty at an end; but, as such a step would be a departure from the usual practice, it would be more agreeable to us to learn that the Shah had consented voluntarily to an amended treaty, in proposing which Mr. McNeill has, as you are aware, received instructions to omit the embarrassing article relating to Affghanistan.

We shall transmit a copy of this letter to Her Majesty's Minister and the envoy from the Governor General in Persia, for his information and guidance.

East India House, London,
10 May 1838.

We are, &c.
(signed) *J. L. Lushington.*
Richd. Jenkins.

No. 11.—Secret Department.

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

I HAVE the honour to submit herewith copies of Despatches from Captain Burnes, on political employ in Cabool, from which your Honourable Committee will perceive that the increase of Russian and Persian influence in Affghanistan, and the impression of the certain fall of Herat to the Persian army, have induced the Ameer, Dost Mahumud Khan, to avow, and to insist upon pretensions for the cession to him by Maharaja Runjeet Singh of the Peshawur territory, and to take other steps which are tantamount to the rejection of the friendship and good offices of the British Government, and have, in consequence, led to the retirement of Captain Burnes from the territories of Cabool.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 3 to 21.

2. A minute recorded by me, on the 12th instant, previously to the receipt of the latest Despatches, copy of which is herewith forwarded, will put your Honourable Committee in possession of my views upon the general aspect of our relations

Abstract of contents, No. 12.

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with

Abstract of contents, No. 13.

with the states on our north-western frontier; and I also append a Note of instructions addressed to Mr. Macnaghten, Secretary in the Political Department, on the occasion of his being deputed on a mission to the Maharaja of Lahore.

3. It will be evident to your Honourable Committee, on perusal of the above document, that the emergency of affairs may compel me to act without awaiting any intimation of your views upon the events which have recently occurred in Persia and Afghanistan. But it will still be most satisfactory to me to be placed, at the earliest possible period, in full possession of your general opinions and instructions.

4. In anticipation of the possibility of such a contingency, I have deemed it expedient to put matters in train by previous negotiation, in order to render whatever measures of direct interference I may be obliged to adopt as effective as possible.

[5. The details of the negotiation in question are fully set forth in the documents above alluded to, which form the enclosures of this Despatch, and it only remains to refer your Honourable Committee for the treaty between the ex-King of Cabool and the Maharaja therein mentioned, to Nos. 60 and 61, Consultation, 2d December 1834, in the Political Department.]

6. Demi-official intelligence has been received of the arrival of Captain Burnes at Peshawur on the 7th or 8th instant; and there is every hope that, in the conference between Mr. Macnaghten and the Maharaja, at which Captain Burnes has been directed to attend, valuable assistance may be given by that officer, who is so intimately acquainted with the existing state of parties in Afghanistan.

Simla, 22 May 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) Auckland.

P.S.—Subsequent to the preparation of the above Despatch, I received the communications from Captain Burnes, [and have caused the reply to be addressed to him, which papers are noted as Nos. 17 to 21 of the accompanying enclosures.]

I beg leave to draw the attention of your Honourable Committee to the unequivocal demonstrations therein noted of the extent to which Russia is carrying her system of interference on the very threshold of the British-Indian possessions.

I need not repeat my anxiety, even though the rapid march of events may oblige me to act without your instructions, to be favoured with a communication of your views upon the present crisis at the earliest possible opportunity.

No. 18.—Secret Department.

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

I PURPOSELY delayed reporting to your Honourable Committee the progress of the interesting and important negotiations with the ex-King of Cabool and the Maharajah Runjeet Singh, conducted by Mr. Macnaghten, the Secretary to Government in this department, until enabled to submit their final result, together with the detail of proceedings.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 3 to 102.

[2. I have now the satisfaction of forwarding to your Honourable Committee a full account of the course and of the successful termination of these negotiations, together with papers which will apprise you of the measures either taken or intended in consequence of their result.]

Abstract of contents, Nos. 3 to 10.

3. Mr. Macnaghten, accompanied by Captain Wade, Political Agent at Loodiana, by the Honourable W. Osburne, my military secretary, Dr. Drummond, and Lieutenant Macgregor, one of my aides-de-camp, arrived at the town of Adeenanuggur, situated about 70 miles to the north-east of Lahore, on the 30th May,

May, and found the Maharajah encamped there. The mission had been joined previously by Lieutenant Mackeson, agent with the ruler of Lahore for the navigation of the Indus. Among the enclosures with this Despatch I have not deemed it necessary to forward the daily reports of the progress of the mission, but shall content myself with noting that it was everywhere received with marks of honour and attention.

[4. During the march to Adeenanuggur, the correspondence numbered as above took place, in which Captain Burnes reports the decided predilection shown by Dost Mahumud Khan for the Persian and Russian alliance, and the further designs of Russia; and sets forth his own views as to the real feeling entertained by the ruler of the Punjab with respect to the possession of Peshawur. My decided expression of opinion, in opposition to that of Captain Burnes, that the Maharajah would readily resign his hold upon that territory, if he could with honour, is recorded in the enclosure (No. 6) above noted.

5. The first interview of the mission with the Maharajah occurred on the 31st May, and is thus described by Mr. Macnaghten:—

Abstract of contents, No. 11.

“We found the Maharajah seated in the midst of courtiers, and surrounded with much pomp and splendour; he rose on my approach, and advancing the whole length of the hall, embraced me with great cordiality. His Highness seemed to me to be enjoying a much better state of health than when I had the honour of meeting him seven years ago, and I have been assured that this is really the case by persons who have had better opportunities of being acquainted with his constitution.

“After the usual complimentary speeches had passed on both sides, and the gentlemen of the mission and escort had been introduced, the ceremony of offering the khurreeta and presents sent by his Lordship was gone through. His Highness seemed highly pleased with these tokens of his Lordship’s regard, and examined each with minuteness. I took a suitable opportunity of delivering the khurreeta entrusted to me by his Excellency the Commander in Chief also, but neither of these communications was read in durbar.”

6. The conversation of his Highness is reported as having been of the most desultory description. After many questions, on hunting, wine, the power of artillery, Mr. Macnaghten’s oriental acquirements (which he desired to test by hearing that gentleman repeat a couplet of Arabic verse), he asked about Herat, about Dost Mahumud, about the Persian army and their connexion with the Russians, and the possibility of their invading India. “To these questions, Mr. Macnaghten replied candidly and briefly, treating the question of the invasion of India by the Persians as a subject of derision rather than apprehension,” as being the most prudent course in open durbar. The members of the mission seem to have been treated with every demonstration of respect and consideration.

7. Among the papers numbered as in the margin, none call for special notice, with the exception of Captain Burnes’s report (No. 14) of the departure of Captain Vicovitch, the Russian agent, from Cabool.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 12 to 16.

8. On the 3d June the mission was admitted to a second interview with the Maharajah, when the business of actual negotiation commenced. His Highness withdrew with the members of the mission and a select number of his confidential officers to a private chamber, when, after the reading of my letter to the Maharajah, Mr. Macnaghten proceeded to take a review of recent events in Persia and Afghanistan, pointing out the crisis at hand, and requesting, in my name, to be informed of the views and wishes of the Maharajah. His Highness evaded the request by a counter-question, which induced Mr. Macnaghten to state that he was enabled to give merely a general view of the notions of policy entertained by the Governor General, two modes of proceeding upon which existed, the one being that the Maharajah should act in concert with the British Government, the other that he should pursue a course wholly independent of it. “His Highness,” says Mr. Macnaghten, “before permitting me to go into any further details, immediately observed, that to act in concert with the British Government must be the course best for his own advantage.”

Abstract of contents, No. 17.

9. The manner in which the views of the British Government were propounded,
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pounded, and the mode of the Maharajah's acceptance of them, is thus described in Mr. Macnaghten's Despatch :--

"I then said, 'Your Highness some time ago formed a treaty with Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk; do you think it would be still for your benefit that that treaty should stand good, and would it be agreeable to your wishes that the British Government should become a party to that treaty?' 'This,' replied his Highness, 'would be adding sugar to milk.' 'If such,' I observed, 'be decidedly the wish of your Highness, I do not think that the Governor General would object to supplying Shah Shooja with money and officers, to enable him to recover his throne.' That he should advance by the route of Candahar, while the troops of his Highness should advance towards Cabool; but that it would be necessary, in a case of this kind, where concert as to the mode of advance is essential to success, that one or two British officers should accompany his Highness's army, to keep up a communication with the officers in Shah Shooja's camp, so that the movements of both should be regulated in the mode which may appear most conducive to the accomplishment of the object in view. To all this his Highness yielded a most cheerful and ready assent. I added, that circumstances might arise to render it necessary for the British Government to send some of its own troops down the Indus, to repel any threat of aggression in that direction; and, on his asking how many, I replied, as many as the exigency of the occasion might require, but that their employment in that direction would only be temporary. This appeared to me to be a good opportunity for making a formal declaration of the moderate views of the British Government, as prescribed in my instructions. I told his Highness that the possessions of the British Government in India were already sufficiently extensive, and that we did not covet one begah of additional ground; that our only objects were to improve the condition of the people under our rule, to cultivate the friendship of such allies as his Highness, and to extend the benefits of commerce, but that we were perfectly prepared to repel and punish any aggression upon our rights and dignity, from whatever quarter it proceeded. I had no opportunity of specially alluding to our relations with the states of Ava and Nepal, and I thought it better not to force the introduction of the subject.

"The Maharajah, in reply to my observation, stated that the moderation of the British Government was notorious; for instance, he said, we might have retained Scindiah's and Holkar's countries, and thereby gained an accession of three crores to our annual revenue, had we had any appetite for such acquisitions.

"I then told the Maharajah that the benefit of the combined scheme would be almost exclusively his; that our share of the advantage would be almost entirely confined to our having a faithful friend in the possession of Afghanistan, instead of one who was of doubtful character, if not disaffected to our interests; and that I hoped, therefore, his Highness would not object to the annexation of four new articles to, or the admission of a slight modification in the 13th article of, his former treaty with Shah Shooja, by admitting the words 'in furtherance of the objects contemplated by this treaty,' after the word 'troops.' The object of this his Highness did not readily comprehend, and the point was reserved for further consideration. It appears to me virtually immaterial, though in appearance it would seem to place the Shah too much at the mercy of the Maharajah after his accession to his throne.

"The Maharajah readily agreed to the insertion of the words, 'with the approbation of and in concert with the British Government,' in the preamble of the treaty."

10. On Mr. Macnaghten's attempting to review the consideration of the second plan, the adoption, namely, of a course of action by the Maharajah independently of the British Government, it was with the greatest difficulty he could obtain a hearing for it, the Maharajah evincing not only anxiety but eagerness to co-operate in the combined plan of action with the British Government. Mr. Macnaghten's narrative of the interview proceeds as follows :--

"At this stage of our proceedings, Lieutenant Mackeson, who had a copy of the treaty with Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, and of the four articles proposed to be annexed, was called in. Two of these additional articles were added by me, in conformity with the discretion granted to me by his Lordship in the conduct of this negotiation.

"His

"His Highness had these articles read to him, and, though he did not object, he said that he would take time to consider them. I annex a copy of the two additional articles inserted by me,* and I take this opportunity of stating that I supplied what seemed to me to be an omission in one of the other additional articles. There was no provision for the evacuation of the Mazari territory by his Highness's troops, on the payment to him of the ten lakhs of rupees (or whatever sum may be determined on) to be received from the Ameers.

"I apprehend that the article about Shikarpore, and that about the reception of a Resident at the Court, will be those to which his Highness will be most apt to object."

11. Mr. Macnaghten judiciously avoided the mention of the occupation of Shikarpore at this stage of the negotiation.

12. The Maharajah evinced, throughout the interview, which lasted three hours, the most decided inclination to enter fully into the views proposed; observing, in reply to an observation of our envoy upon his treatment of the Russian agent, "that he had adopted the only course which became his friendship."

13. The papers, numbered as in the margin, consist of an interesting intimation respecting the feeling evinced towards Shah Shoojao-ool-Moolk, by his numerous partisans in Afghanistan, upon which I deemed it expedient to remove the restriction as to the ex-King's correspondence with his adherents in that country. Abstract of contents, Nos. 18 to 20.

14. On the 4th June two confidential officers waited on Mr. Macnaghten, on the part of the Maharajah, to ascertain the extent and the mode of the support which the British Government was prepared to afford his Highness and Shah Shooja in military operations. Mr. Macnaghten's letter of the 5th of June contained a detail of this conversation, and to that document I request that reference may be made. Abstract of contents, Nos. 21 to 24.

15. A paper of demands was taken to Mr. Macnaghten on the 6th June by the same officers, Faqir Uzeezood Deen and Rai Govind Jus, a translation of which, with the remarks appended to each demand by our envoy, forms the enclosure, No. 24 above noted. The document being long, I shall refer your Honourable Committee to it, extracting the two following paragraphs from Mr. Macnaghten's Despatch transmitting it:—

"Some of the demands preferred by his Highness being of such a nature as to render it impossible for me to entertain them consistently with my instructions, I deemed it my duty, in addition to the insertion of my remarks opposite to each item of demand, to record for the consideration of his Highness observations to the following effect:—

"That the British Government proposed two courses of proceeding to the Maharajah; the one, that his Highness should act in concert with the British Government for the restoration of Shah Shooja, according to the treaty between the Maharajah and the Shah, under the impression that to avert the designs of Dost Mahumud Khan, and to prevent an irruption of the Mahomedan tribes, were objects of mutual interest and concern; the other, that his Highness should adopt his own course with regard to Dost Mahumud Khan, without reference to the British Government; that, whichever course the Maharajah might take, it was the wish of the Governor General that his choice should be quite free and unshackled; that, if his Highness took the independent course, it was still the ardent desire of the Governor General that his undertakings should be crowned with success, and that there would be no diminution of friendship on that account; that it would appear, however, from the paper now brought forward, that his Highness has other views than those entertained at the conference; that if, having perused the remarks offered by Mr. Macnaghten on each of these demands,

* "The three powers, parties to this treaty, shall be at liberty to accredit agents at their respective courts, whose duty it shall be to strengthen the bonds of amity, and to preserve the harmony existing between them; provided, however, that no interference shall be exercised by the officers of any of the three powers with respect to the internal administration of the other.

"Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk binds himself, his heirs and successors, to refrain from entering into any negotiation with any foreign state, without the knowledge and consent of the British and Sikh Governments, and to oppose any power having the design to invade the British or Sikh territories by force of arms, to the utmost of his ability."

demands, the Maharajah should still be of opinion that a compliance with his views is essential to his uniting cordially with the British Government in the proposed enterprize, it is still open to his Highness to take the independent course of action; that if, on the contrary, the Maharajah is of opinion that joining in the combined scheme will be more advantageous to his interests, notwithstanding the rejection of his demands, a communication will be made to the Governor General accordingly."

Abstract of contents, Nos. 25 to 28.

16. Of the papers numbered in the margin, No. 25 contains a report extracted from Mr. Lord's journal, upon the Russian envoy (supposed) in Balkh, and No. 26 a notice of the recovery, by Mr. Lord, of some of the books and papers of the ill-fated traveller, Moorcroft, with a notice of the fate of his companions. The papers and books which were recovered in Koondooz, I shall cause to be forwarded to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

17. On the 10th June a second paper was submitted to our envoy by the same confidential officers, on the part of the Maharajah, which Mr. Macnaghten forwarded, with some further notice of the former demands, and his remarks upon each of those of the later date. In the concluding paragraph of his Despatch, Mr. Macnaghten thus expresses himself:—

"The Governor General will observe that his Highness has reiterated, in the most unqualified language, his cordial desire to act in co-operation with the British Government, and that he has generally admitted the reasonableness of my replies. Though he has still adverted to the articles regarding Shikarpoor and Julalabad, I am not without strong hopes that this, the only remaining serious obstacle to the completion of the pending negotiation, will speedily be overcome by the argument which I have submitted for the consideration of his Highness."

Abstract of contents, Nos. 30 to 33.

18. On the 12th of June the determination of the Maharajah to leave Adeenagur, taking the mission with him to Lahore, was communicated to me. His Highness appears to have thought the climate of the place at which he met the mission insalubrious. Nos. 32 and 33 are interesting papers regarding the reported progress of an envoy from Scinde to Lahore, and the objects of the band of Mooslem fanatics who lately appeared on the Indus about the frontiers of Khyreepoor.

Abstract of contents, No. 34.

19. The document noted in the margin is my first official acknowledgment of the various communications detailing the progress of the negotiation. I took occasion to express my perfect approbation of the steps taken by Mr. Macnaghten, paying the tribute to his able services which they had so well deserved, but observing that the negotiation had not yet assumed such a form as to require in its details more special notice. I therefore merely desired that the expression of my satisfaction at the cordial frankness with which every proposition had been met by the Maharajah might be in the most unequivocal manner conveyed to his Highness, adding the following observations:—"His Lordship is satisfied for the present with this record of his disposition, and, until he shall have received a definite communication from you, he will not enter upon the terms of the agreement at present under discussion; for, though too long a delay might give an injurious impression of uncertainty and hesitation, a very short interval may put his Lordship in possession either of information from the Persian camp or of instructions from England, which may enable him, with more security than at present, to direct his course."

Abstract of contents, Nos. 35 to 38.

20. Mr. Macnaghten's letter of the 20th of June, dated from Lahore, with its enclosures, details the further progress of his negotiation, and his communication of the 23d continues the narrative of events. Lieutenant Mackeson, it will be observed, was twice deputed at the desire of the Maharajah to wait upon his Highness. A note of the second conference with the Maharajah was prepared by Lieutenant Mackeson, which forms an enclosure in the document, marked as No. 38. In the course of this conversation, Lieutenant Mackeson took occasion, as directed by Mr. Macnaghten, to inform his Highness that, in case he determined upon acting independently, it was due to the friendship subsisting between the two powers to state the possibility of our being compelled "in self-defence to take our own measures to ward off approaching danger, and use our own troops to restore Shah Shooja to the throne." The following is Lieutenant Mackeson's account of what ensued upon this intimation:—

"The

"The Maharajah received this communication, as if he had not been prepared for it by any previous intimation of its nature on the part of Faqir Uzeezood Deen. The first remark he addressed to me was 'that I should prepare the treaty,' and, not immediately understanding to what treaty he might allude, I asked the faqir whether that with the supplementary articles presented by Mr. Macnaghten for the Maharajah's approval, was the one alluded to. The Maharajah observed, 'that one,' and the faqir recalled his attention to the point by asking how the question of Julalabad was to be settled; to which his Highness replied that, if the Sikhs could not be allowed to hold possession of Julalabad, some other arrangement could be made which would have the effect of making the Khalsaji act in cordial co-operation; that the friendship between the Sikhs and British was great, and had lasted many years, that the British and Sikh Governments had no care, and were both able to act independently, but they had a care for the mutual friendship which had lasted so long. The faqir pointed to me to suggest some other mode to supersede that of the Sikhs holding possession of Julalabad; I observed that it now rested with the Maharajah to suggest any plan that might have occurred to his mind. His Highness said promptly that there were one or two other modes, and the faqir put in the remark, 'provided they are likely to be acceded to.' I expressed my readiness to communicate any proposal his Highness might have to make to Mr. Macnaghten, as I felt assured that his Highness would propose nothing directly at variance with the object of the treaty. The Maharajah then proposed that, if the Sikhs were not to be permitted to hold possession of Julalabad, they should receive a yearly tribute instead (moamila sal-ba-sal), to reimburse the expenses of the campaign. I inquired of the faqir, who repeated my question, if yearly tribute or a sum of money for the occasion was intended; and added, that it was already provided that British officers were to accompany the Maharajah's troops, in order to have an opportunity of seeing the labour and expenses of the campaign. The Maharajah replied to this, by asking if the Shah would be any the worse for two lacs of rupees less a year. I observed that, though the sum was inconsiderable, it was a large sum out of the Shah's revenues; and that it was not so much the sum, as the occasion it would afford to evil-disposed persons to make observations disagreeable to the Shah. His Highness remarked that the Shah had no revenues now. I replied, No; that it would redound to the reputation of his Highness and the British Government to restore to him his throne and country, and with it his revenues. The Maharajah stated that the Shah himself had lately, and formerly, offered him five lacs of rupees annual tribute as the price of his restoration. I inquired if his Highness thought the Shah had any intention, when he made those offers, of abiding by them, to which he replied that the Afghans were proverbially not to be trusted.

"The Maharajah requested me to return to Mr. Macnaghten, and tell him that, if it was possible to allow of the Sikhs holding possession of Julalabad, that measure would make them give their hearty co-operation, both for the restoration of Shah Shooja, and against all the tribes that might ever come from the westward; that, if this was not allowable, then let them have a tribute instead."

21. On the day after the occurrence of this conversation, Mr. Macnaghten, according to appointment, waited on the Maharajah, having intermediately considered the best form of allowing his Highness an equivalent for his claims upon Shikarpoor and Julalabad. Mr. Macnaghten's views and determination are expressed in the following paras. of his letter inserted below, and he thus recounts the result of it:—

"The Maharajah having sent to apprise me that it would be convenient to him to see me this morning, I waited upon his Highness accordingly, between the hours of 8 and 9 a. m. In this interval, I meditated much upon the means which might be employed for reconciling the differences remaining to be adjusted. The Maharajah had plainly and unreservedly declared his submission to the wishes of our Government in the matter of Shikarpoor; and, important as the sacrifice was in the mind of himself and his people, he naturally desired to be able to show that he had obtained some equivalent for consenting to make the further sacrifice of foregoing all claim to the territory of Julalabad, and the countries to the westward. I could not help feeling that this desire was not unreasonable; and, having in view the paramount expediency of at once settling every point of difference between the British Government and its old and faithful

ally, and the obvious policy of securing the cordial co-operation, not only of the Maharajah, but of his people; also at the present crisis, calculated as this co-operation seems to be to frustrate the intrigues of our enemies, both to the east and west, I was decidedly of opinion that these objects would be cheaply purchased by the annual payment, under our guarantee, of the sum of two lacs of rupees by Shah Shooja, for whose immediate benefit the contemplated operations are to be undertaken, provided the payment could be put on such a footing as to be consistent with the dignity of the Shah.

"It occurred to me that this might be effected in the form of a subsidy; and that, by a modification of the existing treaty between Shah Shooja and the Maharajah in that respect, a really efficient body of subsidised troops might be secured to the Shah in time of need, and the reciprocal claim of each power on the other for military aid might be more accurately defined. I need hardly point out the additional inducement which will thus be held out to the Maharajah to support the Shah, and to maintain inviolate the terms of the tripartite treaty.

"Accordingly, on my waiting on his Highness this morning, and after some desultory conversation had passed, I stated to his Highness that, out of the exceeding friendship which subsisted between the two states, I was anxious to do all in my power to gratify him, and I then explained to his Highness the proposition which stands as the 14th Article of the accompanying amended draft of the treaty. I pointed out to his Highness that he was already bound by treaty to furnish military aid to the Shah on his requisition; and that, although the obligation was reciprocal, yet his Highness must be aware that his power was such as to make him altogether independent of such assistance from the Shah; that, consequently, the introduction into the treaty of the provision I had to propose would not effect any real change in the relations of his Highness towards the Shah. His Highness at once, and in the most frank manner, admitted the truth of these observations; the reciprocity, he stated, was merely nominal. I further stated that, as His Highness would under any circumstance keep a large force in the Peshawar territories, his holding 5,000 men available for the service of the Shah could be of no material consequence to his Highness. To this observation also the Maharajah yielded a ready assent; and I then proceeded to state that, if the Maharajah was prepared to admit that, with this concession, both he and his people could cordially co-operate with the British Government in the scheme proposed, I would lose no time in doing all in my power to obtain the sanction of the Governor General for the insertion of such an article in the treaty.

"It was impossible to mistake the effect produced by this communication. His Highness was visibly affected, and he repeatedly declared that this concession to the feelings of himself and his nation would be entirely satisfactory; that now every point of difference between himself and the British Government was for ever removed, and that he should be prepared with confidence and cordiality to take the part which he had all along been desirous of taking in concurrence and co-operation with the British Government. His Highness was profuse in his expressions of gratification and of sincere attachment to the British Government."

Abstract of contents, No. 39.

22. With the Despatch from which the above extracts are made was forwarded a draft of the amended treaty; and I had only to record my approval, and my warm approbation of the temper, ability, and prudence with which the negotiation had been conducted by Mr. Macnaghten; with the expression, which I desired might be conveyed to his Highness, of my gratification at the union of the interests of the two countries. The instructions given to Mr. Macnaghten for his future guidance were, that he should leave Lahore as soon as circumstances would possibly admit, and, in company with Captain Burnes and Lieutenant Mackeson, proceed to Simla, staying only to discuss the terms of the proposed treaty with the ex-King of Cabool at Loodianah.

23. Upon the Shah's acceptance of the articles providing for the payment of a subsidy, I entertained, I confess, serious doubts, the grounds of which are stated in No. 44 of the Enclosures. In the event of no objection being taken to this article, Mr. Macnaghten was directed to ascertain the Shah's opinion of the time and place at which his standard should be raised, as well as regarding the extent of assistance and support which he would require; upon which, as on all other points, he was to promise speedy answers from me, as well to the Maharajah as to the ex-King.

24. The

24. The paper numbered in the margin is a very interesting Despatch from Mr. Macnaghten, in which he relates the manner of his combating the Maharajah's objections to sundry of the articles of the treaty; his success in convincing his Highness of their fairness; and finally reporting the successful termination of his embassy at Lahore. In this Despatch Mr. Macnaghten suggested the amount to be assigned to the Maharajah from the payment to be made by the Ameers of Scinde at 15 lacs of rupees, a suggestion subsequently adopted.

Abstract of contents, No. 40.

25. In reply to the above letter, Mr. Macnaghten was apprised of my continued satisfaction at the progress of the negotiation; but it was pointed out that the ratification of the treaty on my part would be suspended until the assent to its terms of the party more immediately interested, Shah Shooja, should be obtained.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 41 and 42.

26. On the 12th July I despatched a letter, the translation of which is numbered 44, with these Enclosures, addressed to Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, which I intended Mr. Macnaghten should make use of as his credentials in opening the negotiation with the ex-King.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 43 and 44.

27. The papers herewith noted are a very interesting report on Candahar by Lieutenant Leech, and valuable notes recorded, at Mr. Macnaghten's request, by Captains Wade and Burnes, Lieutenant Mackeson, Mr. Lord, and Mr. Masson; with a report furnished by Major Todd, and communicated, together with certain intercepted Despatches from the Russian envoy in Cabool, to your Honourable Committee in Despatch No. 17, dated the 16th July, of 1838.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 45 to 56.

28. On the 9th of July Mr. Macnaghten had another interview with the Maharajah, in which he spoke to him upon certain minor points, as detailed in his letter herewith noted, and requested that a day might be named for the audience of leave to the mission.

Abstract of contents, No. 58.

29. This having been fixed for the 13th July, the mission was dismissed with every mark of honour and attention; and Mr. Macnaghten, accompanied by Captains Wade and Burnes and Lieutenant Mackeson, proceeded to wait upon the ex-King of Cabool at Loodianah.

Abstract of contents, No. 59.

30. The occurrences during the two interviews which Mr. Macnaghten had with the ex-King on the 15th and 16th July, are fully stated in a note drawn up by Lieutenant Mackeson, and in the envoy's own Despatch. To these I must refer your Honourable Committee for the details of the discussion of the various articles of the treaty, extracting, however, Mr. Macnaghten's report of the manner in which the subsidy question, the most delicate in the negotiation with the Shah, was adjusted:—

“With regard to the objections urged in the 6th Article to making money payments to Maharajah Runjeet Singh, I reiterated the arguments formerly used to show the distinction between a tributary and subsidiary obligation. These arguments, it will be observed, had due weight with His Majesty; for in the written article he brings forward the objection as one that may occur to the world, not as one to which he himself attaches any importance. Ultimately, however, his Majesty admitted that it would be impossible to satisfy all unreasonable objections; and that to those who understood the subject, and whose opinions alone were to be valued, the reciprocal nature of the subsidiary obligation would be sufficiently obvious with regard to the objections specified in this article, founded on the anticipated want of means. I gave his Majesty encouragement to hope that the British Government would not permit him to be in distress for the means of discharging his necessary pecuniary obligations.” Mr. Macnaghten thus describes the wishes of the Shah with regard to ulterior operations:—

“In the course of the conversation which followed, the Shah expressed great anxiety to commence his expedition. He spoke of his want of arms, ammunition, and money, and there was one point on which he dwelt with much earnestness: British officers, he said, he hoped to have to instruct and direct his army; but though he felt that he was entirely dependent on the British Government, and though he should feel much security in having the indirect support of a British force, yet he wished that the immediate operations for regaining his throne might be conducted by an army of his own. This, he said, would raise his character in the estimation of the people, while the fact of his being upheld by foreign force alone could not fail to detract, in a great measure, from his dignity and consequence.

"I was anxious to obtain some notion of the Shah's opinion as to the amount of money which should be demanded from the Scindians, in consideration of foregoing all further claims upon their territories; but all I could extract was, that his Majesty thought the hoarded treasures of the Ameers were immense; and, from his manner of talking, I apprehend that his own claims upon them will not be easily satisfied.

"I took an opportunity of suggesting to his Majesty the propriety of his entering into correspondence with all persons of any influence in Afghanistan who might, in his opinion, be likely to flock to his standard, and I was glad to find that my suggestion had been anticipated, the Shah having already widely disseminated the intelligence of his approach. His Majesty observed that he should be in no want of adherents; all he apprehended was that he should be joined by too many; and he added, what appeared to me to be a sensible remark, that it would not do, in the first instance, to reject the services of any who might offer, however inefficient they might be, but that, on his authority being established in Candahar, he might commence the work of selection, retaining those only in his employ whose services should be calculated to be really useful.

"His Majesty, who was in high spirits, desired me, on taking leave of him, to convey to the Governor General the strongest expressions of his gratitude to the British Government for the past protection he had received, as well as for the power and grandeur about to be conferred on him. He entrusted me with his reply to the Governor General's letter, which reply is sent herewith, together with an abstract translation."

Abstract of contents, No. 60.

31. It only now remains for me to bring to the notice of your Honourable Committee the Despatch in which I finally approved the whole progress of the joint negotiation.

32. These important measures having been thus happily brought to a successful conclusion, I proceeded to take steps for the execution of the designs to which they were preliminary.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 61 to 63.

33. My first care was to address a letter of instructions to Captain Wade, to whom was entrusted the duty of procuring the ratification and interchange of the tripartite treaty with the Maharajah and Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk. This officer was the bearer of letters from me to these potentates, translations of which are put up as Enclosures Nos. 53 and 54. Captain Wade was directed to visit the Shah, in the first instance, and to proceed from Loodianah to Lahore; the nature of his duty in the territory of the Maharajah being laid down in the following paragraphs:—

"His Highness is already aware that, while Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk advances by the route of Shikarpoor and Candahar with a force of his own, consisting of 7,000 or 8,000 men of all arms, disciplined by British officers, and supported by such amount of British force as shall appear to be necessary, it is intended that the Shah's son should proceed to Peshawur, on which side a demonstration will be made to divert the attention of Dost Mahumud Khan.

"The Governor General purposes to appoint you to the charge of our relations on the side of Peshawur, and to afford you the aid of Lieutenants Mackeson and Cunningham. It is the wish of the Governor General that the operations of the Shah's son should be confined to gaining adherents to the cause of his father, and especially to conciliating the Khyberees; and the Governor General will expect from you an early report as to the sums which may be required for this purpose, and generally as to the amount which it may be necessary to place at your disposal for the service of the Shahzada, and the operations on the side of Peshawur. It is not necessary, and, in many respects, it would seem to be not desirable, that he should be actually joined at Peshawur by those who may be brought over; nor does his Lordship think it would be advisable that an advance should be made upon Cabool, unless it should be evacuated by Dost Mahumud, or there should be such a general defection from the cause of that chief as to render success a matter of certainty.

"Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk will immediately commence raising his levies, and will be joined at Loodianah or Ferozepoor, as may be determined by the officers who

who are to accompany him. After a sufficient force has been raised, the Shah will proceed to Bahawulpore, where he will doubtless be joined by a considerable body of that chief's troops, and his Majesty will thence prosecute his march towards Shikarpoor, at which place it may be expected that he will arrive about the 1st of November next."

34. Captain Wade was further informed that the Shah's son should not commence his march for Peshawur until his Majesty had quitted Bahawulpore, when the prince would advance, accompanied by Lieutenant Cunningham, Captain Wade's assistant, and escorted, should the Maharajah permit it, by a small body of the Moossulman troops in his service. The Political Agent at Loodianah was further entrusted with the duty of collecting supplies for the Shah's army, and preparing boats at Ferozepoor for the transport of the supporting force of British troops from that place to Shikarpoor. He was also informed that an officer would hereafter be appointed to accompany the Shah, upon whom the general conduct of the expedition would devolve, and that his own duties at Loodianah would be temporarily discharged by the Political Agent at Umballa.

35. Upon the important question of finances and subsidiary aid, Captain Wade was instructed to communicate with the Shah as follows:

"Shah Shooja should of course be apprised that he will be expected to use his own means so far as they will go, and that, when the Governor General shall have been satisfied that this has been *bonâ fide* done, the necessary sums will be advanced to him for the pay of his troops, and he will be furnished with arms and all other articles requisite for his expedition. It is understood that there are 1,200 stand of muskets now at Loodianah intended for the service of Runjeet Singh, which may, perhaps, with the consent of His Highness, be made available to the Shah.

"He should be given to understand that, with the exception of a small body of household troops, it will be expected that all his levies be subjected to British discipline; and that, in all matters connected with the formation of the force, the advice and opinion of the officer appointed by the British Government to command may be followed."

36. At the same time that Captain Wade took his departure from Simla for the purposes above noted, Lieutenant Mackeson was despatched to Bahawulpore for the purpose of engaging the ruler of that petty state in the plan of operations for the Shah's restoration. Both the father of the present Nawab and he himself, had, on the occasion of the Shah's expedition in 1819 and 1833, evinced a feeling of such unequivocal friendliness to his cause, that I entertained little doubt of the course which this chief would pursue in the present instance. "Still," as is noted in the instructions to Lieutenant Mackeson, "it is desirable to ensure his cordial co-operation, and two means of effecting this object have occurred to his Lordship. The one is to form a treaty with Bahawul Khan, the British Government undertaking to protect him against all external enemies; should the Nawab appear to be desirous of entering into such an alliance, the draft of a treaty, such as his Lordship would be prepared to adopt, is annexed to this Despatch. The other is to associate the Nawab with ourselves and Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk directly in the proposed enterprise, by employing a portion of his troops, and paying him handsomely for them while so employed. The Nawab would thus be conciliated by feeling that he was held in some consideration, while he would at the same time reap direct pecuniary advantage. The example of the Nawab's hearty co-operation would, it may be presumed, give a sanction to the Shah's cause at the outset, and would influence the Belooch tribes on the Indus, the Belooch Chief of Kelat, the Ameers of Sinde, and even the Chiefs of Candahar.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 64 to 66.

"The auxiliary force to be furnished by the Nawab for the service of the Shah need not, in the opinion of the Governor General, be very large; about 1,600 disciplined infantry, with four guns, 200 Pathan horsemen, and 1,000 Daoodpootra cavalry, would seem to be sufficient."

37. The draft of treaty with the Nawab of Bahawulpore, and the credentials delivered to Lieutenant Mackeson, are marked as Nos. 56 and 57 of the accompanying enclosures. The possible opposition of the Nawab being a contingency which the exigencies of the occasion would not allow me to contemplate, Lieutenant Mackeson was instructed as follows:

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"The Governor General does not anticipate that any difficulty will be thrown in the way of these arrangements by the Nawab; but, should the cause unfortunately prove otherwise, you are authorised to apprise him, after every effort to secure his cordial co-operation has failed, that the occasion is one of too great importance to the general welfare to admit of our acting with reference to his individual wishes alone, and that his country must necessarily be used, so far as the use of it may be essential to the success of the expedition."

38. On the completion of this duty on which he was deputed, Lieutenant Mackeson has directions to proceed to Peshawur.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 67 and 68.

39. A still more important point than any comprised in the above negotiation yet remained to be arranged; the relations, namely, of the Ameers of Sind with Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk and this Government, in consequence of the course of intended operations. The Resident at Sind was therefore directed to explain to these chiefs the nature of the pending crisis, which compelled the Government to form a powerful combination with its frontier states, for the purpose of counteracting the apparently aggressive alliances of the states to the westward; and the following instructions given him upon the question of composition with Shah Shooja for tribute due to him from the Ameers:—

"You will perceive that, by one of the articles of the treaty recently concluded, the British Government engages to arbitrate the claim of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk upon Shikarpoor and the territories of Sind generally, and proposes at the same time to bring to a final settlement the claims of Maharajah Runjeet Singh, as connected with the Shah, and the territories along the course of the Indus, which were formerly included in the dominions of the Afghan kingdom.

"The Governor General has not yet determined the amount which the Ameers may be fairly called upon to pay, and it should not therefore immediately be named, but the minimum may certainly be taken at 20 lakhs of rupees. His Lordship will endeavour to prevail upon Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk to reduce the claim which he has on the Ameers to a reasonable amount; and he trusts that you will have no difficulty in convincing them of the magnitude of the benefits they will derive from securing the undisturbed possession of the territories they now hold, and obtaining immunity from all future claims on this account by a moderate pecuniary sacrifice."

40. After desiring the Resident to insist much upon the friendly feeling of this Government towards the Ameers, and the anxiety which I felt for its maintenance, I caused the following intimation to be given him of the course which would be forced upon me, should the Ameers decline concession to the wishes of this Government and its allies:—

"Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk will probably arrive with his own army, and the direct support of British troops, at Shikarpoor about the middle of November next, in progress to take possession of the throne of Afghanistan. The Governor General is averse from contemplating such a result as a refusal on the part of the Ameers to enter into such a composition with his Majesty as the British Government may deem just and reasonable; but it may be proper to apprise them of the probable consequences of their not coming cordially into the general views of his Lordship at a crisis so important; and you are authorised to tell them that his Lordship must regard the demonstration of such a spirit, as rendering it indispensably necessary to the success of the enterprise which it is the object of the tripartite treaty to accomplish, that temporary occupation should be taken of Shikarpoor, and of as much of the country adjacent as may be required to afford a secure base to the intended military operations.

"His Lordship is further unwilling to contemplate the contingency of offensive operations being undertaken against the Ameers by the Shah after he shall have established, by the support of the British power, his authority in Afghanistan for the realization of what he may deem his just claims. But the Ameers must be made sensible that, if they should now deprive themselves of the advantage of his Lordship's mediation, with a view to effect an immediate favourable compromise, the British Government will be precluded from offering opposition to any measures for the assertion of those claims which the Shah may eventually determine to adopt."

41. The Resident was further informed that his presence at Shikarpoor about the

the period of the Shah's arrival there would be desirable; that, should the aid of troops from Bombay be required for the occupation of Shikarpoor, timely orders would be issued; and that, during the present exigencies, the article of the treaty with Sind, prohibiting the passage of military stores up the Indus, would be necessarily suspended. The above were the measures devised with regard to Sind, "with reference to a state of things such as is supposed to exist." The following, however, are the conditional instructions which I deemed it necessary to append:—

"If, however, the Ameers of Sind should have entered into any engagements with the Shah of Persia, such engagements must, in the present crisis of affairs, be considered as indicative of feelings of direct hostility to the British Government, such as cannot be tolerated, with regard to the preservation of our interests. In that case, you have full authority to request the immediate advance of a British force from the Bombay army, such as will suffice to take possession of the capital of Sind, and you will declare all friendly relations between your own Government and such of the Ameers as may have been parties to the Persian alliance to have ceased. With any of the Ameers whose cause may be popular in the country, and who may show a disposition to cultivate a British rather than a Persian alliance, you are authorised to enter into such provisional engagements, subsidiary or otherwise, as may be most advantageous to our own Government, and best calculated to support the supremacy of the Ameer whose cause we may espouse. A copy of this letter will be forwarded to the Bombay Government, with especial reference to this and the preceding paragraph."

42. The opinion of the Resident was also requested upon the amount of composition for tribute which, under all circumstances, might be reasonably demanded from the Ameers, and a letter from me to Ameer Noor Mahumud Khan was forwarded to him, a translation of which is put up with No. 50 of the enclosures with this Despatch.

43. The papers noted herewith, numbered, are Major Todd's report of his arrival from Herat, and a Despatch to my address from Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary in Persia. The intelligence communicated by this officer has been already reported to your Honourable Committee. Abstract of contents, Nos. 69 to 71.

44. As bearing upon the exigencies of the present crisis, demanding an increase to our military resources, I forward the Despatch, No. 72, from the Right Honourable the Governor of Ceylon, whose ready compliance with my wishes regarding a possible requisition for additional European regiments in India calls for my warm acknowledgments. In the letter, No. 74, addressed by me in consequence to the President in Council, your Honourable Committee will observe that I have suggested an increase of 10 firelocks per company to the Madras army, should our relations with Ava render it necessary to detach a force from that Presidency for Burmah. The occurrence of hostilities to the eastward seems, I may here incidentally remark, less likely now than at any former period since the accession of the present King of Ava. Abstract of contents, Nos. 72 to 74.

45. Your Honourable Committee will observe that, in order to increase the number of steam vessels available for service at the mouth of the Indus and in the Persian Gulf, I have taken upon myself to direct the recall from Bushire of the "Euphrates" on the change of the monsoon. Abstract of contents, No. 75.

46. A supply of small arms, with munition to correspond, for five battalions of 800 men, has been forwarded to Loodianah, where the Shah has already collected a considerable number of men, whose course of discipline under European officers has been commenced. Abstract of contents, Nos. 76 and 77.

47. For further details as to the military arrangements which have been resolved upon, and the operations which are contemplated in connexion with the expedition which is to proceed for the restoration of Shah Shooja to the throne of Afghanistan, I beg to refer your Honourable Committee to my correspondence with his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, as noted in the margin.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 78 to 109.

48. I cannot conclude this Despatch without offering to your Honourable Committee a few general observations on the present aspect of affairs.

49. When I resolved upon entering into a negotiation with Maharajah Runjeet Singh, based upon the design of restoring Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk to the throne

of his ancestors, the state of our relations with other powers was anything but satisfactory. To the westward there was every appearance of an extensive and formidable combination against our rule. It was doubtful whether we should not be forced into a war both with Ava and Nepal. The latter power had despatched emissaries all over India, obviously with the view of raising a general feeling of hostility against the British Government. Every probability existed that active measures against the Guicwar would speedily become necessary, and the Sattara intrigues were still under investigation. The states of Indore, Jypore, Joudhpoor and Kotah were all more or less in confusion. In short, in almost every direction we seemed to be surrounded by undisguised foes or doubtful friends.

50. It occurred to me that a more intimate alliance between Runjeet Singh and the British Government would damp the spirit of disaffection all over India, and I deem it fortunate that a combination to the westward afforded me the means of engaging that powerful chief in a design which, while it will frustrate the views of our enemies on the other side of the Indus, must dishearten those who might have entertained secret views of hostility towards us in other quarters.]

51. I have already stated that there is every likelihood of remaining on amicable terms with Ava, and the state of Nepal has recently and voluntarily disclaimed having the slightest intention of hostility towards our power. The details of transactions connected with these states will be separately reported to you. I mention them here merely because I believe that the favourable result adverted to has been brought about, especially in the instance of Nepal, mainly by the notoriety of our new treaty with Runjeet Singh.

[52. Of that treaty itself it is not necessary to say much; it was of the first importance that immediate measures should be taken to arrest the rapid progress of Persian and Russian intrigue. It was advisable to take immediate measures for diverting the attention of Maharajah Runjeet Singh from the intrigues of the powers to the eastward, who, there was every reason to believe, were striving to urge his Highness into schemes hostile to the British Government. A treaty already existed between his Highness and Shah Shooja; and, although a less objectionable compact might perhaps have been framed, yet much time would probably have elapsed in its preparation.

53. Your Honourable Committee will not fail to observe that some of its provisions, and the operations to which it will give rise, are such as to give us a much greater influence than before over the affairs of the Punjab; while, with regard to others that may be deemed objectionable, it may fairly be assumed that they are not likely to endure beyond the life of the present Sikh potentate. On the death of the Maharajah, it is improbable in the extreme that any single individual will succeed to the undisputed and entire possession of the power which the genius of Runjeet Singh has raised up. The means, too, which these operations will immediately afford us of watching events in the Punjab cannot fail to be obvious to your Honourable Committee, and they will not be neglected by me.]

54. Of the justice of the course about to be pursued there cannot exist a reasonable doubt. We owe it to our own safety to assist the lawful sovereign of Afghanistan in the recovery of his throne. The welfare of our possessions in the East requires that we should, in the present crisis of affairs, have a decidedly friendly power on our frontier, and that we should have an ally who is interested in resisting aggression, and establishing tranquillity, in place of a chief seeking to identify himself with those whose schemes of aggrandisement and conquest are not to be disguised.

55. The Barukzie chiefs, from their disunion, weakness, and unpopularity, were ill fitted, under any circumstance, to be useful allies, or to aid us in our just and necessary views of resisting encroachment from the westward. Yet, so long as they refrained from proceedings positively injurious to our interests, we withheld our aid from Shah Shooja in his attempts to recover his lost throne. But the grant of this aid has now become indispensable to our own safety, if we desire to avert Persian and Russian intrigue from the very confines of our territories. With those powers the Cabool and Candahar chiefs have openly allied themselves,

themselves, and the declared object of Dost Mahumud Khan is to obtain foreign aid in the prosecution of hostilities against our old and faithful ally, Runjeet Singh, with a view to whose destruction he has avowedly been exciting the whole Mahomedan population of Central Asia to engage in a religious warfare. His determination to resist our efforts at mediating his disputes with the Maharajah, showed too plainly that, so long as Cabool remained under his Government, we could never expect that the tranquillity of our neighbourhood would be preserved. We are warranted, therefore, by every consideration of prudence and justice, in espousing the cause of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, [of whose general popularity in this country the papers referred to in para. 27 of this Despatch furnish the strongest concurrent evidence.] Still, it must be admitted that in one respect the conduct of the Barukzaye chiefs is not without some colour of excuse, and, though a spirit of ambition was unquestionably the governing motive of Dost Mahumud's conduct, yet he and his Candahar brothers may not have been without apprehension of the displeasure of the powers to the westward, in the event of their holding back from the Persian alliance. It is my intention therefore, when our preparations are sufficiently matured, to tender to Dost Mahumud Khan an honourable asylum in the Company's territories. That an individual of his character could ever be entrusted by Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk is not to be hoped for. With the Candahar brothers his Majesty may perhaps be left with propriety to make his own terms.

56. The operations which we are about to undertake will doubtless be attended with much of expense; but this consideration must, I feel assured, be held comparatively light, when contrasted with the magnitude of the object to be gained, which is no less than to raise up [an insurmountable and, I trust, lasting]* barrier to all encroachments from the westward. We shall, at all events, by the means we are adopting, avert a danger immediately threatening us, at a period when a more than usual excitement prevails throughout our Indian territory, and we shall gain time (ample, if judiciously employed) to strengthen our frontier, and render us independent of external aid in warding off such designs as those which have now been clearly [(but, happily for us, prematurely)] developed.

* Originally printed.

57. [There are but a few remarks which I need add, in closing the report of my proceedings and views on this very important subject.] I have acted, in a crisis which has suddenly arisen, and at a period when appearances in every quarter were the most threatening to the tranquillity of the British Indian Empire, in the manner which has seemed to me essential to ensure the safety and to assert the power and dignity of our Government. I have, in adopting this step, been deeply sensible of the responsibility which it places on me; but I have felt, after the most anxious deliberation, that I could not otherwise rightly acquit myself of my trust; [and a reference to the Despatches of your Honourable Committee of the 25th June 1836, and the 10th May last, have led me to look with confidence for your general approbation and support to the plans on which, in the exercise of the discretion confided to me, I have resolved. It will be obvious to your Honourable Committee that the monarchy of the Suddozye family, if re-established as proposed in Afghanistan, will be placed (by the arrangements, the details of which will be hereafter adjusted), under immediate British influence in all its important political relations, and that, therefore, the objections which might otherwise have been entertained to supporting a consolidated Mahomedan power in that quarter, will not be applicable to the state of things which will exist after the successful termination of the present operations]. The encouragement afforded to dangerous intrigues by the division of Afghanistan into weak and disunited chiefships, has also been prominently developed by the experience of the past year. I have determined, I may here likewise state, to give the direct and powerful assistance of the British Government to the enterprise of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, in a degree which was not in the first instance contemplated by me, from a conviction, confirmed in the most decided manner by every opinion of authority on the subject, that the measure could not be trusted mainly to the support of the Sikh ruler and army, without imminent hazard of failure, and of serious detriment to the reputation of the British name among the Afghan people.

58. I need not enlarge on the additional proofs, which have been furnished since the date of my former Despatches, of the manifest designs of the Russian

officers to extend the interference and authority of their country to the borders of India. The opposition of the Russian Ambassador before Herat, by which the efforts of Mr. M'Neill to arrange a peace, upon just and reasonable terms, between the Shah and the besieged, were wholly frustrated, when they seemed on the point of being effectual; the aid given by the Russian Ambassador to the siege, by advances of money, and, still more, the employment of an officer of the mission to direct the works of the siege, are facts which will have forcibly arrested the attention of your Honourable Committee.

[59. I would take this opportunity of earnestly urging on your Honourable Committee the importance of placing at least one or two additional iron steam-boats of suitable construction, as soon as possible, at the disposal of the Indian Government, for the navigation of the Indus. The delay in the arrival of the engines has led to my being disappointed in my hope of having the boat, of which the frame has for some months been at Bombay, available for service in the present operations. Of the extreme value of such means of transport and communication, I need not speak; and it is clearly amongst the best results of the measures at present in progress, if they should prove successful, that the immense facilities which are afforded by this river will become extensively available to British commerce. I regret to state that I have received intelligence, since the first paras. of this Despatch were drawn, which precludes the hope of the "Euphrates" steam vessel being brought in safety down the Persian Gulf to the Indus.]

Simla, 13 August 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Auckland.*

(No. 23.— Secret Department.)

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

IN continuation of my Despatch (No. 18), of the current year, I have the honour to report further proceedings relative to the contemplated operations to the westward of the Indus.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 3 to 6.

2. The papers numbered in the margin, are a report by Captain Wade of his interview with Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk at Loodhiana, for the purpose of procuring his Majesty's ratification of the treaty, the paper of requests put in by his Majesty through Mr. Macnaghten, with my replies, and a letter of instructions to Captain Wade as to the financial arrangements for the support of the Shah and his disciplined troops. For a detail of the replies, by which I was able to satisfy the Shah on the points submitted in his paper of requests, I must refer your honourable Committee to Nos. 5 and 6 of these enclosures.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 7 and 8.

3. A wish having been expressed by Shah Shooja for sanction to his corresponding with the King of Bokhara and the neighbouring chiefs to that State, I desired that my approval of his opening such a correspondence should be at once notified to his Majesty.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 9 to 12.

4. The correspondence herewith numbered relates to certain treaties said to have been concluded between Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, and the Ameers of Hyderabad (Scinde) and the Chief of Kelat respectively; these treaties of conditional assistance have reference, your Honourable Committee will perceive, to other former agreements, which have not yet been obtained from his Majesty.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 13 and 14.

5. The details relating to the organisation of Shah Shooja's army are contained in a correspondence so very voluminous, as to deter me from making it part of the enclosures with this Despatch. Your Honourable Committee will perhaps be satisfied with my assurance that the conduct of those details has been such as to convince me of the efficiency of the officers selected to discipline and command the force: a list of their names is annexed in No. 14. The letter of instructions to the commandant of the force contains a note of the constitution of the several arms of which it will, when completed, consist, the strength being

—1st.

—1st. Artillery, two troops; 2d. Cavalry, two regiments; 3d. Infantry, five battalions. The recruiting for this force is, with the exception of the cavalry, almost concluded, and the organisation of the troops is proceeding rapidly and successfully.

6. The papers noted in the margin relate to the period of the assembly at Kurnaul of the British army of Cabool, which will be concentrated at that station about the 30th October, the line of march to Ferozepore on the Sutlej, and the construction there of a wharf, store houses, and other buildings necessary at a place destined to be, as remarked by his Excellency the Commander in Chief, of permanent importance as a military position on our north-western frontier. The limits of this Despatch will not allow me to do more than refer to Nos. 17 and 18, being a letter from the Commander in Chief, and my reply, for a detail of the arrangements decided on with reference to the march of the army.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 15 to 23.

7. I instructed Captain Wade to communicate, during his stay at Lahore with the Maharaja, upon the subject of our projected interview; I suggested that it should take place at Ferozepore, on the 20th November, and proposed proceeding thence to Lahore, advising the Maharaja at the same time against weakening his post on the Peshawur frontier, for the purpose of assembling a large force for the occasion of my visit. On the same date, I caused Captain Wade to be informed of my having received intelligence of a correspondence carried on by the Maharaja's French officers with persons beyond the Sikh frontier, and of an apparent inclination to intrigue in a manner likely to embarrass the purposes of the tripartite alliance on the part of Sooltan Mahumud Khan; Captain Wade was directed to intimate the above particulars to the Maharaja, and to suggest that during the course of the projected operations Sooltan Mahumud Khan might be invited to take up his residence at Lahore, instead of remaining in the Peshawur province.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 24 and 25.

8. The employment of Lieutenant Cunningham, Captain Wade's assistant, at Ferozepore, rendering it necessary that the duties heretofore intended to devolve upon him should be performed by Lieutenant Mackeson, arrangements were made whereby Dr. Gordon, on his return with the fleet of Punjab boats from Bombay, should complete the operations commenced by Lieutenant Mackeson at Buhawulpore, and thence proceed to officiate, under the orders of the Umballa agent, as assistant at Loodhiana.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 26 to 29.

9. I deemed it expedient to have a British agent of intelligence, stationed both at Peshawur and in the neighbourhood of Candahar, to watch the progress of events and state of parties in the neighbourhood of their respective positions. Mr. Lord, of the Bombay Medical Service, attached to Captain Burnes's Mission, was accordingly deputed to Peshawur, and placed under Captain Wade's orders. The instructions issued to Captain Wade respecting him are to be found in the documents numbered as in the margin. Lieutenant Leech is employed in the neighbourhood of Candahar.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 30 to 35.

10. The Despatch herewith noted is my reply to the letter* from the Ruler of Koondooz, forwarded to me through Messrs. Lord and Wood, while detached by Captain Burnes to acquire information in that territory.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 36 and 37.

11. Captain Wade reported on the 15th August his arrival at Lahore, and on the 17th the ratification by the Maharaja of the tripartite treaty. The tenor of his Highness's conversation on the occasion, and the promptitude with which the treaty was ratified by him, are satisfactory indications of his sincere devotion to the cause, in which its conditions have pledged him to embark.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 38 and 39.

12. On the important Despatches noted in the margin I shall offer no remark, their contents being merely a narrative of the repulse of the Persian army before Herat on the 24th June last, on which occasion two European officers are stated to have been killed while personally engaged in the attack on the town. The account of the Persian loss may be exaggerated, but it seems certain that the army of Mahummud Shah was driven back with considerable loss on the occasion of

Abstract of contents, Nos. 40 to 42.

* N. B.—Reported in Despatch, Secret Department, No. 11, 22 May 1838.

of venturing to give a general assault on Herat; what permanent effect may have been thereby produced, either on the fortunes of the besiegers or besieged, I have as yet had no certain means of being able to determine.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 43 to 45.

13. The enclosures numbered as in the margin, are a report on the fords of the Indus, near Attok, by Lieutenant Leech, and a Despatch addressed to the resident in Sindé, directing arrangements for supplies of provisions to be obtained in the territories of the Ameers, and collected at Shikarpore.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 46 to 49.

14. Reports were sent in on the 13th and 18th of August, by Captain Wade, to the effect that the supply of water for the Sikh Fort of Futtehghurh, near Jamrood, had been cut off by the Chiefs of the Khybur pass, who had also defiled the pools in the neighbourhood. I fully approved Captain Wade's judicious suggestions for negotiating a re-opening of the water of Jamrood through Sooltan Mahumud Khan, and desired him to express my satisfaction at hearing that the Maharajah had completed his commissariat arrangements in the manner reported in the Despatches, Nos. 48 and 49.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 50 and 51.

15. The arrangements of my interview with the Ruler of Lahore may be considered as settled by the answer No. 51, addressed to Captain Wade, in reply to his Highness's propositions; the meeting will, therefore, take place at Ferozepore, towards the latter end of November, when the Maharajah will have an opportunity of seeing the British army before it commences its march on Shikarpore.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 52 and 53.

16. The annexed papers relate to an opening afforded by the Nawab of Buhawulpore, to the King of Cabool, for establishing a communication with various chiefs of Buhawulpore, Scinde, and Mooltan, whose influence was likely to be of value to him. The furtherance afforded to these proceedings by Captain Wade meet with my full approval.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 54 and 55.

17. These unimportant papers are merely inserted to note my receipt of Mr. M'Neill's report of his withdrawal from the Court of Persia, of which your Honourable Committee have been long ere this fully informed.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 56 and 57.

18. The information contained in the Despatch from Bombay, No. 56, respecting the mission of two Russian agents into Hindoostan, and of the general sources whence the Russian Government is supposed to derive private information of the internal state of British India, is curious and interesting. The proposition for regulating the selection and ordination of the Armenian priesthood in India I have referred, with an expression of disinclination to interfere in the internal arrangements of their church, to the Honourable the President in Council. Information of the mission of the two agents above noted has been communicated to Captain Wade.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 58 to 72.

19. The progress of the negotiation with the Nawab of Buhawulpore, as conducted by Lieutenant Mackeson, is detailed in full in the papers numbered in the margin. I have little doubt that the Nawab will ultimately see his own interest in acceding to the terms which have been offered to him.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 73 to 75.

20. The Despatch received through Captain Burnes from Candahar, regarding the state of affairs before Herat, and the effect produced on its defenders by the defection of the Candahar chiefs to the Persian cause, is interesting.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 76 to 82.

21. The papers noted in the margin are translations of letters from the two leaders of the Kuzzilbash faction in Cabool to Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk. I agree with Captain Wade in looking upon them as suspicious communications.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 83 to 88.

22. The important Despatch, No. 83, from the Resident in Sindé, and the translation which accompanied it, will apprise your Honourable Committee of the proved faithlessness of Noor Mahomed Khan, the chief Ameer, to his recently concluded engagements with the British Government, and the supposed perfidy of the other Ameers, with the exception of Meer Sobdar Khan. This chief (of the Soonnee sect) seems to have determined upon remaining firm to his engagements with us. The other Ameers, who are Sheeas, seem influenced by a sectarian bias towards the Persians, which, in the case of Noor Mahomed Khan, has led to an open expression of attachment and avowal of fidelity. The conditional instructions to Colonel Pottinger, reported in my last Despatch on this subject, may have induced him to act at once, upon the discovery of this treacherous

treacherous correspondence, by calling for a force from Bombay sufficient for the military occupation of Sinde. Your Honourable Committee will perceive that, while I communicated to Colonel Pottinger freely my views of policy at this crisis, I yet felt it proper to depend much upon his good sense and discretion for the arrangements which it may be requisite to adopt in the actual exigency of affairs. The devotion to British interests expressed by the Meer of Khyrpore, and evinced by Meer Sobdar Khan, is at this juncture important; and this feeling on the part of these chiefs, backed by a force from Bombay and the army of Shah Shooja in Shikarpore, is not less calculated to facilitate approaching operations than perhaps to lead to a settlement of the affairs of Sinde permanently advantageous to our interests. Your Honourable Committee will perceive that I have addressed the Government of Bombay at length, on the subject of the force required from that Presidency.

23. The important point of obtaining temporary possession of the fortress of Bukkur, is in the Despatch to the Resident in Sinde merely incidentally alluded to. The letter of instructions to Captain Burnes, deputed as on a mission to Kelat, numbered 89, has special reference to the means whereby Meer Rostum, Khan of Khyrpore, may be induced to accede to the arrangement. The favourable temper of that chief has been already noted. This feeling Captain Burnes has been instructed to cultivate, and for its maintenance, in connexion with the great importance of the temporary cession of Bukkur, I have informed Captain Burnes that I am not unprepared to receive propositions for admitting the guaranteed independence of Khyrpore as a conditional arrangement, dependent, to a certain degree, on contingent events at Hyderabad. Abstract of contents, No. 89.

24. The letter of instructions numbered 90 is also addressed to Captain Burnes, for his guidance in the collection of supplies, and the financial arrangements necessary for procuring them in sufficient quantity for Shah Shooja's force and the British army.* The other papers noted with the above have reference to the same subject. Captain Burnes has been directed to remain at Shikarpore, directing the halt of the Shah's army at that place. Abstract of contents, Nos. 90 to 108.

25. On the 10th of this month, the official notification of the Commander in Chief having taken the command of the British army of Cabool was published for general information. The arrangements for the salary of Sir Henry Fane and his staff, in the event of the arrival, during the period of their service beyond the Indus, of another general officer, with the commission of Commander in Chief in India, are noted in No. 111 of these Enclosures. Abstract of contents, Nos. 109 to 111.

26. Intimation having been received of an inclination on the part of the Shah Shooja's enemies to spread injurious rumours regarding the intentions of the British Government in restoring him to his throne, I caused the draft of a Manifesto, No. 113, with the Enclosures of this Despatch, to be forwarded for submission to Shah Shooja, for the purpose, should his Majesty approve its tenor, of being widely disseminated. Abstract of contents, Nos. 112 and 113.

27. In concluding this Despatch, I must entreat the indulgence of your Honourable Committee to the want of methodical arrangement which may be observed throughout it. Events have crowded so rapidly upon each other within the last few months, and my attention, with that of the comparatively small establishment in attendance upon me, has been so engrossed by continually pressing business, that I have been unable to do more than furnish a very rapid and unconnected outline of my proceedings in the important crisis at which we are arrived.

Simla,
24 September 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Auckland.*

* Your Honourable Committee will observe that reference is made in the above noted letters of instructions to the appointment of an envoy on the part of this Government, with Shah Shooja; the details of this arrangement being still under consideration, its report is necessarily deferred.

(No. 25.—Secret Department.)

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

Abstract of contents, No. 3.

IN continuation of my Despatch in this Department, under date the 24th ultimo, I now do myself the honour of forwarding, for your information, the accompanying printed copy of a declaration and notification relative to the contemplated operations beyond the Indus.

2. The former paper, your Honourable Committee will observe, contains a succinct statement of the grounds of our present policy, and of the objects we have in view. In the latter paper is a list of the officers whom I propose to employ on this most important occasion.

3. I deem it particularly desirable that Mr. Macnaghten should be present at my approaching interview with Maharajah Runjeet Singh, but, when that is over, Mr. Macnaghten will proceed, with all practicable expedition, to join the camp of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk.

Abstract of contents, No. 4.

4. Your Honourable Committee will have learnt from my Despatch of the 24th ultimo, that Captain Burnes has been deputed to Shikarpore. Lieutenant Pottinger is still in Herat; Lieutenant Leech is somewhere between Kelat and Shikarpore, and Mr. Lord is on a deputation to Peshawur; Lieutenant Todd was therefore the only assistant available for immediate deputation to the presence of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk. A copy of the instructions furnished to that officer is sent herewith.

5. Of the siege of Herat and the condition of the Persian army, I have received no certain intelligence since the date of my last Despatch, though there are rumours of the discomfiture of Mahomed Shah, and even of his retreat from Herat.

6. It is now intended that Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk shall commence his march from Loodhiana on the 2d proximo. The British army will follow in about a month afterwards.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 5 and 6.

7. I take this opportunity of forwarding, as numbered in the margin, copy of a letter from the Bombay Government relative to the measures in progress for the restoration of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, and of the reply which I directed to be made to that communication. The very voluminous proceedings connected with the case of the Guicowar, to which allusion is made in those documents, will, of course, have been reported to your Honourable Committee by the Bombay Government.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 7 and 8.

8. I have also much pleasure in forwarding for your consideration, as numbered in the margin, copy of my correspondence with the President in Council, regarding the measures about to be carried into effect across the Indus, as well as our general policy at the present crisis.

Simla, 1 October 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) Auckland.

(No. 29.—Secret Department.)

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

Abstract of contents, Nos. 3 to 5.

IN continuation of my Despatch, under date 16th ultimo, No. 26, of the current year, I have the honour to forward to your Honourable Committee copies of the instructions issued to Mr. Macnaghten, envoy and minister at the court of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, and of those given to Sir John Keane, and Sir Willoughby Cotton, the generals in command of the Bombay and Bengal troops intended for service in Scinde and Afghanistan.

2. The papers connected with the proceedings of this Government to the north-west, which, were I enabled to report the whole in full, would be sent with this Despatch, are so voluminous as to render it impossible to have copies made of them for transmission by the present Despatch.

3. I will therefore merely note that the tone and temper of our ally, Maharaja Runjeet Singh, at one of whose capital towns my camp is now pitched, continue to

to be such as to assure me that he is perfectly earnest and sincere in his professions of attachment to his alliance with the British Government, and in his intentions to co-operate for the common good of the two powers to the utmost of his ability.

4. His Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk is now with his army, which has attained (all circumstances considered), under the British officers detached with it, a very satisfactory degree of discipline and efficiency, on his march through the territory of the Buhawulpore Nawab; and he is expected to arrive at Shikarpore about a week before the troops of the Bengal Presidency.

5. The Ameers of Scinde are disunited, as regards their feeling towards this Government, Meer Roostum Khan, of Khyrpore, appearing zealously desirous to forward our views, while Meer Noor Muhumud Khan, with other of the chiefs, have manifested a feeling of marked ingratitude and hostility, and have only given in tardy acquiescence to any of our propositions, in consequence of the retreat of the Persians from before Herat. The arrival of the Bombay division of the army in Lower Scinde will, I doubt not, induce the chiefs of that country to see their real interests, and rule their conduct in all respects accordingly.

Camp at Umritsir, 14 December 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) Auckland.

(No. 4.—Secret Department.)

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

SOME effective advance having now been made towards the prosecution of those important military and political operations to the westward of the Indus, the general design and character of which have been honoured by the expression of your cordial concurrence and approval, it appears to be incumbent upon me that I should submit such a condensed narrative of occurrences from the date of the first assemblage of the force destined for this service as may suffice to apprise your Honourable Committee of the prospects under which the enterprise has been commenced, and of the means which have been concerted, in order to ensure, to the utmost degree possible, its rapid and satisfactory accomplishment.

2. I shall be unable to forward with this Despatch a copy of more than a few of the principal papers connected with the subject; but copies of all the correspondence that has passed in reference to it will be transmitted to your Honourable Committee in due course, and I shall endeavour not to omit the notice of any part of the proceedings up to this time, the knowledge of which may seem likely to prove interesting or useful.

3. Your Honourable Committee is aware that, upon receiving an authentic report that the Shah of Persia had relinquished the siege of Herat, I publicly announced my resolution to persevere, notwithstanding that favourable circumstance, in carrying through the course of measures which had been projected, with a view to establish the tranquillity of the western frontier of India upon a stable basis, and to raise up a permanent barrier against schemes of aggression from that quarter. This resolution was required from us, alike in observance of the treaties into which I had entered with the Maharajah Runjeet Sing and his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, and by paramount considerations of defensive policy. In pursuance of it, his Majesty the Shah, with his force under British officers (amounting in all arms to about 6,000 men), marched from Loodhianz in the middle of November last, and a British army of about 13,000 men, and composed, as exhibited in the return accompanying the present Despatch, was concentrated at Ferozepore on the Sutlej by the end of November. A division of the Bombay army, amounting to 5,500 men (under the immediate command of his Excellency the Commander in Chief of that Presidency), was ordered from Bombay into Scinde to take part in the operations, and authority was given to the Resident in Scinde to call for a further force from Bombay to be stationed in the territories of the Hyderabad Ameers, the probable strength of which would, it was expected, be about 2,500 men. Thus the entire disciplined force under British command which it was originally contemplated to employ in the execution of these measures was about 27,000 men.

Abstract of contents, No. 3.

Abstract of contents, No. 4.

4. The altered state of affairs consequent on the abandonment of the siege of Herat, as it led his Excellency the Commander in Chief in India to intimate his willingness to be relieved from the command of the forces proceeding into Afghanistan, so also satisfied me that it would not be necessary to send forward from the Bengal Provinces, in the first instance at least, all the force which had been assigned for the expedition. It was, I need scarcely add, an object of high political importance, to reserve in India as large a body of troops as possible, consistently with the success of the great enterprise on which I had engaged. The general aspect of political affairs at the time rendered such a measure, indeed, one of very urgent expediency. I accordingly determined to retain at Ferozepore the second division of the force assembled there, and to direct the immediate movement on Shikarpore only of the first division, under the command of Major General Sir Willoughby Cotton, K. C. B. and K. C. H. This latter division may be taken to be of a strength (on service) of about 7,500 men, and the actual strength of troops to be employed in and beyond the Scinde territories, may consequently be assumed, in round numbers, at 21,500 men.

5. I have had, from the moment at which the determination was formed, the strongest reason to believe that the force thus allotted for the service, is fully adequate for its objects, and that an addition to it would have been clearly useless, from being without sufficient means of transport for its baggage and supplies. I have had also to congratulate myself on having on the line of the Sutlej an efficient division of the army, at a period when there has been a serious hazard of the termination of that vigorous and united authority by which the Maharajah Runjeet Sing has maintained the tranquillity of the Punjab.

6. A copy of the notification published by me announcing that his Excellency the Commander in Chief in India had been relieved from the command of the forces proceeding into Afghanistan, is among the enclosures of this Despatch. Your Honourable Committee is already apprised that this command was transferred to his Excellency Lieutenant General Sir John Keane, Commander in Chief of the Bombay Forces.

7. The column of the Bengal army under the command of Major General Sir Willoughby Cotton marched from Ferozepore, after the conclusion of my formal interview at that place with the Maharajah Runjeet Sing, on the 10th December. Its progress was preceded, by but a few days, by that of the levies for the service of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk. It affords me the highest gratification to add that the advance of both forces to the Indus has been conducted with the utmost regularity and ease. The Shah's army arrived on the banks of that river on the 16th of January; Sir Willoughby Cotton's division within a week afterwards. The discipline and spirit of the troops throughout the march were, in all respects, admirable. Their health decidedly improved from the period of their quitting the camp at Ferozepore, the division of the Bengal army having above 140 less in hospital on the date of reaching the Indus, than on that on which it broke ground from the Sutlej. There were at first some desertions from the newly embodied levy of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, but in a greatly less proportion than might have been expected; and, after quitting Bahawalpore, the instances of desertion became so few as not to merit notice. The Shah's corps had nearly all had a certain number of supernumeraries attached to them, so that his force was nearly, if not fully, at its fixed complement upon crossing the Indus.

8. I transmit, with this Despatch, a copy of an order issued by me in the Military Department, giving to the troops, while employed to the westward of the Indus, the same advantages as were granted during the Burmese war, to the corps detached beyond the Megna.

9. My most careful consideration had been applied to render the arrangements for the supply of the troops, in their march to the Indus, as effective as possible. It is most gratifying to reflect that the unceasing and devoted efforts of the officers* who were charged with this duty were, in a marked degree, successful, and that the journey to the Indus was, in consequence, attended with no more difficulties than any similar march throughout our own provinces. There had been some temporary apprehension of scarcity in the northern districts of Bahawalpore, but no degree of serious embarrassment was experienced in that or any other

Abstract of contents, No. 5.

Abstract of contents, No. 6.

* Mr. Assistant Surgeon A. C. Gordon, Northern Bahawalpore; Lieutenant F. Mackeson, Central and Southern Bahawalpore; Lieutenant Colonel Sir Alexander Burnes, from the Scinde Frontier to Shikarpore.

other quarter, and it appeared that the partial defect of supply was to be ascribed to the imperfect control in that tract of the Nawab Bahawal Khan, or to the inertness and ignorance of the local amil, and not to any indisposition of the chief himself to afford every aid in his command to the British Government, under whose protection he had shortly before formally placed himself. The personal exertions of the Nawab appearing to me, from the latest reports, to be extremely satisfactory, I have intimated to him that I no longer retained the displeasure at his conduct which I had at first been induced to express. Very large stocks of grain have, I am happy to state, been latterly made over by him to the British agents, and these will be of essential advantage in feeding the depôts at, and in advance of, Shikarpore. From the officers of the Maharajah Runjeet Sing, acting under the special and peremptory directions of his Highness, our agents have everywhere received the most valuable co-operation. In carriage, in grain, in money negotiations, unreserved aid has been afforded to all our wants. The Government granaries at Mooltan have been opened to our Commissariat officers. But, more even than from these sources, the troops have been able to complete this long and untried march with perfect comfort, from the effects of their own high soldier-like conduct and discipline, which conciliated the inhabitants of the country through which they passed, and attracted an abundance of articles for sale into their camps. I have received the most emphatic and proud testimonies to these good results of the excellent behaviour of all branches of our soldiery; and I would here state that a like honourable conduct has produced a like beneficial consequence with the division of the Bombay army, under the command of his Excellency Sir John Keane, in Scinde. In a recent Despatch, Colonel Pottinger has pronounced a glowing and just eulogium on the troops of that division, with which he had been for two months in close official contact. It is upon the favourable impressions which so high a state of order and feeling must infallibly produce, that I build my strongest hopes of a ready provision for the wants of our forces, when they shall have moved forward into Afghanistan.

10. The only drawback to the entire success of the arrangements for the march to the Indus, arose from a considerable mortality, which unfortunately showed itself among the camels, after passing Bahawalpore. A new forage, joined to the fatigues of a protracted journey, proved destructive to many of these most useful animals.

11. It has been said that the force of his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk reached the Indus on the 16th of January. It was shortly afterwards ferried across the river, the passage having been effected without accident in a few days, though with the aid only of a limited number of boats, in consequence of the creditable exertions of the officers attached to it. The Shah, with his levies, proceeded immediately to Shikarpore, where an encamping ground had been prepared for them. Mr. Macnaghten, appointed to accompany the Shah as Envoy and Minister on the part of the British Government, had left my camp, and embarked on his boats at the Hurreekee Ferry on the Sutlej, on the 8th January. He arrived at Shikarpore, and assumed charge of his important functions near the person of the Shah, on the 31st January.

12. It has likewise been mentioned that the division of the Bengal army, under the command of Major General Sir Willoughby Cotton, reached the Indus within a week after the force of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk. Permission had there been afforded for the construction of bridges of boats over the two channels of the river, between which are situated the island and fort of Bukkur. With the Ameers of Khyrpore, to whom the fortress of Bukkur belongs, I had directed a treaty to be formed, receiving them formally under the protection of the British Government, and stipulating for the possession of Bukkur, whenever it might be required during the continuance of defensive operations. A copy of this treaty is forwarded in the packet, and your Honourable Committee will observe that its conditions are very favourable to the Khyrpore Government, which had always manifested a friendly spirit. Much credit is justly due to Lieutenant Colonel Sir Alexander Burnes for the skill with which he cultivated and confirmed this spirit, and ultimately obtained a ready acquiescence in the treaty. In accordance with the provisions of this engagement, the fort of Bukkur was delivered over to our force shortly after its arrival in the neighbourhood, and garrisoned in the first instance by the 35th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry. This ready and amicable acquisition of so useful a position may be expected to have produced an excellent effect in all the neighbouring countries, for the fort is one of much celebrity, and,

Abstract of contents, No. 7.

though its position is in some degree defective, it may be pronounced to be safe, even with a small garrison, against all common attacks, and it entirely commands the navigation of the river. Two companies of the Bengal Sappers and Miners, under the command of Captain George Thomson of the corps of Engineers, had applied themselves, under many disadvantages, to the preparation of the boat bridges leading to the island, the passage over one of the channels being 490 yards in breadth. Their success was such as to call forth general admiration, and to reflect the highest credit on themselves. The bridges were reported practicable for the transit of troops, park, and stores, by the 3d February, and these would all have crossed, and been concentrated at Shikarpore, within the first week of that month, but for the course of events in Lower Scinde, which I shall now proceed to bring succinctly under the notice of your Honourable Committee.

13. Your Honourable Committee has been informed, by previous Despatches, that it was intimated to Colonel Pottinger, the Resident in Scinde, in the first instructions communicated to him after the conclusion of the treaty of Lahore, that the British Government would be compelled, in the event of there being evidence of a coalition of the principal Ameers at Hyderabad with its enemies, to deprive them of power, and to establish in Lower Scinde the authority of any member of the family who might prove himself to be trustworthy, and faithful to the power by which alone, so lately as at the close of 1836, the subjection of the Scinde territories to the Sikh dominion had been averted. There had been too much reason for this precautionary statement, for intelligence had reached me, in March 1838, of letters having been written by the two principal Ameers, Meer Noor Mahomed Khan and Meer Nusseer Mahomed Khan, to the Shah of Persia, professing deference to his power and encouraging his advance; and, even at that early period, I caused it to be notified to the Ameers, that these proceedings could not be tolerated. This warning was not taken, and, down to the latest period, advances have been continued by the principal Ameers to the Shah of Persia, and every measure in their power readily, though covertly, adopted, which might have the effect of counteracting the objects of the British Government. I intend, by the next mail, to forward to your Honourable Committee copies of recent Despatches from Mr. Macnaghten, conveying proofs of active intrigues having been prosecuted with a pretended member of the Persian Royal Family, at a date even subsequent to the raising of the siege of Herat. From all proceedings of this character, one of the Ameers, Meer Sobdar Khan, has held himself free; and it was to him, as a friendly ruler at Hyderabad, that I originally looked, on the supposition of a change in the Government being forced upon me. When Colonel Pottinger proceeded to Hyderabad in the course of September last, in execution of the instructions above referred to, he found that, by very recent occurrences, the feelings of the principal Ameers had been shown to be, to the last degree, ungrateful and hostile. A copy of a secret paper which he then delivered to those Ameers is sent with this Despatch, and it places in a clear and strong light the provocations which we had received from these weak and treacherous rulers. Besides the facts detailed in this memorandum, it must be mentioned that Colonel Pottinger himself had been insulted, and his person exposed to some danger by the throwing of stones and other missiles by the populace of Hyderabad, acting doubtless on the clandestine instigation or permission of the chiefs, without any adequate redress being afforded. Reserving the right of his Government to notice, as it might judge fit, transactions so disgraceful, Colonel Pottinger acted, in the difficult position in which he was placed, with extreme temper and judgment. He had to require the peaceful consent of the Ameers to the passage of the Bombay troops through their country, in progress to Shikarpore, and to secure the entrance of the troops into Scinde without a delay which might have been fatal to the success of the main expedition, and this consent he procured from them. When informed of all these circumstances, I determined, as the only course which seemed open to me so as to avoid the slightest appearance of harshness or bad faith, and at the same time to acquire the security which had become indispensable as well against any future defection as against the bad feeling which still continued apparent on the part of the Scinde Chiefs, to express my willingness to maintain the authority of the existing principal Ameers, who had consented to the unopposed admission of our troops into their territories, on the condition of such a British force being established, and, as far as possible, subsidised in Scinde, as might suffice to fix beyond a doubt our military and political ascendancy on that important frontier; instructions of this tenor were accordingly

accordingly communicated to Colonel Pottinger in the end of October last. Shortly after the despatch of these orders, reports were received from Colonel Pottinger, which made manifest the peculiar difficulty of dealing with the Ameers of Hyderabad, in consequence of the impossibility of enforcing the demand of a subsidiary force in the country, conjointly with the maintenance of the supremacy of the two principal Ameers, without subjecting the friendly and unfriendly chiefs to a like penalty. Upon this occasion Colonel Pottinger threw out the idea, which at once appeared to have much to recommend it, of breaking up the confederacy of the Hyderabad Ameers, and declaring each Ameer independent in his own possessions, upon such an amount of contribution as might, in regard to each, be thought equitable. Such a course of proceeding could easily be adopted without a revocation of the former orders, as the two principal Ameers would, it became obvious, be unable to give any effectual or really satisfactory acquiescence to the scheme of supporting a British force in Scinde on the principle of a continued recognition of their superiority. Authority was accordingly communicated to Colonel Pottinger, on the 21st November, to frame any new arrangement upon this basis. A recommendation was subsequently received from that officer that the British Government should accept a tract of country, near Tatta, towards the mouths of the Indus, instead of any money contribution for the expense of the British troops to be stationed in Scinde; but, as I judged it above all things desirable to give no colour to imputations of a desire of territorial aggrandizement, in connexion with the plan of defensive policy which circumstances have forced upon the Government in India, I was debarred from giving encouragement to this proposition. Instructions to this effect were issued to Colonel Pottinger on the 13th December, and were the latest which had been received by him when he resolved on the terms which he finally offered to the Ameers. While this correspondence was in progress, the Bombay division, under the command of Sir John Keane, had landed at the Hujamree mouth of the Indus, in the early days of December. No resistance was ventured to its disembarkation, but, from the date of its arrival, every artifice was resorted to, notwithstanding the most fulsome professions of devotion and friendship, to thwart and impede its movements. The means of independent purchase and supply were found to be very unexpectedly circumscribed, and the small number of camels that could be procured for the most indispensable wants of the force were obtained through the agency of a private merchant at Kurachee, and by cordial aid furnished, according to his resources, by the Rao of Cutch. By difficulties of this nature, the efficient advance of the Bombay troops seemed likely to be exceedingly protracted, and, as time was of the most urgent importance, in order to secure the accomplishment of the great movement into Afghanistan at the favourable season, I determined, on the 31st December, to leave Colonel Pottinger unshackled by any rigid line of instruction, and empowered him to arrange any terms with the Ameers by which, with security from serious embarrassments from Lower Scinde, the satisfactory upward march of the force could be rendered certain. These instructions (which were confirmed and repeated on 10th January, in reply to express suggestions of the same purport received from Colonel Pottinger) arrived too late to have influence in the actual decision; but I notice them, that all the contingencies for which we have had to provide may be before your Honourable Committee. At length, after the lapse of weeks, Sir John Keane's division had been able to move on to Tatta, and Colonel Pottinger had thought that there might, from a partial improvement in the state of affairs, be a reasonable hope that the Ameers would accede to proper terms. It had become also of urgent importance to ascertain whether the reserve force, before alluded to,* intended to be kept stationed in Scinde (which had been summoned from Bombay), should land on a friendly or a hostile footing; therefore, Colonel Pottinger had determined to offer to the Ameers a revised treaty, framed on the prescribed principle of establishing the distinct independence of each of them, and fixing a British force to be partially subsidised in the country, with an exception of the friendly chief, Meer Sobdar Khan, from all payment on account of the expenses of that force. Transcripts of his instructions to his assistant, Lieutenant Eastwick, whom he deputed on the 15th January with this draft of treaty to Hyderabad, and of the draft itself, accompany this address. The reception of Lieutenant Eastwick by the Ameers was in the highest degree unsatisfactory, and it is now apparent that they endeavoured to see what good they could derive from a system of feigned confidence and violent menace. On the 23d January, Lieutenant Eastwick, with his

* See para. 3.

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companions, was obliged to leave Hyderabad, and proceed to join Sir John Keane's force, which had then reached Jerruck, within two marches of the capital. Communications were cut off, letters seized, boatmen and other work-people threatened, and every appearance of intended open hostility exhibited. At Jerruck, Sir John Keane had to wait for a few days for the arrival of the boats with his stores and ammunition, and, with the prospect of an early assault upon Hyderabad before him, he judged it prudent to call for the aid of a brigade of infantry, two regiments of cavalry, and some guns, from the Bengal division, which he then knew to have reached Bukkur. Before, however, his orders had reached Sir Willoughby Cotton, that officer having received authentic intelligence of the imminent hazard of a rupture in Lower Sinde, had marched, with the larger force of two brigades of infantry, one brigade of cavalry, and a considerable proportion of artillery, down the east bank of the Indus, in the direction of Hyderabad, leaving one brigade of infantry in position near the Bukkur bridge of boats. A portion of the disciplined troops of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk had been also sent down from Shikarpore to occupy Larkhana, a town of some consequence in Sinde, from which the Beloochee soldiery appeared to have been drafted to support the Ameers at Hyderabad. When information of this state of things reached me, I sent instructions, on the 10th of February, suited to what then appeared to be the probable exigencies of our position; but, fortunately, it had been soon seen that the Ameers were as pusillanimous as they had been false and outwardly arrogant. They sent a deputation, on some date before the 30th January, to Colonel Pottinger, assenting to all his demands, when they perceived that he was resolved and prepared to enforce them. He here judged it requisite to mark his sense of their unworthy conduct; and to secure the payment which we have desired for Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk (the rendering of which had previously been left to their sense of their own advantage), by making it a new condition that 21 lakhs of rupees should be paid by the Ameers of Hyderabad on this account; 10 lakhs immediately, and the remainder within some reasonable time to be specified. This stipulation was also at once agreed to, and, in a word, the Ameers were reduced to a state of abject apprehension and submission. It is to be mentioned that the friendly chief, Meer Sobdar Khan, though he seemed unable to afford us any active aid, yet evinced his determination not to oppose us, and the special stipulations in the arrangement in his favour were accordingly retained. Sir John Keane, with his force, arrived opposite to Hyderabad on the 3d or 4th of February, and the treaties were duly signed and delivered by all the Ameers, and the 10 lakhs of rupees made over to Colonel Pottinger without delay. The orders of Sir John Keane announcing this favourable change, and countermanding the further advance of the Bengal troops, reached Sir Willoughby Cotton on his march southward, from the 6th to the 9th February; and these troops were immediately moved back, crossed over the bridge at Bukkur, and concentrated at Shikarpore by the 21st February. Sir John Keane, with his division, marched northward from Hyderabad, all objects at that capital having been accomplished, on the 10th February.

14. While the events described had been occurring at Hyderabad, two regiments of the reserve force for Sinde, consisting of Her Majesty's 40th Regiment of Infantry, and a regiment of Bombay Native Infantry, had proceeded, under instructions from Colonel Pottinger, to land at Kurachee; Her Majesty's regiment being embarked on board the flag-ship "Wellesley," in which his Excellency Sir Frederick Maitland, the Naval Commander-in-Chief, had obligingly afforded it accommodation. The landing of the troops being opposed, and a shot fired upon them from a small fort which is situated close to the harbour, the "Wellesley" opened her batteries, and in a very short time the southern, or sea-face of the fort, the wall of which was, in part, of 16 feet thick, was levelled with the ground. The troops, in the meantime, landed from the boats, and the garrison of the fort, which consisted of a very small number of men, was immediately apprehended. The governor of the town at once gave over military possession of it by capitulation; and we have thus gained the occupancy of a military post, of which all reports are most favourable, and which is likely to become of much interest and importance. Immediately on being apprised that the place had thus fallen to us, while affairs had not come to an extremity at Hyderabad, but were in train of being settled by negotiation, I forwarded instructions to Colonel Pottinger to state that, under the circumstances under which the military control over Kurachee had been acquired by us, the retention of our hold over it was a matter the determination of which rested

rested wholly in our own discretion ; and that such retention, at least during the present operations of our armies in Afghanistan, must be considered indispensable.

15. Having more recently received the draft of treaty with the Ameers, as signed by them, and submitted for consideration by Colonel Pottinger, I have altogether omitted the articles, as they originally stood, regarding a mere permission to land and keep stores at Kurachee, and have otherwise modified the engagement in its form and some of its detailed provisions, though without departing from its essential spirit. A copy of the draft, as submitted by Colonel Pottinger, of the revised draft approved by me, and of the instructions which have been communicated, under my directions, in explanation of this revised draft, accompanies this Despatch. These papers are so full and clear in respect to all parts of this important arrangement, that they supersede the necessity of any allusion to the separate articles of the treaty in this place. It will be seen, from the instructions to Colonel Pottinger, that the establishment of the main permanent military post in Lower Scinde at Kurachee, is seriously contemplated.

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16. I may be permitted to offer my congratulations to your Honourable Committee upon this timely settlement of our relations with Scinde, by which our political and military ascendancy in that province is now finally declared and confirmed. The main provisions of the proposed engagements are, that the confederacy of the Ameers is virtually dissolved, each chief being upheld in his own possessions, and bound to refer his differences with the other chiefs to our arbitration ; that Scinde is placed formally under British protection, and brought within the circle of our Indian relations ; that a British force is to be fixed in Lower Scinde, at Tatta, or such other point to the westward of the Indus as the British Government may determine, a sum of three lakhs of rupees per annum, in aid of the cost of this force, being paid in equal proportions by the three Ameers, Meer Noor Mahomed Khan, Meer Nusseer Mahomed Khan, and Meer Meer Mahomed Khan ; and that the navigation of the Indus, from the sea to the most northern point of the Scinde territories, is rendered free of all toll. These are objects of high undoubted value, and especially so when acquired without bloodshed, as the first advance towards that consolidation of our influence and extension of the general benefits of commerce throughout Afghanistan, which form the great end of our designs. It cannot be doubted that the complete submission of the Ameers will go far towards diffusing in all quarters an impression of the futility of resistance to our arms. The command of the navigation of the Indus, up to the neighbourhood of the junction of the five rivers will, by means of steam vessels, add incalculably to the safety of our frontier. And the free transit of its waters, at a time when a considerable demand for merchandise of many kinds will be created by the mere onward movement of our forces, will give a spur to enterprise by this route from which it may be hoped that permanent advantage will be derived. The arrangement may seem in some measure unsatisfactory ; inasmuch as so small an annual sum as three lakhs of rupees will go but a short way towards defraying the expense of our force to be stationed in Scinde. But it has been the deliberate opinion of Colonel Pottinger, to whom the subject has been at different times referred for the most careful examination, that the Ameers draw but a very slender revenue from their districts, and that no heavier imposition could well be fixed upon them. I have been the more disposed to admit the justice of this view, so long as the Ameers continue steadfast to the engagements which are now to be exchanged with them, because I am anxious that all our measures should bear the character of a just forbearance and moderation. It is to be remembered that no arrangement has yet been formed with the Chief of Meerpore, who has distinct possessions in Lower Scinde, and that some addition to the annual pecuniary contribution may eventually be obtained from him. To ourselves, it is so desirable to have the military control of the Indus, that it would have been highly expedient to introduce our troops into Scinde, even were the whole cost to be paid from our own treasuries. In fact, on the probable supposition that we shall not permanently maintain a force of more than 2,500 men in Scinde, the arrangement would be, under any circumstances, inexpensive, as being little else than an advance of our frontier stations from those at present occupied by us in Cutch and Guzerat.

17. Your Honourable Committee will, I am confidently persuaded, warmly concur in the sentiments of approbation that I have expressed, on reviewing the proceedings by which, in a crisis of much delicacy, Colonel Pottinger has been

able to render a signal service to his country. I greatly regret to have to add that I have been informed by Colonel Pottinger, that he will probably be compelled, by the failure of his health, to quit, at least for some time, a scene, where his presence, especially at this juncture, is so useful.

18. It will be seen that, in the Khyrpore treaty, there is no stipulation for pecuniary payment by any of the chiefs of that place, to the British Government. This exemption was well merited by the principal Ameer, Meer Roostum Khan, who had uniformly evinced a determination to adhere to British interests; but one of his family, Meer Moobaruk Khan, had, it appears, been actively unfriendly to us in his correspondence with the chiefs at Hyderabad. He was only admitted to the advantages of the treaty, on the urgent entreaties of Meer Roostum Khan; and because Sir Alexander Burnes, to whose judgment the matter was committed, judged the measure to be expedient. I have not held, however, that Meer Moobaruk Khan should be excused from paying, as far as his resources fairly admit of it, the quota of seven lakhs of rupees, in consideration of the guaranteed surrender of all further demands on the part of Shah Shcoja-ool-Moolk, which has been allotted by Colonel Pottinger as the equitable share to be made good on account of the Khyrpore principality, in addition to the 21 lakhs agreed to at Hyderabad. Instructions have been issued by me with a view to the adjustment of this contribution with Meer Moobaruk Khan.

19. These questions having reference to the local affairs of Scinde having been disposed of, I have been happy to find myself free to direct all attention and exertion to the advance into Afghanistan. My desires on this point have been, however, anticipated by the officers engaged in the enterprise, and I cannot too strongly record my sense of the eager and generous spirit of emulation to forward the success of the expedition, by which all ranks have been animated.

20. Major General Sir Willoughby Cotton, and Mr. Macnaghten, having agreed in the opinion that it was on every account most expedient that a large portion of the Bengal division of the army should move on without delay, so as to reach, at an early date, the crest of the Bolan Pass, and to secure the control of it, the Major General, with two brigades of infantry (each comprising an European regiment) one brigade of cavalry, and the artillery of the column, marched westward from Shikarpore on the 23d February. My last accounts from this part of the force are to the 27th February, when its progress was for a few days rendered slow, in consequence of the necessity of moving in single regiment, according to the convenience of water, over a tract of desert country which lies between the Shikarpore district and the territories of Kutch Gundana. The Shah, with the whole or a portion of his force, was expected to proceed from Shikarpore in the first week of March; and Sir John Keane, with the Bombay division, had reached Dadoo (a place marked on the map) beyond Selhun, on the 24th February, and hoped to arrive at Laurkhana, by the 3d of March. If practicable, Sir John Keane intended to move direct, with such portion of the Bombay troops as he might determine to take with him, from Larkhana, by Bagh, on Dadur, at the foot of the Bolan Pass. One native brigade of the Bengal column has been left, for the present, divided between Bukkur and Shikarpore.

21. I transmit copies of Despatches addressed by me to his Excellency Sir John Keane, explaining the views which I have been led to entertain on the arrangements connected with his advance into Afghanistan, and my wishes in regard to the commissariat and cash supplies of the army. It will be seen that I have considered that three brigades of infantry with an European regiment in each, one brigade of cavalry with some irregular horse, and a due proportion of artillery, together with the Shah's force, will be sufficient to put down any probable military resistance. I have been sensible, in expressing this opinion, that there may arise a necessity for considerable detachments from such a force, to hold Candahar in safety and possibly to send in a garrison to Herat, before the object of establishing Shah Shooja ool Moolk in possession of Cabool is finally accomplished. The services of another regular brigade may, therefore, perhaps be judged expedient; but there are difficulties in the way of procuring a sufficient quantity of camels for all the force that might be useful, and it seems certain that a smaller force efficiently equipped, is much to be preferred to a larger force imperfectly provided for. It has been my impression that a body of six or seven thousand men, distributed in reserve between Shikarpore and the Bolan Pass, will be little more than sufficient to hold an effectual control over Sinde, and to guard depôts and keep open communication from the Indus to Quetta. I have been anxious

also

also that as much of the Shah's levy should accompany the forward movement as possible, as it is on this force especially that we would wish to lead the Shah to place confidence, and as it is designed to be the eventual and permanent support of British influence in Afghanistan. I have judged it right to state these sentiments, which, on the information before me I have been led to form, for the consideration of his Excellency Sir John Keane; but it is by his judgment, of course, that all actual arrangements will be determined. I anxiously wait to be apprised of the result of his Excellency's deliberations on the subject, which I may now hope to have communicated to me within a very few days.

22. There is at present every reason to believe that the Candahar chiefs will be unable to offer any serious opposition to the advance of the Shah. They have wasted their resources in a vain move towards Herat, from which they have returned, with no object effected, to a distracted capital and alarmed, distrustful, and disaffected relatives and retainers. The Russian agent, Vicowitch, who had urged them to this show of an attack on Herat, has left them for Persia, with the object, it may be presumed, of obtaining further directions from his superiors. The measures adopted by Mr. Macnaghten in order to procure the easy submission of Candahar will be learned from the copies, which are forwarded, of his instructions to Major Leech, and of his letter to Mahomed Tabir, the news-writer employed by this latter officer at Candahar. The Khan of Kelat has sent a deputation to the Shah and to Mr. Macnaghten, professing his devotion and eagerness to promote the success of the expedition. There is therefore a fair hope, though I would be very far from calculating too securely on it, that our objects in this quarter may be accomplished in the ready and peaceful manner which is so greatly to be desired. I am well persuaded that his Excellency Sir John Keane will, in coming to a decision on the distribution of his force, attach their due weight to all the circumstances which I have here adverted to.

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23. The difficulty in procuring a large number of camels has been very much greater than had ever been apprehended. I transmit transcript of a letter of the 3d February from the Deputy Commissary General with the Bengal column, explaining what he wants (on the supposition of four months' actual supply being always taken on with the troops) and his expectations then were. It will be observed, that he looked to having (together with a perfect abundance of provisions) above 27,000 camels at command, which would be sufficient for the carriage of about 2½ months' supply of grain for a force of the strength of the Bengal division. With this number, which may be all expected to have assembled at Shikarpore by the middle of March, an adequate force for the enterprise will, I have every confidence, be efficiently provided; yet many of the camels are reported to have been in a sickly and weak condition, and this branch of the commissariat must continue to be a subject of constant anxiety and watchfulness. I have earnestly inculcated the necessity of an united and careful management, so as to have justice done to all parts of the combined army, and I have urged the purchase and despatch of camels from all quarters towards Shikarpore. I indulge a strong hope that a considerable supply will, at no distant date, be procurable from the Afghan provinces themselves.

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24. The main points from which supplies are forwarded to Shikarpore are, in addition to the neighbouring districts of Sind itself, Mooltan, where officers of the Bengal Commissariat are stationed, and the Bahawalpore country, where the influence of the political agent is most beneficially exercised. As I have said, the supplies of provisions have been found fully adequate to all the wants of the troops.

25. The position of the troops, who will be left in reserve in the valley of the Indus, has been a subject of anxious consideration with me. I have particularly requested that the most effectual measures be adopted, in order to ensure to them the greatest possible degree of health and comfort.

26. In closing my notice of occurrences connected with the state and prospects of the military operations in the direction of Candahar, it remains only to state that my intelligence from Lieutenant Pottinger in Herat extends to the 14th January, when it has been a subject of congratulation with me to learn that he was in the possession of a high degree of influence in the place, though he had apparently made promises of pecuniary largesses to which, when the details are fully explained to the Government, a very careful attention must be given. I had most deeply regretted the unfortunate personal misunderstandings which had

at one time occurred between him and Shah Kamran and the minister, Yar Mahomed Khan ; and I had been led to apprehend from his first reports that he might be induced to attempt a more direct interference in the internal administration of the town and territory of Herat, than propriety and expediency could warrant. Mr. Macnaghten is now in a position to furnish him with suitable instructions for his guidance, and I have no doubt that similar causes of embarrassment will hereafter be well avoided. Mr. Macnaghten has invited the minister to come in person, or to send a confidential agent on the part of Shah Kamran to meet him at Candahar. It will be my desire to afford to Herat every degree of succour necessary for its effectual protection against external attack, such as, looking to my latest intelligence from Persia to the 7th December, may possibly be again attempted at no very distant period ; but the time and manner of deputed military aid to this important post must be decided by the discretion of the Commander-in-Chief of the army in the field. I propose to call the early attention of his Excellency and of Mr. Macnaghten to the completion of every requisite repair of the defences of the town, which can readily be accomplished by sending on a few qualified officers, when the communication by Candahar is open, to direct such works. The Persian occupation of Ghorian, in the immediate neighbourhood of Herat, is a subject of necessary anxiety on that frontier. I have perused the Despatches of his Excellency Mr. M'Neill, in which he alludes to the former claims of Persia on Ghorian, but it is not consistent with our avowed policy to permit the continued, armed, and threatening, possession of a border fortress of this description by a portion of the Persian army.

27. I have now to advert briefly to the other branch of the combined operations directed against the power of Dost Mahomed Khan, in Cabool, which consists in the movement of the Shahzada Tymoore, the eldest son of Shah Shooja ool Moolk, accompanied by Lieutenant Colonel Wade (this officer having received from me the local rank of Lieutenant Colonel while serving across the Indus) on the part of the British Government. The Shahzada is attended by an honorary escort, which had been originally intended to be of the strength of two companies, but which may now probably be of four companies of Bengal Native Infantry, and by a regiment of Mahomedan Nujeebs, and 500 Mahomedan Horse, attached to him by the Maharajah Runjeet Sing. Two 24-pounder howitzers, in a state of complete equipment, have been attached to this small force, with two officers of the Bengal artillery and two of infantry, to drill the levies that may be expected to join the Shahzada's standard. The instructions under which Lieutenant Colonel Wade is acting, and a memorandum given to the Maharajah, and acquiesced in by him in reference to the movements on the Peshawur frontier, have already been communicated to your Honourable Committee by the Despatch in this Department of the 1st January last, and I need not therefore here dwell particularly on the character of the projected operations. These are designed to be confined to distracting the attention of Dost Mahomed Khan, and furnishing a rallying point for the adherents of the Shah's cause in that quarter. The demonstrations of attachment to the Shah have always been especially strong from the chiefs in the neighbourhood of the Khybur Valley ; and there is every ground to expect that, when the Shahzada is seen to be in force in their vicinity, a large number of followers will flock to him. Much good may, perhaps, be effected by this diversion, but it must be conducted with a constant and very guarded prudence. It is meant to be only auxiliary to the main advance of the Shah and the British army. There have been temptations to attempt a sudden and early rising against Dost Mahomed Khan in the Cabool territories, some considerable means for which could be readily commanded ; for a great part of his army has been detained by the snow in Toorkistan to the north of the Bomian Range, where it had proceeded on a contest with Meer Moorad Beg, of Koondooz, the progress and result of which are yet very imperfectly known to me. But it is of the last importance to avoid, in this enterprise, measures, the success of which might be doubtful or merely temporary, and in which, in the event of difficulty, it might be necessary to call in the direct aid of the Sikh power. In the meantime, there is as yet no ground to conclude that Dost Mahomed Khan remains otherwise than unpopular with the mass of the people in consequence of the Persian connexion in which he leagued himself, or that he will have the means of organising formidable opposition in Cabool. He has, as was to be expected, sent urgent supplications for assistance to the Persian and Russian authorities, with what success remains to be soon

soon proved. Lieutenant Colonel Wade, with the Shahzada and the troops accompanying him, were expected to reach Peshawur on the 11th of this month. A sum of six lakhs of rupees has been placed at his disposal for the expense of the Shahzada and the levies joining him. It is hoped that this amount will cover all the charges on account of this branch of the operations till their completion. Mr. P. B. Lord, of the Bombay Medical Establishment, who accompanied Sir Alexander Burnes on his mission to Cabool, had, as your Honourable Committee is aware, been deputed to Peshawur in September last, to watch the course of events, and to gain over partisans to the Shahzada. The proceedings of Mr. Lord have been exceedingly judicious and satisfactory, and as Lieutenant Colonel Wade's party approaches Peshawur, various Afghan Chiefs of good character and connexion have been sent on by him to wait on the Prince. The appearances on the side of Peshawur are on the whole as favourable as could have been hoped for; and we have hitherto fortunately escaped the hazard, so much to be deprecated, of a collision between Mahomedan and Sikh feeling.

28. I have alluded to the existence of a contest between Dost Mahomed Khan and Meer Moorad Beg of Koondooz. It has been my care to address conciliatory letters both to the Koondooz Chief and to the King of Bokhara. What the disposition and proceedings of these rulers may be, in such a crisis of affairs as will follow the introduction of our paramount influence at Cabool, I have at present no certain means of stating. But I may trust that, by a just and friendly demeanor, they will be readily induced to form close relations of amity with the restored Suddozye monarchy.

29. It has been a source of exceeding pain to me to find that, while the measures adopted to give effect to the treaty of Lahore have been in rapid course of execution, the health of our faithful and most valuable ally, the Maharajah Runjeet Sing, has become extremely precarious. The accounts of his Highness have been lately more favourable, and it is my fervent trust that they may still decidedly improve. I have drawn up regiments to our northern stations, so that we may have from 10 to 12,000 men ready on an emergency for the field, in order to meet any contingency that may arise. When there was the least confident hope of the Maharajah's recovery, it appeared probable that his eldest son, Koonwar Khurruck Sing, would be allowed peaceably to succeed him, but it must be highly uncertain whether the Sikh power would remain consolidated in the hands of this Prince. I shall not now speculate upon possible issues of events in the Punjab, but I need not assure your Honourable Committee of the keen interest and attention with which I must ever regard the fate of that region, and the influence which its affairs must produce upon the new field of our Afghan relations.

30. Before concluding this imperfect narrative of the proceedings in which your Government and armies have lately been engaged, I would briefly state that arrangements have been made by which, if no further call for serious military exertions in other directions be imposed on us, the expense of all the pending operations to the westward can be effectually provided for, for at least a twelve-month to come, without a recourse to any extraordinary means. In aid of so desirable a result, I would earnestly urge on your Honourable Committee that the drafts on the Indian treasuries in this season be limited to the narrowest amount practicable. I trust that this reduction of the Court's drafts for the year may be effected without difficulty, as our supplies to England, by the double operation of bills and remittances, are so considerably in advance.

31. I would again also press on the attention of your Honourable Committee, that the reinforcements of European troops to India, applications for which have been submitted to your consideration, should be forwarded at the earliest period at which arrangements for the purpose can be made; and it will be cause of sincere satisfaction to me to find that all the steam-vessels which your Honourable Committee has liberally destined for the service of the Indus are sent, with their engines and equipments complete, to Bombay, so as to be ready for conveyance to that river immediately on the opening of the next favourable season in November next.

32. I may add, in order to place before your Honourable Committee a complete view of our military strength in India, that I have recently authorised a second increase of 10 men per company to the Infantry Regiments of the Madras Presidency, so that the infantry corps throughout India are now of 800 firelocks each. This order has been given with particular reference to the calls for aid,

within the Bombay territories from Madras, and to possible contingencies in Awa, though it is still my strong hope that we shall be able to preserve peace with the Burmese Government. It may also be satisfactory to your Honourable Committee that I should here say that there is no ground to look for any present rupture with Nepal.

Camp at Pinjore, 13 March 1839.

I have, &c.
(signed) Auckland.

(No. 13.—Secret Department.)

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

I HAVE now the honour, in continuation of my Despatch, No. 4, of the 13th March, to report briefly the progress, as far as it has been made known to me to this date, of the military and political operations connected with the measures which are in progress for the settlement of Afghanistan.

2. It is with much concern that I have to premise that the accounts of the nature of the country traversed by the troops to the westward of the Indus, and of the extreme difficulties experienced in procuring from it articles of supply of any description, have been greatly more unfavourable than the information previously submitted had given the least reason to anticipate. No statement had been received from Sir Alexander Burnes and Major Leech, who had been stationed at Shikarpore for several months for the purpose of acquiring intelligence and of facilitating the collection of supplies, which could have led to the apprehension of such difficulties. There is now strong ground to believe that, owing perhaps to unfounded suspicions as to our ulterior motives, a feeling of keen hostility to the enterprise in which we are engaged has been entertained by Mehrab Khan, the Chief of Kelât, who commands the important country immediately above and below the Pass of Bolan. Mehrab Khan appears to have clandestinely employed his utmost efforts to obstruct the march of the army; and this circumstance is one which had not been expected by any of those who had the best opportunity of judging his probable conduct and disposition, as he had afforded on previous occasions unquestionable proofs of attachment to the cause and person of his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, and of his enmity to the Baruckzye Chiefs of Candahar.

3. The result of these difficulties has been an immense expenditure of the stores which were taken on camels with the troops from the depôts at Shikarpore, and a want of any adequate replacement of such consumption from the resources of the districts along the line of march.

4. The difficulties in question have been aggravated seriously by two causes. First, the absence, at the time when the advance movements were made, of a number of camels equal to carry a sufficient stock for any lengthened consumption for all the troops whom his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the army judged it proper to carry forward into Afghanistan; and, second, the disorders created by the predatory attacks of the wild Belooche tribes, which greatly interrupted all the communications of the army.

5. The scarcity of camels, the only animals of carriage which can be extensively used in these countries, has arisen from the following causes:—1st. From the Bombay troops, under Sir John Keane, having reached Upper Sindh with scarcely any available land-carriage, (a circumstance which, with reference to the pacific arrangements concluded with the Ameers of Sindh, remains yet unexplained); and, secondly, from the sickness and very extensive mortality which have prevailed amongst the camels, as well upon the left bank of the Indus as upon the march from Shikarpore. These difficulties, too, and the embarrassment proceeding from them, have been increased by unexpected delays in the arrival of the camels which have been last collected. Thus, above 7,000 camels, laden with provisions, have, in addition to those which went on with the troops, been assembled on the Indus, opposite to Bukkur, from the 17th to the end of April. It seems not to have been thought expedient to delay for their arrival the march of the regiments in the rear of the army, and though they will hasten forward with the utmost rapidity, they cannot, of course, be for a long period of any assistance.

assistance. I have very much to regret that a sufficient magazine was not at an early period established at Dadur, but there has never been any deficiency of grain at Bukkur or Shikarpore. The want has been that of immediate carriage for its transport.

6. The disorders of the Beloochees have proceeded from their fixed predatory habits, from the confusion and weakness of authority on a frontier where the chiefs of Hyderabad, of Khayrpore, and of Kelât, wield a nominal and divided supremacy; and from the instigations doubtless of the Kelat chief, who has, as has been mentioned, been anxious, unless we are greatly misinformed, to do us all the injury in his power, consistently with the maintenance of some outward profession of friendship.

7. It had been my care, at an early period after the settlement of affairs at Hyderabad, to call the attention of his Excellency the Commander in Chief to the arrangements for the advance and reserve of the army. I am not in possession of the orders which I doubt not that his Excellency has issued for the due distribution of the troops in his rear, and for the safety of the base of the operations; but in this uncertainty I have been unrelaxing in my efforts to give such instructions and authority to the superior civil and military officers left in reserve at Shikarpore as the exigency seemed to require. I forward with this Despatch copies of the instructions to which I allude, and I trust that they will be honoured by the approbation of your honourable Committee. I have deputed an officer of tried energy and intelligence (Mr. Ross Bell, of the Bengal Civil Service) to be my political agent at Shikarpore; and, from the measures which have been commenced by Lieutenant Eastwick, the able assistant to Colonel Pottinger, who has held temporary charge at Shikarpore, and which will be completed under Mr. Bell's superintendence, I anticipate, cordially supported as these measures will be by Brigadier Gordon, commanding in Upper Sind, that comparative order and quiet will be ere long established in the country from the Indus to the Bolan Pass.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 3 to 7.

8. I proceed to note succinctly the movements of the different troops which have proceeded into Afghanistan.

9. The Bengal Column, leaving one of its brigades of infantry (the 2d) in reserve at Shikarpore began the march from that place on the 23d February; and, after encountering a good deal of hardship and unexpected impediment (for there appeared not to have been a military examination of the route before the troops moved), was concentrated at Quetta, above the Bolan Pass, in the last week of March. His Majesty, Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk, with Mr. Macnaghten, and all the disciplined levy of the Shah under British officers, excepting 1,000 infantry and a regiment (of the same numerical strength) of cavalry, which were similarly left in reserve, quitted Shikarpore on the 7th March, and having been joined by his Excellency the Commander in Chief of the Army with a light escort on the 26th March near Dadur, arrived at Quetta on the 6th April. The Bombay force, with the exception of three regiments of Native Infantry, sent to be posted at Bukkur and on the adjoining mainland of Sukkur, within 14 miles of Shikarpore, moved from Larkhana by the route of Gundava on the 15th March. It was detained for some time at Gundava, waiting the arrival of camels and stores, and did not enter the Bolan Pass till the 9th and 11th April. I have not yet received intelligence of the arrival of the Bombay troops at Quetta.

10. Throughout these movements the line of march and communication was greatly inconvenienced by the attacks of plundering Beloochee horsemen; many camels were carried off, and camp followers and stragglers were robbed, wounded, and murdered; but no organised opposition was attempted, and the march of the forces was not delayed by these occurrences, however deeply to be lamented in themselves on account of the individual suffering occasioned by them.

11. Owing to the unfriendly conduct of the Chief of Kelât, the troops, while at Quetta, were wholly deprived of any aid from the resources and inhabitants of the country. The people, who came at first readily to the camps to sell provisions, seemed to have been prohibited afterwards by a general and vigilant interdict from any communication with the soldiery. Serious embarrassments were in consequence threatened, and it became necessary to place the troops upon only half rations. There were the means, however, actually with the army of moving forward on Candahar, and a convoy of above 2,000 camels laden with provisions was expected within a few days. Under these circumstances, it was resolved to lose no time in advancing, as relief might best be looked for from the resources

of Candahar itself. Leaving, therefore, a post of about 1,500 men at Quetta under the superior command of Captain Bean, of the Shah's levy, with authority to raise a local body of the tribes of the country not under the influence of the Kelat Chief as a check on that person, and a means of commanding the Bolan Pass, his Excellency the Commander in Chief directed the forward movement of the remainder of the troops (above 8,000 in number) from Quetta on the 7th April. My latest official intelligence of them is to the 9th April; but I have an authentic account of the advanced brigade to the 11th April, when it was within five marches of Candahar. Mr. Macnaghten has communicated to me gratifying accounts of the friendly disposition manifested by the Afghan population, and of the confidence reposed by them in our justice and good faith from the moment that the troops passed beyond the Kelat territories. The villages, which had been before systematically deserted, were now in no degree disturbed by the approach of the army, and supplies in small quantities were brought into camp. Prices continued, however, extravagantly high; I have no detailed reports beyond the day on which the frontier was crossed; and I must be anxious, particularly as respects the rear brigades, until I learn that all are concentrated at Candahar, and that (as there is reasonable ground to anticipate from the rates of price reported to exist) grain has been found to be abundant in the markets of the city.

12. It is with eminent satisfaction that I have to add that, up to the latest accounts received by me, the discipline of the troops, under the discomforts and privations to which they have been temporarily subjected, has been in all respects admirable, and such as to sustain the high reputation of the British and of the native soldier.

13. Your Honourable Committee will naturally be anxious to learn the sentiments of Mr. Macnaghten and my own on the proceedings of the Khan of Kelât, and the course of policy to be observed towards him; copies of the papers connected with this subject accompany this Despatch. It will be seen that I have thought it fitting and just to reserve the expression of my opinion upon a question of so much importance until I shall have received the best procurable information on all the causes by which the Khan may have been influenced. In the meantime, I have entirely approved the measures of immediate precaution which Mr. Macnaghten has adopted.

14. There appeared no probability, up to the latest date of my information, of any attempt at serious resistance by the Chiefs of Candahar. They had, by false reports, endeavoured, and for a time with some apparent success, to rouse the religious feelings of the population against us; but Mr. Macnaghten has reported that all injurious impressions of that nature had quite subsided.

15. I transmit with this Despatch copies of my communications to his Excellency the Commander in Chief of the Army, conveying to him my views and instructions in respect to the advance upon Cabool, and the measures to be taken for the maintenance of our influence at Herat, and for the protection of that place, in emergency, against foreign assault. The reports from Bushire to the 8th April seem to indicate the possibility of the Persian attack upon Herat being renewed in this season.

16. The Ameers of Hyderabad have not yet ratified the modified treaty transmitted to them. But I rely with confidence on the judgment and address of Colonel Pottinger for the successful issue of this negotiation.

17. The position and prospects of the Shahzada Tymour, and of the party under the direction of Colonel Wade at Peshawur, continue to be satisfactory. The great mass of the Sikh army is assembled close to the Indus, the principal chiefs only having gone on to Peshawur, and I am satisfied that no movement will be made by the Sikh troops without Colonel Wade's full consent and approbation. There has been some delay in assembling the contingent of 5,000 Mahomedan troops whom the Maharaja engaged to attach to the Shahzada; but his Highness has exerted himself strenuously to supply the temporary omission. The means which I have taken to give due support to Colonel Wade's objects at Peshawur will be seen from the accompanying copies of a letter written by me to the Maharaja (when offering to him payment of five lacs of the amount received from the Ameers of Hyderabad), and of the instructions recently given by me to Mr. George Clerk, the officiating Political Agent at Loodhiana, whom I have deputed on a complimentary and friendly mission to Lahore.

Simla, 9 May 1839.

I have, &c.,
(signed) Auckland.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 8 to 11.

Abstract of contents, No. 12 to 17.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 18 and 19.

(No. 26.—Secret Department.)

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the
Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

I HAVE the honour to forward, for the information of your Honourable Committee, copy of a minute recorded by me on the army of the Indus and political prospects and arrangements in Afghanistan; also a Despatch from Lieutenant Colonel C. M. Wade, reporting his further proceedings and the state of the country.

Abstract of contents, Nos. 3 and 4.

Simla, 22 August 1839.

I have, &c.,
(signed) *Auckland.*

(No. 50.)

From the Honourable the Secret Committee to the Right Honourable the
Governor General of India in Council.

1. WE have to thank your Lordship for your letter, dated at Simla the 9th of May, and received by us on the 29th ult., reporting, in continuation of your Despatch of the 13th of March, the progress of the military and political operations connected with the measures taken for the settlement of Afghanistan.

2. After expressing generally our approbation of the instructions issued by your Lordship, we proceed to comment on some points which have more particularly struck us on a perusal of the several enclosures transmitted with your Lordship's letter.

3. We approve of the instructions given in the letter to the officer in charge of political affairs at Shikarpore, dated the 14th March, for the establishment of a good dāk between Shikarpore and the army, and of depôts of fuel between Hyderabad and Bukhur, and Bukhūr and the upper part of the river Indus, preparatory to the employment of steam vessels in those parts.

4. The instructions issued on the same date to the officer in command of the troops at Bukhur and Shikarpore, with a view to the regular and economical supply of provisions for the army, appear to us judicious.

5. We regard in the same light the directions given on the 8th of April to the Political Agent at Shikarpore, as to the means to be employed for repressing marauders, and securing the communications with the army, and for obtaining statistical information.

6. We also approve of the instructions issued on the same day, and with a view to the same objects, to the officer in command of the troops at Shikarpore; and we observe with satisfaction the consideration shown for the men and officers employed on the harassing duties attendant on the march beyond the Indus, in granting assistance from the Commissariat, where it could be done without detriment to the public service, to merchants proceeding with goods conducing to the comfort of the army.

7. With reference to the letter from the Envoy and Minister at the court of Shah Shooja, dated at Quetta, on the 6th of April, we have to express our regret at the conduct of Mehrat Khan, of Kelat. If it should be proved that that chief has broken his engagements with the British Government perfidiously, he must be treated accordingly; but every care must be taken to ascertain what has really occurred, and what has, in truth, been the cause of the apparent change in his feelings and conduct.

8. At the same time we highly approve of the measure which Mr. Macnaghten, as he mentions in his letter, dated at Pahar, the 8th of April, determined to adopt, in consequence of the continued display of the Khan's bad feelings towards us; and we doubt not that the formation of a local corps to place the important Pass of Bolan in a state of security will promote the commercial prosperity of India and Central Asia, and add greatly to the political strength of the British Government.

9. What has been already said will have led you to anticipate that we regard as very judicious the instructions conveyed in your letter to Mr. Macnaghten, of the 29th of April, with respect to the conduct to be observed towards the Khan of Khelat.

1—Sess. 2.

.. R. R. 3 ..

10. And

10. And we entertain an equally favourable opinion of the line of policy, laid down in the same letter, with respect to Shah Kamran of Herat.

11. We approve of the letter addressed by your Lordship to that Prince on the 21st of January last.

12. We also approve of the suggestion conveyed to the Commander in Chief of the Army of the Indus, in your Lordship's letter of the 30th of March, for deputing qualified officers from the army to aid in improving the defences of Herat. We likewise sanction the authority given for the judicious expenditure of such funds as may be necessary to attain that important object, and (however much we should regret such a necessity) for the employment of a British garrison there, if it should be deemed advisable, for the purpose of imparting greater confidence to Shah Kamran and his Minister.

13. At the same time we approve of your excepting, from the general permission granted to the Commander in Chief and the Envoy with Shah Shooja, to act as circumstances might appear to them to dictate, any authority to make an attack upon the Persians in Ghorian, without an express instruction from you.

14. Our Despatch of the 8th of July of this year, will have fully conveyed to you our sentiments respecting the advance of a British force to Herat; and nothing that has been reported to us since the date of that Despatch has diminished the objections which we entertain to the permanent military occupation either of that capital, or of any of the strong places of Afghanistan. Whatever movement you may deem it necessary to make beyond the Indus, should be considered as of a temporary character, arising out of the emergency of the moment. And we still continue to hope that all the objects of your present enterprise may be accomplished without the detachment of any portion of your regular forces to the relief of Shah Kamran.

15. We are glad to observe your desire that the Commander in Chief, should move on Cabool with the utmost amount of force which could, with due reserves for the safety of his communications, be employed for that purpose; and your intention to keep those reserves in a state of the utmost efficiency, as well as to be prepared to move additional troops from the Sutlej, if the arrangements contemplated as possible with regard to Herat, should unfortunately make a reinforcement of the Army of the Indus desirable.

16. We highly approve of the letter addressed by your Lordship, on the 27th of April, to the Commander in Chief, calling his particular attention to the due and timely regulation of the measures necessary for the advance of the army from Candahar to Cabool, and we trust that the strictest attention will have been paid to all the precautions wisely suggested by your Lordship's anxiety for the safety and honour of the British arms.

17. The propriety of the suggestion conveyed to you in your letter of the 9th of July, that a more experienced person than Lieutenant Pottinger should be appointed to watch over the British interests at Herat, is confirmed by the recommendation contained in the letter addressed, by your Lordship's direction, to Mr. Macnaghten, on the 8th of April.

18. As we presume that that recommendation has been acted upon, it is unnecessary for us to say more by way of comment on Mr. Macnaghten's letter of the 15th of March, than to express our approbation of the spirit in which his letter to Lieutenant Pottinger of the same date is written.

19. We approve of the letter addressed by your Lordship to Maharajah Runjeet Sing, on the 25th of March.

20. The instructions given by you, on the 8th of April, to Mr. Clerk, on his proceeding to Lahore, are extremely judicious; and it was quite right to suggest that the Sikh forces in Peshawur should not advance except on the expressed advice and consent of Lieutenant Colonel Wade.

21. We have also to acknowledge the receipt on the 29th ultimo of your news letters of the 11th, 20th and 30th of May, and 10th of June.

22. We take this opportunity of requesting that, for facility of reference, you will direct that at the commencement of all enclosures to your letters, there be written the name of the person who writes the letter, and the date of time and place, as well as the name of the person to whom the letter is addressed.

East India House, London,
13th September 1839.

We are, &c.
(signed) R^d. Jenkins,
W. B. Bayley.

(No. 33.—Secret Department.)

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the
Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

IN continuation of my Despatch, under date the 29th August, No. 29, of 1839, I have the honour to forward the accompanying Despatches which will put your Honourable Committee in possession of the course of events since the departure of the last mail. Abstract of contents, Nos. 3 to 16.

2. I do not on this occasion attempt a connected narrative of events subsequently to the occupation of Candahar. It will, doubtless, be of interest to your Honourable Committee to possess such a narrative in continuation of my Despatches of March 13th and May 9th last; but, I have reason to believe that a document of this nature is under preparation by Mr. Macnaghten, who will be best able to frame it with a satisfactory fulness and accuracy. On receiving the expected narrative from that officer, I shall lose no time in forwarding it for your information.

3. I take this opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 8th July last, on the general subject of our military arrangements in Afghanistan, and it is gratifying to me to observe that the views developed in these important instructions are so much in accordance with those on which I have acted. The observations in my Despatch of March 13th, on the possible necessity for sending on a garrison to Herat, had special reference only to the occasion which might arise, the possible exigency of which is fully admitted by your Honourable Committee, for providing for the defence of Herat against a further attack from Persia, while the operations for the establishment of Shah Shoojah were yet incomplete. That occasion has happily not occurred, and the measures of his Excellency, Sir J. Keane and Mr. Macnaghten, have been limited to sending a friendly mission with a draft of political engagement to Shah Kamran and some qualified officers for the improvement of the defences of his town and fortress.

4. I forward in this packet copies of a Despatch and its enclosures from Mr. Macnaghten, on the terms of treaty which he has been desirous to arrange with Shah Kamran, and of the order which I caused to be communicated to him in reply on the 17th of June last. In the further progress of this negotiation I shall be careful to bear in mind the principles which your Honourable Committee has enjoined upon me.

I need only now add, that a reference to my minute of August 20th, forwarded by the last mail, will show to your Honourable Committee how generally I had anticipated the wishes which you have conveyed to me.

I have, &c.,

Simla, 19 September 1839.

(signed) *Auckland.*

(True copies.)

(signed) J. W. KAYE,
Secretary in Political and Secret
Departments.

EAST INDIA (KING OF DELHI).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 17 June 1859;—for,

“COPY of a LETTER of the Chief Commissioner of the *Punjab*, forwarding
to the Governor General of *India* the PROCEEDINGS on the TRIAL of the
KING of DELHI.”

India Office, }
30 June 1859.]

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary in the Political and Secret Departments.

No. 50.

(Political.)

From *R. Temple*, Esq., Secretary to Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, to
G. F. Edmonstone, Esq., Secretary to Government of India with the Governor
General.

Sir,

Lahore, 29 April 1858.

I AM NOW directed to forward, for submission to the Right Honourable the Governor General, the proceedings* and papers in the trial of Muhumud Bahadar Shah, ex-King of Delhi. As a supplement to the above, I am also to transmit translation of evidence of Ahsun oollah Khan, late confidential physician of the ex-King, taken before the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner. It will be in the recollection of his Lordship that the physician's life was guaranteed on the condition of his answering satisfactorily such questions as might be put to him.

2. The trial was commenced on the 27th January 1858, and was concluded on the 9th March 1858. The proceedings are very voluminous, and have only recently been received from the General commanding Meerut division. The evidence relates not only to the specific charges on which the prisoner was arraigned, but also to the origin and character of the outbreak; and it lays bare the policy of the King's Government and the internal economy of the rebel army during the siege of Delhi. On the whole, it is deeply interesting and instructive, whether viewed practically, politically, or historically.

3. In brief terms, it may be said that the documentary evidence comprises the system in which the General Government was conducted; the raising of loans; military arrangements; the communications with foreign powers and neighbouring chiefs; the passages in the native newspapers relating to the war between the English and the Persians. There are also, of course, many papers of a miscellaneous character. The oral evidence describes the occurrences of the outbreak, and the sad circumstances connected with the massacre of the Christians in the palace; it also throws some light on the origin of the mutiny and the rebellion. The general effect of the evidence, documentary and oral, is to present to the mind a wonderfully vivid picture of all that happened at Delhi during the eventful months between the 12th May and 20th September 1857.

4. The papers referring to the system of the King's Government exhibit in a remarkable manner the active personal share which the King himself took in the conduct of affairs. However wrongly he had assumed his position, it must be admitted that his orders were not unworthy of the situation. He did make some effort to preserve order in the city, to repress rapine and murder in the villages,
to

* See Parliamentary Paper, No. 162 of Session 1859.

to check malversation, to restrain the excesses of the soldiery; but it is clear, from first to last, he was unable to establish an administration either within or without the city. In the tracts nominally ruled by the King there was scarcely the semblance of authority; nor was there any protection for life or property. In but few cases did the King's agents succeed in collecting revenue from the districts. From its own records, the Mogul rule, while it lasted, seems to have been a reign of terror, and a period of intolerable anarchy to the people. Then the papers show the financial straits to which the King was driven, and the numerous forced loans and other contributions exacted from the monied classes in Delhi. The military papers do not materially elucidate the plan of the operations, but they show that the mutinous army was utterly insubordinate to the Government it had set up, and that its discipline was entirely relaxed. The papers comprising the correspondence with other powers indicate the deputations dispatched by the King of Delhi to the Shah of Persia; but they do not show any actual connexion between these intrigues and the Bengal mutinies. Whether in the absence of any proof, there is reason to infer such connexion, will be considered presently. The correspondence with Indian chiefs, proves that the chiefs round Delhi were in subjection to the King; but there is nothing to show that any considerable number of princes gave in their adhesion, nor that any sovereign or powerful prince intrigued with the King. The extracts from the native newspapers at Delhi certainly breathe a hostile spirit to the British, and abound with absurd stories of the successes of the Persians in the war then waging, and their probable advance upon India.

5. The oral evidence goes far to show, that while the troops at Delhi were prepared for the outbreak, and the palace retainers were in some measure ready for mischief, yet the King himself and his counsellors had not contemplated taking the lead in so serious a movement. Consequently, when the mutineers first arrived, the King's conduct was most vacillating. He asked them why they had come to him, for he had no means of maintaining them. They replied that unless he joined them, they could not make head against the English. He immediately yielded, however; and by his subsequent behaviour, he identified himself with the cause of the rebels, and made their acts his own. As regards the massacre of forty-nine Christians within the palace walls, it is probable that the King himself was not a prime mover in that dreadful deed, and that if left to his own devices, he would not have had the prisoners murdered. There is little doubt that he could have saved them had he been so minded. It is quite certain that he made no effort to do so, and from his own subsequent letters, it is clear that he was a consenting party to the murder.

6. Upon all this evidence, the Court have found the prisoner guilty of four charges, which may be thus epitomised:

- 1st. Aiding and abetting the mutinies of the troops.
- 2d. Encouraging and assisting divers persons in waging war against the British Government.
- 3d. Assuming the sovereignty of Hindoostan.
- 4th. Causing and being accessory to the murder of the Christians.

Concurring in the justice of the verdict, and considering the prisoner to have been guilty of these grave felonies, the Chief Commissioner has to recommend, that the said prisoner shall be dealt with as a felon, regard only being had to the guarantee of his life, which was granted to him at the time of his capture. And the Chief Commissioner has arrived at the deliberate opinion of the prisoner's guilt, after having carefully examined the evidence adduced at the trial, and after having tested it by all the information which he has obtained since the commencement of the outbreak, and by his personal knowledge of the character both of the prisoner and of the Mahomedan population of Delhi.

7. After the above brief analysis of the proceedings in this most remarkable trial, I am now to submit the Chief Commissioner's opinions on the real causes and origin of the mutiny and rebellion. A right understanding of this matter is of the last importance to the future stability of the empire.

8. In the first place, it is to be observed that the prisoner was not charged with any offence previous to the 11th May 1857. Whatever may have been the

the King's participation in the events subsequent to that date, nothing has transpired on the trial, or on any other occasion, to show that he was engaged in a previous conspiracy to excite a mutiny in the Bengal army. Indeed, it is Sir John Lawrence's very decided impression that this mutiny had its origin in the army itself; that it is not attributable to any external or any antecedent conspiracy whatever, although it was afterwards taken advantage of by disaffected persons to compass their own ends; and that its proximate cause was the cartridge affair, and nothing else. Sir John Lawrence has examined many hundreds of letters on this subject from natives, both soldiers and civilians. He has, moreover, conversed constantly on the matter with natives of all classes, and he is satisfied that the general, and indeed almost the universal opinion in this part of India, is to the above effect.

9. It may be true that discontented sepoys worked upon the minds of their less guileless comrades, and persuaded them that a sinister but systematic attempt was about to be made on their ceremonial religion; and that in many regiments the majority were misled by designing individuals. But as a body, the native army did really believe that the universal introduction of cartridges destructive of their caste was a matter only of time. They heard (and believed as they heard) that the measure had been resolved on, and that some sepoys had been punished even by death for refusing to use the objectionable cartridges. They thought, therefore, that their only chance of escape was to band together, to refuse the cartridges, and to resist if force should be attempted by the Government; and the incendiary fires at the different stations were intended by the sepoys as a warning to their officers and to their Government of the feelings which had taken possession of the native army. Such truly was the origin of the mutiny; and this, I am to repeat, is the one circumstance which has forced itself upon the Chief Commissioner's conviction in all that he has seen and heard. This is the one fact which stands out prominently in all the native letters which he has examined, in all the statements of the natives whom he has cross-questioned, and in all the conversations between the natives themselves, which have been reported by our spies in Delhi and elsewhere.

10. As against the above conclusion, it might perhaps be urged that the mutiny first broke out at Meerut, where the new cartridges had never been used; and it is no doubt true that the men of the 3d Light Cavalry had never been asked to use the new cartridges, and were imprisoned for refusing cartridges of the old description, and perfectly unobjectionable. But the Chief Commissioner has always understood that the cartridges which these men did refuse happened to be enveloped in paper of a colour different from that generally used before; and he believes that this unfortunate circumstance would account for the bitter mistrust which was excited in their minds. Indeed, a similar circumstance produced the same effect upon the 19th Native Infantry and other regiments in Bengal. Any person conversant with native character can understand how easily such a thing might be misinterpreted by men whose imagination and feelings had been wrought up to the belief that an attempt was in contemplation to injure them in so vital a point as that of caste and religion. Again, it has been said that the sepoys after the mutiny fired off some of these impure cartridges against our loyal troops during the siege of Delhi; but it is very doubtful whether this really took place. If it did, however, still the men might have escaped the fancied pollution by refraining from biting the cartridges, or they might have had the cartridges remade in a manner which would obviate the supposed impurity; or the cartridges might have been used only when the mutineers were becoming desperate, as their final defeat drew near. On the whole, the Chief Commissioner considers that neither of the above arguments is at all sufficient to weaken a conclusion so strong upon other grounds.

11. As an instance of the evidence which might be produced in favour of the above conclusions, I am to mention an important and interesting conversation which the Chief Commissioner and Brigadier General Chamberlain recently held at Umballah with a jemadar of the 3d Punjab Native Infantry. This man, a Bhajpooiea Rajpoot by caste, and a native of Hindostan, was at Ghazepore on furlough when the mutiny broke out; he and his two brothers joined an English indigo planter, and during seven months were of great use to that gentleman on several occasions of difficulty and disturbance. He was on his way thence to rejoin his regiment in the Punjab when he met the Chief Commissioner's camp at

Umballah. Though holding a certificate of his good conduct and services at Ghazepore, he still, even at Umballah, seemed doubtful of the reception he would meet with. He was reserved at first, and it was only during a lengthened examination that he by degrees described what he had heard and seen. In this conversation he affirmed that there was a general belief among the Hindostanee sepoys that the destruction of their caste and religion had been finally resolved on by the English. "So strong was this belief," he said, "that when I talked with the relations and friends of sepoys, and endeavoured to combat their views, I ended in almost believing that they were right. Then, again, when I talk to you and hear what you say, I see how foolish such ideas were." He added that the English officers little knew how strong this impression had become in the native army; that more than five years ago the belief had existed, and had nearly brought on an *émeute*; that the caravanserais for travellers and the supply depôts (seraees and burdashtkhanas) erected by Government on the Grand Trunk Road were said to be devised with the object of destroying castes, and that before long impure kinds of food would be prepared in them which the people would be forced to buy and eat.

12. Such was the prevalent belief in the native army before the outbreak. The first excitement, according to the Chief Commissioner's belief, the first feelings of disaffection, arose among the high caste Hindoos, Brahmins, and Rajpoots of both the infantry and the cavalry; this disaffection then spread to the Mahomedans of the same regiments. With them also the feeling was at first a desire to resist the infringement of their caste and religion. Then, when they saw that the mutiny, which had now settled deep in the minds and hearts of the Hindoos, might be expanded into a political movement calculated to subserve Mussulman interests, they sedulously fanned the flame. But while thus the Hindoos and Mahomedans of the line had united to mutiny, the Chief Commissioner's impression is, that in the first instance the Hindoostanee Irregular Cavalry did not join in the combination. While the regular army chiefly came from Oude and the districts surrounding it, the irregular troopers were drawn from the districts within a circle of a hundred miles round Delhi. They had, therefore, no personal connexion with the line; and, except the mutual bond of religion, they had little or nothing in common even with the Mahomedans of the regular cavalry. In the many native letters which he examined at the outset of the disturbances the Chief Commissioner found nothing to implicate the irregulars, though the misconduct of the 10th Irregular Regiment at Nowsherah is a grave exception to what has been said above in regard to this branch of the service. But, of course, when Delhi had been seized by the mutineers, and when rebellion spread to the very districts whence the irregulars came, then very many of them also joined the movement. From that time the Mahomedan soldiers and the Mahomedan population became more actively hostile than the Hindoos. This, indeed, it is easy to understand, fanaticism and ferocity being especially inculcated by the tenets of their religion.

13. But although stories against the British were fabricated and circulated by persons with ulterior designs; although individual intrigues were rife within and without the army; though the Mahomedans very frequently breathed a spirit of fanatic ferocity against the British, yet all their influences could not have drawn our native army from its allegiance, if it had not been already penetrated by that unfortunate belief about the cartridges. Nor would such an ill-feeling have so speedily arisen, nor would it have produced such a desperate disaffection, if the army had not been in an unsound and unsatisfactory state for some years past. That this state of things actually existed can now be ascertained from the natives themselves. At the time it would have been extremely difficult to discover as much from them, owing to their extraordinary reticence on matters which they fear to reveal. It is only by attentive observation, by study of their character and their conduct, and by the collating of their casual remarks, that their real opinions and feelings on such subjects can be discerned. It were needless to allude to the several causes which brought about this condition. There is however one essential and original cause which cannot be too prominently mentioned, nor too attentively considered. This cause was, that the sepoys were imbued with a sense of their own strength and of our weakness; and that our system consequently placed in their way temptations which encouraged them to revolt. They were, as they themselves said in their own phrase, the right arm, the

the hands and feet, of the British Government. Their strength consisted in their great numbers; in their unexampled power of combination from their being one vast brotherhood, with common fatherland, language, religion, caste, and associations; and their possession of most of our magazines, many of our forts, and all our treasuries, while our weakness consisted in the paucity of European troops. Moreover, while the native regiments were kept up to their full strength, while our already overgrown native army was being gradually increased, it so happened that we had not been so weak for many years past in European troops as we were in 1857. Some regiments had been subtracted from our complement during the Russian war; two regiments were in Persia. Those regiments we had were numerically weak; some corps had not received any fresh drafts for two years. These and all the other weak points of our system were patent to a native army, having many intelligent men in its ranks, employed promiscuously from Calcutta to Peshawar, and consequently well acquainted with our military arrangements. In short, it was a sense of overwhelming power acting upon men exasperated by a fancied wrong that led the Bengal army to mutiny. In the face of this grand motive cause for the mutiny existing in the army, why need we look abroad for foreign causes?

14. The real causes of the outbreak having been discussed, I am now to advert to certain circumstances which are sometimes said to be causes, but which in the Chief Commissioner's judgment were probably not so.

15. In the first place, with reference to conspiracies, which have been so frequently adduced as proximate causes of the outbreak, I am to state that, in the Chief Commissioner's belief, there was not any conspiracy in the army irrespective of the cartridge affair, and no really organised conspiracy even in respect of that. The sepoys had corresponded in order to unite in refusing the cartridges; they had probably engaged to stand by one another in resistance to the supposed oppression; and being a fraternity with hopes, fears, prejudices, feelings, all in common, they all felt that such an engagement would be acted up to by the whole body. No doubt the course of affairs at Meerut precipitated the outbreak, and it is vain to speculate as to what could have been designed if that outbreak had been postponed. But it seems certain that no regular rising had up to that time been planned. A mass of sepoy correspondence has been inspected, the common talk of the mutineers in Delhi has been reported, the records of the palace have been ransacked, and yet no trace of any such detailed plan has been found. To show how little the course to be followed had been pre-arranged at the time of the Meerut outbreak, one or two significant circumstances may be cited. The well-known moonshee, Mohun Lal, who was at Delhi, stated that some men of the 3d Light Cavalry told him that when the regiment broke out at Meerut they had scarcely left the cantonments when they held a council of war as to what should be done next. The general voice at first was for taking refuge in Rohilkund, but one of the men pointed out that Delhi was the proper place to make for. There, he said, were the magazine and the treasury; there the strong fortifications; there a large city population; there the King for a fitting instrument; and there, above all, an important point without European troops. This account of what took place on that occasion was corroborated by minute and extensive inquiries made by Brigadier General Chamberlain after the fall of Delhi. Again, it is ascertained from Mr. Ford, magistrate of Goorgaon, that a large party of the 3d Cavalry troopers actually fled through Delhi onward to the Goorgaon district on the very next day after the outbreak, and that 10 men of this party, and about 20 of the horses, were seized by the magistrate. At the same time there is no doubt that the troops at Delhi were prepared for the occurrence of an outbreak at Meerut, and were fully resolved to stand by their comrades.

16. It was when the native army at large saw the immense success of the Meerut and Delhi mutineers, and the disasters of the British in the first instance, that they resolved to convert what had been a combat on against supposed oppression into a struggle for empire and for a general military domination. The sepoys had the command of all the public treasuries; no attempt was made to secure the treasure at out-stations; the temptation to plunder was too great for the virtue even of our best disposed regiments; each corps acquired great wealth as it mutinied; as regiment after regiment fell away the power of resistance on the part of the Government lessened; in short, so manifold were the inducements,

ments, so certain the spread of infection, so powerful the effect of example, that no man acquainted with India could fail to see that such a mutiny and rebellion, unless trampled out at once, unless quenched in the blood of the soldiers who first revolted, must extend everywhere like wildfire.

17. Next, I am to state that Sir John Lawrence does not believe that there was any previous conspiracy, Mahomedan or other, extending first through the influential classes in the country, and then to the native army. If there were such a thing, how comes it that no trace has been discovered in this part of India, the very quarter where any such conspiracy must have been hatched? How can it reasonably be explained, why none of those who have adhered to our cause were acquainted with such a conspiracy? The number of those who were with us in Hindoostan may have been small, as compared with the number of those who were against us; but still the number of our adherents was considerable. Of these, many remained true to us under all trials; others again died fighting on our side, yet not one of these has ever been able to speak of any general conspiracy previous to the outbreak. Again, none of the mutineers and rebels who paid for their guilt the forfeit of their lives ever confessed in their last moments a knowledge of any such conspiracy, though they knew that any revelations on this subject would have saved them from death. Again, many papers of various kinds have come to hand, revealing important secrets, implicating many persons, jeopardising many lives, yet in all these there has been no allusion to such a conspiracy. In all his inquiries the Chief Commissioner has never heard a word from a native mouth, nor seen anything in any native document, that could convey even the impression that any general plot had existed.

18. Furthermore, the Chief Commissioner considers that the conduct of the people generally negatives the supposition of a general conspiracy. If the people had conspired with the army, why was not the first outbreak immediately followed by a general insurrection? If there was concert and premeditation, then why did not the population obey the first signals of revolt, such remarkable and encouraging signals as they were? Why did not all Hindoostan rebel directly that Delhi had fallen to the mutineers, when the English there had been massacred, when the troops had raised the bad characters of the city, and with their aid had seized the treasure, magazines, and fortifications; when the King's sons, courtiers, and retainers had joined, and when the King himself had consented to head the movement? Why had not the population everywhere taken advantage immediately of our weakness? Our power in a large portion of Hindoostan was temporarily paralysed. Our means were small; and those means we had were so placed as not to be capable of being at once brought to bear against the insurgents. And the Meerut force did nothing. The fact is, that at first our enemies were not prepared to profit by such unforeseen and tremendous events. It was not till afterwards that the Mahomedans of Hindoostan perceived that the re-establishment of the throne of Delhi, the gradual rising of the Mahomedan population, and the losses of the British at so many stations, presented an opportunity when they might again strike for empire with some prospect of success. The fact that afterwards in many districts the people threw off or ignored our authority, and that many individuals, and some classes openly rose against us, will by no means prove a preconceived conspiracy, but, on the contrary, will admit of much explanation. In no case did popular tumult precede the military outbreak; but invariably where it occurred at all, it ensued upon a mutiny, like cause following effect. The population generally were passive at first. Then as it appeared that the British were being swept off the face of the land, every village began to follow its own course. In most districts there was of course more or less of misconduct. But through the whole time the people, even in the worst districts, never embarrassed us half as much as they would have done had they been rebels at heart. Large masses of people were coerced by the mutineers into insurrection, if insurrection it could be called; where, again, the mutineers were beaten and expelled, the country rapidly settled down to peace and order. Wherever our officers were able to hold their own, the people remained wholly or partially tranquil; when British rule ceased, utter disorder necessarily followed. And certainly the common belief in Hindostan was, that the British dominion had been extinguished. Furthermore, it is to be remembered that in India, as indeed in almost every other country, there exists a discontented class ready for any change, in the hope of its improving their condition. Moreover, in India especially, there are tribes

tribes by nature predatory, who before our rule subsisted on plunder and rapine. These were subdued more than half a century ago by our arms and our policy. But the characteristics of those people survive in their descendants. The existing generation cling to the predatory traditions of their forefathers. They long for a return of the days of misrule—the good old times, when those might take who had the power, and those might keep who could. Most of them had indeed never seen a shot fired, and, living under the shadow of a strong Government, had become unwarlike. But when our power became eclipsed and our prestige dimmed, the old instinct, the innate love of plunder revived, and the strong began to prey upon the weak. Then, again, a considerable section of the people, and especially the Mahomedans, are fanatical. This fanaticism, loosed from the bands of half a century, became a powerful engine against us. Whatever may be the intrinsic merits of our rule, the people of India can never forget that we are an alien race, in respect of colour, religion, habits, sympathies; while we, on the other hand, practically forgetting this, and wrapping ourselves up in our pride, self-reliance, and feeling of superiority, neglect the most ordinary precautions for our own security, and throw off even the slightest restraints on our freedom of action, though our very safety may depend upon such precautions.

19. The preceding observations convey, in the Chief Commissioner's judgment, a fair idea of the condition of the people after the outbreak in the Delhi territory, the Doab, of the Ganges and the Jumna, and Rohilcund. In Oude, however, the case was different; there the population had been long inured to danger and warfare; their martial pride had been fostered by constant success in resistance to their own rulers, and by the vast numbers employed in foreign military service under the British. They had always lived free from civil restraint, and they had never felt the weight of our military power. After the province was annexed, we had not at all a strong military position. We were virtually attempting to hold the province by troops drawn from itself; we had but one European regiment, and some European artillery, while we had upwards of 11,000 indigenous troops, and while we had no European troops ready at hand in adjacent provinces. Yet, notwithstanding all this, we did, while acting with the best intentions, carry out some measures which had the effect of irritating various influential classes. As a counterpoise to such disaffection, we might have produced contentment and loyalty among other classes; but our tenure of dominion had been too short to effect this when the outbreak burst upon us. When the influential classes, whom our policy had provoked, found that the native army were ripe for revolt, they added fuel to a rising fire; and when the crisis arrived, mutiny was immediately followed by insurrection. Had we been able at once to march European or other reliable troops into Oude in sufficient numbers, we might even then have beaten down opposition. But this we could not do; and many months passed away. During that interval our enemies consolidated their power, and even those most friendly to our rule, were from sheer necessity, driven to swell the ranks of our opponents.

20. It may be that the Supreme Government have received information from other parts of India; but the foregoing conclusions regarding the absence of any conspiracy, and the general conduct of the people, are based upon Sir John Lawrence's knowledge and experience of the countries from the Jumna to the borders of Afghanistan, a tract of full 100,000 square miles, with a population of 30,000,000, and comprising the very centre and focus of rebellion; the place of all others where such a conspiracy, if it had existed at all, would have been most likely to be discovered.

21. It will be seen that in the Deputy Judge Advocate General's summing up at the trial much stress is laid on the overtures made by the King to the Shah of Persia; but, as already remarked, nothing was elicited at the trial to show that these referred to a revolt either of the Bengal army or the people of Hindostan. The physician Ahsun Oollah declares, that these communications were indeed treasonable; that the King was dissatisfied chiefly because he was not allowed to set aside his eldest son in the succession to the title; and that he had an idea of obtaining help from Persia and from Oude, to which latter Court also he dispatched an emissary; but the physician adds, that although the subversion of the British Government was mentioned in these despatches, yet a revolt of the sepoy army was never referred to as a means of accomplishing this. During the

Persian war there is reason to know that intrigues were carried on between the Courts of Persia and Delhi; but it were hardly reasonable to suppose that if the Shah had really intended to give the King of Delhi any aid, or had even believed that a violent attempt would be made to subvert the British power in India, he would have made peace with us just at the critical time of our fortunes, thereby releasing, for the succour of India, the troops which would otherwise be locked up in Persia. Again, if the Shah had really been cognizant of such an attempt, would he not have sent his emissaries to Peshawar and into the Punjab? Had he done this, some signs of intrigue would have certainly been perceptible, but none whatever were discovered; in fact, all that we have learnt regarding the intrigues of the King and his party show that he did not look to any conspiracy or combination in India itself, but rather to foreign aid from beyond the frontier, from Persia or from Russia. Indeed, the notions developed are generally so absurd as to show that these intrigues were destitute of any reasonable plan, and were conceived by persons in a great measure ignorant of the subject.

22. The Chief Commissioner's opinions and conclusions on this important subject have now been stated without reserve. The terrible experience of Hindostan during 1857 must ever be applicable to all other provinces of the empire; it should command attention in the Punjab especially. The Chief Commissioner has every reason to speak well of the Punjabee troops, and indeed it would be difficult to praise too highly their services during the present war; they have resisted sore temptations, and undergone severe trials. Nevertheless, there was a time when it seemed doubtful what course they would ultimately adopt; and the Chief Commissioner fully believes that, had we failed to take Delhi last autumn, even their fidelity would not have remained proof against the bad example around them. At that juncture the Chief Commissioner himself could not avoid apprehending the day when, besides the British soldiers, there would be no man on our side. That such a day did not arrive is due only, in the Chief Commissioner's eyes, to the infinite mercy of the Almighty. The misfortunes and calamities which we experienced in Afghanistan in 1842 were renewed and surpassed in Hindoostan during 1857. The issue has been less disastrous, because in the last instance the country was less strong, the people less formidable, and our resources less distant; but, above all, because the Almighty Disposer of Events, though apparently determined to humble, had not resolved to destroy us. Many thoughtful and experienced men now in India believe that we have been extricated from destruction only by a series of miracles. It is no exaggeration to affirm, that in many instances the mutineers acted as if a curse rested on their cause. Had a single leader of ability risen amongst them, nay, had they followed any other course but the infatuated course which they actually did pursue in many instances, we must have been lost beyond redemption; but such a destruction was not decreed; it was a struggle between Christianity and civilisation on the one side and barbarism and heathenism on the other. That we escaped from destruction, and even obtained success, can be accounted for in no other way than by attributing it all to the operation of the Divine Will. And now having been preserved by Providence thus far victorious, it urgently behoves us to strive to gain a right understanding of the real circumstances which brought on this crisis. If we can but acquire this, then there is hope that we may profit by a knowledge of the past, and in future avoid those errors which had well nigh led to our ruin.

23. In conclusion, I am to submit the Chief Commissioner's recommendation in regard to the future disposal of the prisoner Muhummud Bahadar Shah, ex-King of Delhi. The Chief Commissioner suggests, then, that the said prisoner be transported beyond the seas as a felon, and be kept in some island or settlement, where he will be entirely isolated from all other Mahomedans. As regards the prisoner's wife, Zenut Muhal, and his son, Juwan Bukht, no charges having been exhibited against them, and the latter being only 17 years of age, but they both having been present at Delhi, the Chief Commissioner suggests that they be allowed the option of accompanying the prisoner to his place of transportation; and that in the event of their declining to do so, they be confined as State prisoners somewhere in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency.

24. While forwarding these proceedings, I am to state that the Chief Commissioner commends to the favourable consideration of the Supreme Government the able exertions of Major J. F. Harriott, of 3d Light Cavalry, the Deputy Judge

Judge Advocate General, in conducting this protracted trial. The Chief Commissioner also desires to bring to notice the valuable services of Mr. James Murphy, Collector of Customs, who acted as interpreter to the Court. This gentleman, unaided by any moonshee, translated all the numerous and difficult documents adduced at the trial; he also read the originals before the Court, and conducted the examination of the native witnesses. The translations are believed to be exceedingly faithful; and the circumstance that he was able to dispense with native assistance in the work, ensured secrecy and other advantages, and evinced his eminent attainments as an Oordoo and Persian scholar. The Chief Commissioner, I am to add, contemplates shortly proposing some reward in behalf of this meritorious officer.

I have, &c.
(signed) *R. Temple.*

(True copy.)

(signed) J. W. K A Y E,
Secretary in the Political and Secret
Departments.

EAST INDIA (KING OF DELHI).

COPY of a LETTER of the Chief Commissioner
of the *Punjab*, forwarding to the Governor
General of *India* the PROCEEDINGS on the
TRIAL of the KING of DELHI.

(*Mr. Kimbaird.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
1 July 1859.

48—Sess. 2.

Under 2 oz.

EAST INDIA (OUDH.)

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 10 August 1859 ;—*for*,

“ COPY of LETTER from the Government of *India* to Lord *Stanley*, dated the 17th day of May 1859, with reference to certain CLAIMS upon the late NATIVE GOVERNMENT of *Oudh*. ”

India Office, }
11 August 1859. }

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary in Political and Secret Departments.

(No. 70.)

To the Right Honourable Lord *Stanley*, M.P., Her Majesty's Secretary of State
for *India*.

Fort William, Foreign Department,
17 May 1859.

My Lord,

WITH reference to the correspondence, noted on the margin,* respecting certain alleged claims upon the late native Government of Oudh, we now reply to the Court's Despatch of 17th June 1857.

2. It appears to us that the British Government is not, either morally or otherwise, under any obligation to discharge the whole or any part of the debt alleged to be due to Mr. Frith, as representative of his late grandfather, Colonel Robert Frith, upon the bond entered into by Azoff-ul-Dowlah, dated 31st July 1785 ; and, in our opinion, it would be very inexpedient to admit that any such obligation exists, by offering to pay any part either of the principal or interest. Such an admission, even if it extended only to the principal, might be used as a strong argument in support of the claim to interest, at the rate reserved by the bond, viz., 12 per cent. per annum, and would probably cause many similar claims to be raked up and brought forward, not only in the case of Oudh, but also in the case of other native States, which have lapsed to the British Government. Mr. Frith's claim.

3. In the Memorial, dated the 31st June 1856, and addressed to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors, Mr. Frith makes use of many arguments, which have from time to time been urged, for the purpose of showing that an obligation existed on the part of the East India Company before the annexation of Oudh, to discharge the debt out of the general revenues of India ; but those arguments are of no greater force now than they have been at any time since the date of the bond ; and whatever differences of opinion may have existed at one time, as to the obligation of the East India Company to urge upon the King of Oudh the importance of an immediate and effectual adjustment of the debt of the Lucknow† bankers, we do not find that anyone ever entertained the opinion that the East India Company were bound to satisfy that or any similar demand, of which there were many, out of the general revenues of India.

4. From 1790 down to the present time, frequent applications have been made

* Letter from the Honourable Court, No. 22, dated 17 June 1857. Letter to the Honourable Court, No. 58, dated 22 August 1857.

† See Correspondence relating to claims of Calcutta bankers on the King of Oudh, printed by order of the House of Commons, 3 June 1834.

made for payment of the debt alleged to be due to Mr. Frith, and other similar claims; but the late Honourable Court of Directors and the Government of India have invariably refused to interfere, either by discharging the debt, or even by urging the Nawab Vizier to do so, though they have on several occasions allowed the claim to be presented to the Vizier, by the Resident, as the sole and regular channel of communication between the Vizier and British subjects. (See, amongst others, Letter from Secretary to Government of India to the Resident at Lucknow—Consultation 18th May 1816, No. 28.)

5. The only new ground which has been urged by Mr. Frith in the memorial now under consideration is, that the East India Company having succeeded to the kingdom of Oudh and its revenues, are bound to discharge all just claims against the former Government. But, if the length of time (upwards of 70 years), which has elapsed since the debt was contracted, and the repudiation of the debt by six successive sovereigns, who have dealt with the revenues of the State, as if the debt had never existed, are not in the present case to be deemed a bar to any recognition of the demand, it is impossible to say how many old claims against native States which have lapsed to the East India Company may not be preferred upon similar grounds. Mr. Frith appears to consider that the East India Company are now under the same obligation to satisfy the debts contracted by Azoff-ul-Dowlah, as they would have been, if the Nawab Vizier Saadut Ali had, in 1799, abdicated, and made over the whole of his territories and revenues to the East India Company; and in order to show that such an obligation would have existed, if Saadut Ali had abdicated in favour of the British Government, he quotes the explanation of Lord Mornington respecting the 10th Article of the Treaty, tendered in November 1799, by which it was stipulated that the Nawab Saadut Ali should not be responsible for any debts contracted by the late Nawab.

6. In that explanation his Lordship made the following remarks: * “The justice and necessity of discharging the *bond fide* debts to the native † creditors of the State, and also the arrears of the civil and military establishments are apparent, and it might with strict propriety be expected that the Nawab should apply a part of his treasures to the liquidation of these demands. The Company, however, are willing to take upon them the discharge of all such of these demands as, on investigation, shall be found to be equitable. His Excellency must, however, be sensible that the Company could never think of taking upon themselves this heavy burthen, without being put in possession of the complete control over the resources of the State, from the improvement of which, under a course of steady and economical management, they can alone expect to be reimbursed for the amount.”

7. It should be remarked that, according to the proposed treaty, the Nawab Vizier was to abdicate in favour of the East India Company. Bearing this fact in mind, the explanation above quoted shows, that Lord Mornington considered that, in strict justice, Saadut Ali, even if he should abdicate, was bound to apply part of his large treasures (treasures which he had amassed from the revenues of the State) to the liquidation of the debts of Azoff-ul-Dowlah, but that the East India Company might be willing, notwithstanding, to take upon themselves such of the debts due to the native creditors as, upon investigation, might be found to be equitably due; provided the Nawab Vizier would abdicate in favour of the Company, and make over to them the whole of his territories and revenues. Upon such conditions the East India Company were willing to enter into the treaty tendered, by which the Nawab was to abdicate, and the East India Company were to stipulate, in the terms of the 10th article, that “he should not be responsible for any of the debts contracted by Azoff-ul-Dowlah.” But admitting that in 1799, when the justice of the claims might easily have been investigated, the East India Company were willing to take upon themselves the payment of the

* Correspondence relating to claims of Calcutta bankers, printed 3 June 1834, p. 11.

† It is to be observed that Lord Mornington speaks only of native creditors. The reason seems to be twofold: 1st. Because Mr. Lumsden had reported that all the European creditors, with the exception of Mr. Bruce, had been paid; 2d. Because it was contrary to the orders of the Court of Directors, even before the 37 Geo. 3, c. 142, for British subjects in the service of the Company to be concerned in loans to the native princes. (See recital, s. 28 of that Act.) It was 1799, in which Lord Mornington spoke of the native creditors only, notwithstanding Colonel Frith had sent in his second memorial in 1798.

the debts equitably due to the native creditors, upon condition that Saadut Ali would abdicate in favour of the Company, it by no means follows that any obligation now exists to pay those same debts, because the Company have obtained possession of the revenues of the State under totally different circumstances, and without any condition whatever.

8. In 1799, the justice of the claims might easily have been investigated, and if any of the debts had been found to be equitably due, and had been paid at that time, the payments would probably have been made to the persons with whom the debts were contracted. This certainly would have been the case as regards Colonel Frith,* if anything had been found to be equitably due to him. But if the demand be paid now, the payment must be made, not to Colonel Frith himself, but to a descendant in the second degree from him, who would not, in all probability, have been one whit the richer if the debt had been paid to his ancestor. In fact, Colonel Robert Frith stated in his memorial, that the money alleged to have been advanced by him on account of the Nawab, was money which he had borrowed from natives, whom he would be unable to pay unless he should receive both the principal and interest due to him. There is every reason therefore to suppose that the persons who actually advanced the money were never repaid by him, and we would ask, what security is there that they will ever receive a farthing, even if Mr. Frith be now paid the full amount of the bond, with interest? But it may be said that if there is a strict right on the part of Mr. Frith to receive payment of the bond, considerations such as these cannot bear upon the question. It may be proper, therefore, to consider whether the acquisition of the revenues of Oudh in 1856 imposed upon the East India Company any obligation to pay the debts contracted by Azoff-ul-Dowlah in 1785. We hold that it did not, even if it could be proved, which it certainly has not been to our mind, that the services alleged to have been rendered, or the monies advanced, were rendered or advanced on account and upon the credit of the State, and not upon the mere personal credit of Azoff-ul-Dowlah. We would go further, and say not only that no such obligation exists, but that it would be unjust to the present generation to apply the revenues of the State in payment of debts contracted upwards of 70 years ago, instead of applying them towards improving the condition of the people. Mr. Frith's petition is not accompanied by a copy of the bond, and we have not been able to obtain one; but we will assume that Azoff-ul-Dowlah bound himself and his successors, the strongest case against the British Government, for it is not pretended that Colonel Robert Frith ever received a tunkah or assignment of the revenues for more than the one lac of rupees which were paid to him. There is a wide difference between a constitutional Government and a Government such as that of Oudh, under the Nawab Viziers, in which they, as *quasi* absolute sovereigns, were allowed to squander, upon their own personal vices and gratifications, as much of the revenues of the State as was not appropriated to the purposes of Government. In the case of *The Government of Bombay versus Ameer Chund*, Lord Tenterden asked, "What is the distinction between the public and private property of an absolute sovereign?" He said, "You mean by public property, generally speaking, the property of the State, but in the case of an absolute sovereign, who may dispose of everything at any time and in any way he pleases, is there any distinction?" And, in delivering judgment in the same case, his Lordship remarked: "I have already intimated my opinion, and I have the concurrence of the other Lords of the Council with me in it, that when you are speaking of the property of an absolute sovereign, there is no pretence for drawing a distinction; the whole of it belongs to him, as sovereign, and he may dispose of it for his public or private purposes, in whatever manner he may think proper." Although the Viziers of Oudh dealt with the revenues of the State very much like absolute sovereigns, and disposed of them during their own lives just as they pleased, they were not, in strictness, absolute sovereigns; they were merely delegated by, and subject to, the paramount power, and had no authority without the consent of that power to assign over to a private individual any portion of the territories placed under their government, or to charge the public revenues so as to bind their successors. To admit that Azoff-ul-Dowlah could have charged the revenues with

* Colonel Frith did not die until the year 1800.

with the payment of any debts which he contracted, even though the money might have been expended for the purposes of Government, would be to admit that he could have appropriated the whole of the current revenues of the State to his own private purposes, and have borrowed money for the immediate purposes of Government, upon the credit of his successors, and upon the security of those revenues, by which alone they could properly carry on the government of the country.

9. But even, if Azoff-ul-Dowlah or any other vizier had the power to borrow money for the purpose of Government upon the credit of the revenues of the State, and to charge such debts upon the revenues, so as to bind his successors, we think it is clear that he had no power to exempt his immediate successors and to throw the whole burthen of his extravagance upon the people of the third or fourth generation after him, by charging his debts upon the revenues of 1857 or any subsequent period. If Azoff-ul-Dowlah had done so, we apprehend that the British Government would not now have considered themselves morally bound to discharge such debts, after six sovereigns or viziers in succession to him, had, without regard to the interests or welfare of the people, been squandering the revenues of the State upon their own personal gratifications and follies, or in amassing wealth to be dissipated by others.

10. If, in the case supposed, the British Government would not have recognised the debts as a charge upon the revenues, of which they became possessed upon the annexation of Oudh, we cannot see any good reason why they should admit their liability to satisfy any portion of the present demand, for by so doing they will be admitting that Azoff-ul-Dowlah and the six succeeding sovereigns had power to do that which any one of them singly could not have done. If the necessities of the State required that debts should be contracted upon the security of the revenues, those debts ought to have been repaid out of the first revenues available for the purpose, after satisfying the current expenses of the Government of the country, and making a liberal allowance for the support of the king and his family and attendants, in a manner suitable to their rank and condition.

11. Admitting this principle to be the correct one, all the debts contracted by Azoff-ul-Dowlah, assuming that they were necessarily incurred for the benefit of the State (a fact which we no means admit), ought to have been paid, if not in the lifetime of Azoff-ul-Dowlah, at least during the reign of Saadut Ali, for the latter accumulated out of the revenues of the State a much larger sum than was sufficient to pay all the debts of Azoff-ul-Dowlah.

12. It is said that his accumulations amounted to 13,000,000 sterling.* The whole of these large accumulations were inherited by his son Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder, who succeeded as vizier in 1814; yet that prince, as well as his father, entirely repudiated all responsibility to discharge any of the debts, contracted by Azoff-ul-Dowlah.

13. In a letter of the 29th October 1816,† from the Nawab Vizier Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder to the Resident at Lucknow upon the subject of other claims, he writes, "The claim of Captain Frith, which was forwarded to me in your letter of the 15th Shaol (8th September) is of a similar description. You will be pleased to bring these circumstances to the favourable attention of his Excellency the Governor General, so that there may be neither discussion nor correspondence hereafter on affairs of this nature." Again, on the 21st December 1816, he addressed the Resident as follows: "I cannot consider it incumbent on me to have any concern with demands referable to the time of the Nawab Azoff-ul-Dowlah, and of which I have no knowledge whatever. My father, at the time of his accession, denied all claims of gentlemen and others relative to the time of my late uncle, and the adjustment of them was not mentioned in the treaty. Therefore, neither this, nor other claims of a similar nature, can at all apply to me."

14. In

* See "Mill's History of India," vol. viii, p. 109. Note.—See also Mr. Charles Grant's letter. Correspondence as before, pages 44, 45.

† See Papers: Cons. 16 May 1839, Nos. 72, 73.

14. In 1840 Colonel Frith renewed his demand upon the King of Oudh, Mahomed Ali Shah, who peremptorily refused to recognise the claim.*

15. Thus, it appears that the debt has been actually and finally repudiated by two Nawabs and one King of Oudh, and it has been virtually repudiated by their successors, all of whom have dealt with the revenues of the State as if the claim had never existed. If the debt ought to have been satisfied at all out of the revenues of the State, which accrued after the death of Azoff-ul-Dowlah, it ought to have been paid by Saadut Ali, or his son Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder, out of the treasure saved by the former from the revenues of the State, to which the latter succeeded; but they both repudiated the debt, and applied those funds to other purposes. We do not think that the British Government, by reason of their acquisition of the revenues of Oudh, are in any way bound to enter into the consideration of a question, which has been finally decided by the former rulers of that State, who have dealt with the revenues upon the footing of that decision. Even admitting that their decision was wrong, and that Saadut Ali was morally bound to pay the debts of Azoff-ul-Dowlah, the British Government are no more responsible for his short comings in this respect, than they are for any of the other delinquencies or omissions of any of the former rulers of the State.

16. If Azoff-ul-Dowlah, having sufficient funds from the revenues to enable him to discharge his debts, had applied those funds to his own private purposes, leaving his debts unpaid, the British Government would surely not have been bound to pay those debts in consequence of their obtaining the State and its revenues 70 years after the debts were contracted, and if not, there does not appear to be any valid ground for contending, that the people of the present generation ought to bear the burthen of these debts, which, if they had not been repudiated, might have been paid out of Saadut Ali's savings from the revenues during the period of his rule.

The people of Oudh gained nothing by his amassing the great wealth, which was inherited by his son, nor would the State have been injured, if he or his son had appropriated a portion of his revenues to the payment of the debts of Azoff-ul-Dowlah instead of appropriating them as they did; but as rulers of the State they repudiated the debts, and applied the surplus revenues in a manner wholly unprofitable to the State.

17. It cannot be urged, that if the province of Oudh had never been annexed, the alleged creditors of Azoff-ul-Dowlah would have been paid by the native Government to which the British Government succeeded. The native Government had absolutely repudiated the debts, and it is quite clear that they never would have paid them.

18. In the debate which took place in the House of Commons on the 28th of July 1834, upon the subject of the claim of the Lucknow bankers, Sir Robert Peel, after illustrating the impolicy of taking up the case, concluded his speech by referring "to the possible assumption of the Government of Oudh by the British Government, and solemnly deprecating in that case the commencement of the exercise of sovereignty by appropriating 1,100,000 *l.* sterling of the property of the territory to the liquidation of a claim for which it did not appear that the British Government had ever made itself, in the slightest degree, responsible." (See Thornton's History of India, vol. 6, page 21.) Mr. Thornton refers to the "Mirror of Parliament" as his authority; but we have not the book here, and have therefore not been able to see that report of the speech, but we have referred to the opinion, as it completely accords with our own.

We have thought it right to consider the case upon general principles, because there are many other similar claims upon which it will be necessary to come to a decision.

19. In regard to Mr. Frith's claim, we cannot help thinking that the lac of rupees which he received upon the tunkah, was as much as he was fairly entitled to under the bond, and we think that it was probably considered by Azoff-ul-Dowlah, and his minister, as a settlement of his demand.

20. This

* See letter, Resident to Colonel Frith, 24 June 1840. Memorial, 12 November 1841, para. 7. Cons. 22 November 1841, No. 95 A.

20. This case affords proof of the difficulty of investigating claims of 70 years' standing, and of the wisdom of the remark made by Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder, "that he could not consider it incumbent on him to have any concern with demands referable to the time of Azoff-ul-Dowlah, of which he had no knowledge whatever."

21. The claim made by Mr. Frith consists of two items :

	Rs.
Principal due upon bond to Colonel Robert Frith, dated 31st July 1785 - - - - -	2,70,000
Allowance for 12 months, ending 31st July 1786, for commanding a company of the Nawab's battalion, at 5,000 per month - - - - -	60,000
	Rs. 3,30,000

Against this sum credit is given for one lac of rupees received by Colonel Robert Frith upon a tunkah or assignment on the Nawab of Furruckabad, payable by three kists in 1789-90, 1790-91, and 1791-92 respectively, and the balance, with interest at 12 per cent. to the present time, is claimed.

22. The balance in 1818 amounted to 11,87,458 rupees. It is not necessary to say to what extent it would be increased by the addition of interest calculated at the rate of 12 per cent., or even at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum.

23. Mr. Frith, in his memorial now under consideration, says, "with regard to the interest which has accumulated, that has arisen from an arbitrary refusal of the native Government to pay the debt, the validity of which they never questioned;" and then, with a show of great liberality, proceeds: "Still I am willing to admit that the interest appears to be a fair subject of compromise, and I would respectfully suggest that a moderate and reasonable amount of simple interest should be fixed for the whole period, as the most equitable mode of settling that portion of the claim." We strongly recommend that he should not be paid either principal or interest.

See Memorial.
Capt. Frith, the
father of the pre-
sent claimant, 20
January 1819.
Cons. 15 January,
No. 15.

24. It appears that Colonel Robert Frith, then Captain Frith, was aide-de-camp to Warren Hastings in 1782-83 and 1784, and that upon the Governor General's quitting Lucknow in 1784, he was appointed to take the command of a corps belonging to the Nawab, at a salary of 5,000 rupees a month.

25. Mr. Frith and his father, who was the son of Colonel Robert Frith, in the memorials which have been from time to time presented, have always claimed the full amount of the bond, 2,70,000 rupees and interest.* But Colonel Robert Frith, the original creditor in 1798, gave his own account of the transaction.

See account, dated
31 January 1798.
Cons. 5 March
1798, No. 5.

26. In the account then transmitted by him, he claimed not the whole amount of the principal of the bond, but only 1,50,000 rupees thereof as his share, after deducting:—

	Rs.
Mr. Robert Grant's share thereof - - - - -	80,000
Mr. Robert Bruce's share - - - - -	22,000
Colonel Palmer's share - - - - -	18,000
	Rs. 1,20,000

He also claimed 60,000 rupees as his allowance as commanding officer of a corps of sepoys in the Nawab's service for one year, from 31st July 1785 to 31st July 1786, and interest on the above sum at 12 per cent., and he gave credit for 1,00,000 rupees received upon the tunkah on the Nawab of Furruckabad, dated in 1789, and he added the following note: "1st. N.B. Major Frith's share of the bond for 2,70,000 rupees arose from an allowance of 5,000 rupees granted to him by the late Vizier, on the command of four battalions of sepoys being conferred on him, in lieu of all emoluments, from money advanced to the battalions by Buksh

* *See* the account said to have been made out by Colonel Frith's brother in 1798, with interest account continued to 1 February 1818, showing a balance of Rs. 11,87,458. Letter to T. H. Maddock, Esq., dated 4 September 1839. Cons. 20 November 1839, Nos. 103, 104.

Buksh Roye and Kushmery Mull on his credit, and for feeding and other expenses of the gun bullocks of the artillery attached to the battalions. The account of the whole was made up to the 31st July 1785, approved of, and the bond granted."

27. Thus it appears that his share of the bond consisted partly of arrears of his allowance of 5,000 rupees a month, due prior to the 31st July 1785; partly of money advanced by two natives on his credit (whether they were ever repaid or not does not appear), and partly on account of expenses of the gun bullocks, &c.

28. The other item claimed by him was 60,000 rupees for arrears of allowance from 31st July 1785 to 31st July 1786. To this item he attaches a note:—

"2d. N. B. A bond for 40,000 rupees, in part of the 60,000 above charged, was offered to Major Frith, but rejected, because the full amount of his allowances was not included."

29. The above account was dated 31st January 1798. Colonel Robert Frith had, however, in 1790, sent in a previous account, in which he showed, that his claim for principal on the bond amounted to only 1,00,000 rupees. There seems to be no reason to suppose that Colonel Robert Frith's claim for principal on the bond exceeded 1,00,000 rupees, the amount stated in his first account in 1790; and, if so, it is probable that the 1,00,000 rupees received on the tunkah was intended to cover his demand upon the bond, for we find that an arrangement was subsequently made, on behalf of Azoff-ul-Dowlah, with all his other European creditors, by which they, with one exception, agreed to receive the principal of their debts, without interest.

See Cons. 9 March 1798, No. 5.

Letter to Lord Cornwallis, dated 19 October 1790, and Encl. T. Cons. 20 October 1790, No. 190.

"In 1795, the Vizier Azoff-ul-Dowlah became sensible of the urgent necessity of retrieving his affairs, and requested the British Government to allow their Resident, Mr. Cherry, to assist him in ascertaining the amount of his debts, with the view to their liquidation. Sir John Shore consented to the Resident's affording the required assistance, and promised the communication of his own opinion upon the result whenever called upon; but he restricted Mr. Cherry's interference in the adjustment of the claims, to transmitting applications and forwarding answers. In the performance of this duty, Mr. Cherry had an opportunity of informing himself of the Nawab's debts, which appear, from a statement he received from the minister and transmitted to the Governor General in November 1795, to have amounted to 1,02,40,120 rupees, besides 75 lacs for salaries to officers." (See Correspondence as above, p. 6.)

30. Mr. Lumsden succeeded Mr. Cherry, as Resident, and the following is his account of the arrangement:—

"The whole of the principal debt has been paid to the European creditors, Mr. Bruce excepted, half in gold and half in silver, and they have each executed a general release and given up their bonds. The negotiation was finally closed at a late hour last night, when Rajah Janoo Lall proceeded to join the Vizier, having previously ordered away the money which he had deposited in my treasury for the purpose of paying Mr. Bruce,* if he had acquiesced in the Vizier's offer. Mr. Bruce demanded interest, as well as principal, and thus lost his whole debt, amounting to 4,50,000 rupees. The other European creditors had consented to receive the principal of their debts without interest." (See same Correspondence, p. 7.)

We have examined the list of creditors sent in by the minister to Mr. Cherry, but the name of Colonel Robert Frith is not mentioned therein, which leads us to suppose that having received on the tunkah one lac of rupees, which, according to his account of 1790, was the full amount of the principal due to him on his bond, or for some other reason, he was not acknowledged as a creditor by the Nawab or his minister in 1795, when the Nawab was arranging to compound with his European creditors by paying them their principal without interest.

31. We

* Note.—This Mr. Robert Bruce is no doubt the same person who is said by Colonel Frith to have had an interest in the bond to the extent of 22,000 rupees, and if so, that sum was in all probability included in his demand.

31. We do not find, in the list of creditors, the name of Mr. Robert Grant, or that of Colonel Palmer, the former of whom Colonel Frith admitted to be interested in the bond to the extent of 80,000 rupees, and the latter to the extent of 22,000 rupees.

32. The latter is, no doubt, the Major Palmer who was the private agent of Warren Hastings at Oudh, so frequently alluded to in the articles of impeachment, and who is said himself to have had a salary of 22,800*l.* a-year. (*See Burke's Charges*, No. 16, s. 89.)

33. This is also, we presume, the gentleman who is referred to in Mr. Frith's present memorial as having ascertained the balance due to Colonel Frith, though no mention is made of the fact, that he himself was one of the persons interested in that balance. Mr. Frith says: "Major Palmer resigned his office in 1785, and, in making up his accounts, ascertained the balance due to Colonel Frith from the Nawab. For this amount, a bond, bearing interest at 12 per cent., was sealed by the Nawab, in favour of Colonel Frith, and officially delivered to him by Major Palmer." * * *

"With respect to the debt, no question can, I think, arise, as Mr. Palmer, the Resident at Lucknow, has given most ample proof of its correctness, both in his report to the East India Company, and in his letters to my father."

34. What Mr. Palmer had to do with ascertaining the balance due to Colonel Frith from the Nawab, in making up his own accounts, we are at a loss to conjecture. We have no doubt that Major Palmer must have received his share of the principal of the bond, for, in his letter dated 21st August 1813, to Captain Frith, the son of Colonel Frith, he makes no mention of any part of the principal remaining due to himself. He says, "I am entirely ignorant of the share to which your father was entitled of the bond for 2,70,000 rupees in his name, granted by the Vizier;" but he says nothing of his own share in the bond, or that any portion of what he had himself advanced remained due.

See extract of letter annexed to Col. Frith's memorial, dated 12 November 1841; Cons. 22 November, No. 95 A.

35. Mr. Bruce, it appears, was not paid, because he refused to come into the compromise; but that is not a sufficient reason for Mr. Frith's now claiming his share. The whole claim, so far as the bond is concerned, is so unsatisfactory, that even if we considered that there ever was any obligation on the part of the East India Company to satisfy the debts of Nawab Azoff-ul-Dowlah, we could not recommend that any portion of the principal or interest on the bond for Rs. 2,70,000 should be paid.

36. In 1790, Colonel Robert Frith claimed 1,00,000 rupees only of the principal due on the bond. In 1798, he claimed 1,50,000 rupees as his share. His son and grandson have increased the demand of principal due on the bond to 2,70,000 rupees. Notwithstanding these variances, important under any circumstances, but still more so when interest at 12 per cent. from 1785 to the present time is claimed, we think it is clear that Colonel Frith's share of the principal of the bond did not exceed 1,00,000 rupees, which he claimed at first. It is also clear that he received that amount upon a tunkah, and that the rest of the European creditors, with the exception of Mr. Bruce, compromised their claims in 1795, by receiving the principal without interest, and that they received better terms than the native creditors; that a great portion of Colonel Frith's share in the principal of the bond was not for money advanced, but for arrears of salary of 5,000 rupees a month, to which Colonel Frith, though only a captain at the time, having been aide-de-camp to Warren Hastings in 1782, 1783, and 1784, was appointed just previously to the latter's leaving India (a salary which appears to have been exorbitant for a captain in the army); that Colonel Frith was not included in the list of creditors made out by the minister, Rajah Tuckaet Roy, and sent to Mr. Cherry, the Resident, in 1795; that no sufficient explanation is given why, if he considered that Azoff-ul-Dowlah was his debtor, Colonel Frith did not bring forward his claim when Azoff-ul-Dowlah was settling his debts in 1795, but waited until 1798, a year after his death (Azoff-ul-Dowlah having died in 1797); that this claim has not been brought forward in a manner calculated to afford much confidence, that any portion of the demand remains fairly due. As to the second item of the demand, viz., one year's allowance, 60,000 rupees, and

See Correspondence as above, page 7.

and interest thereon at 12 per cent.,* we do not think that the Government, in 1857, is called upon to pay salaries which became due to officers in 1785, either with interest at 12 per cent., or without interest, even if it were clear that the salaries were just and equitable. But still less ought such salaries to be paid, when the circumstances under which the appointments were made, lead to the conclusion, that the interests of the officer, rather than those of the State, were considered in the arrangement.

37. We find from Colonel Frith's own memorial that Mr. Macpherson, who succeeded Warren Hastings and Mr. Stubbs, disavowed any knowledge of Colonel Frith's appointment, and in doing so, refused their sanction to the Vizier's payment of the allowances annexed to it. We find, in the extract of proceedings of the Governor General in Council, in the Secret Department, 3d May 1785, the following entry :—

See Memorial, 19 October 1790, Cons. 20 October 1790, No. 41.

"Captain Frith, commanding four battalions of Sepoys, in lieu of all charges and contingencies whatever, 5,000 rupees per mensem." "The Board know nothing of Captain Frith's appointment, and cannot therefore authorise the allowance." Also the following extract of a letter, in the Secret Department, to the Honourable Court of Directors, dated 31st July 1785, par. 8 :—"The Governor General's agent has been directed to acquaint the Vizier that the salaries paid to Captain Frith cannot be authorised." Surely, if after this letter, Captain Frith thought fit to continue in the employment of the Nawab Azoff-ul-Dowlah, and the latter chose to continue him there for another year, the salary cannot fairly be considered as a public debt, binding upon the revenues of his successors.

Cons. dated 19 October 1790, No. 11.

38. In 1790, a claim was brought forward by Major Darell for arrears of salary due to him from the Vizier, amounting to 98,000 rupees; the Government determined, "that as it came in every respect under the description of a private debt, it would be no less improper, with regard to the Vizier, than derogatory to the dignity of the Government,† to take any concern in soliciting the payment of it; and of this decision the Court approved."

39. The claim of Colonel Frith was considered by the Committee of Correspondence‡ to be similar in its nature to that of Major Darell. If the debt was a private debt, it cannot, we think, irrespective of other considerations, constitute a valid claim against the revenues of Oudh.

40. For the above reasons we recommend that Mr. Frith's claims be rejected altogether.

41. This case having been referred to the Honourable Court in our Despatch, No. 107,§ dated 8th October 1856, and being still under consideration, we abstain from offering any opinion on the claims. We would, however, remark that the Dosses, or their representatives, do not appear to be the persons really interested in the debt. If Mr. Prendergast had not purchased the debt or had no personal interest in it, it appears to us to be a very remarkable fact that his widow and two sons, who were his representatives, should have been appointed agents for the Dosses in his place, as appears from the memorial.

Captain Prendergast's claim.

42. The sum claimed is 90,265 sicca rupees, with interest at 12 per cent., on a bond given by Azoff-ul-Dowlah, dated 12th December 1783, and for salary due from the Nawab Vizier to Mr. Grant, as assistant to the Resident. The consideration of the bond is alleged to be a house sold to the Vizier, and money received by the Vizier on some tunkah given by the Nawab of Mozuffer Jung, a tributary chief of Oudh, for certain merchandise sold to him by Mr. Grant. It is stated that Azoff-ul-Dowlah received

Claim of the Rev. James Fendal, executor of Mrs. E. Grant, widow and executrix of Robert Grant, deceased.

See List of Documents, No. 8.

* Note. In the account sent in by Captain Frith, in 1790, he made no claim for interest on the arrears of salary said to have become due in July 1786, although he said, it was, in fact, equitably due.

† Correspondence as before, page 8. Report of the Committee of Correspondence, dated 31 May 1822.

‡ See also extract from letter from the Honourable Court of Directors, No. , dated 25 October 1820, Military Department, p. 86; also, extract of proceedings, Government of India, Foreign Department, dated 20 October 1790.

§ Abstract, Nos. 41, 42.

received the amount of the tunkahs on account of Mr. Grant, to obviate inconvenience, but never paid over the money to him. We would reject the claim altogether. We do not consider that the Government of 1859 is in any manner called upon to pay out of the revenues of the State a debt which was a mere private debt from Azoff-ul-Dowlah.

43. We presume this is the same Mr. Grant who is said to have been entitled to a share of the bond given to Colonel Frith. His name is not inserted in the list of creditors sent by the minister to Mr. Cherry in 1795.

44. It appears from the petition, that Mr. Grant, in 1783, entered the service of the East India Company, and was appointed assistant to the British Resident at Lucknow; that shortly after the transaction in question, he was removed by Government from Lucknow at 48 hours' notice; that he petitioned in vain to be allowed to return to Lucknow to arrange his affairs, but that no reply was vouchsafed. A list of documents is annexed to the memorial, but they are not sent. (See Mr. Jennings' letter.) We would reject the claim altogether. We scarcely think that the claimants can be serious in supposing that it will be paid.

45. This claim is made by Lady Darell, as representing Major Darell.

46. The claim is for 98,000 sicca rupees, due on seven bonds, alleged to have been given by Azoff-ul-Dowlah to Major Darell, for arrears of pay as aide-de-camp to the Nawab Vizier from 1779 to 1783.

47. Six of the bonds, for 90,000 sicca rupees, bear interest at 12 per cent., the other does not bear interest. This debt, as shown above, has always been treated as a private debt. Major Darell's name was not in the list of creditors sent in to Mr. Cherry in 1795. We would reject the claim altogether.

We have, &c.
(signed) *Canning.*
J. Outram.
H. Ricketts.
B. Peacock.

Claim of the Dowager Lady Darell, as representative of Sir Henry Verelst Darell.

Major Darell was previously aide-de-camp to Sir Eyre Coote, Commander in Chief, but resigned that appointment upon obtaining the appointment of aide-de-camp to the vizier.

EAST INDIA (OUDH).

**COPY of LETTER from the Government of India
to Lord Stanley, dated 17 May 1859, with
reference to certain Claims upon the late
NATIVE GOVERNMENT of Oudh.**

(Mr. Ayrton.)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
12 August 1859.

202—Sess. 2.

Under 2 oz.

EAST INDIA (TRAVANCORE).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 29 July 1859;—for,

“ COPIES of the OFFICIAL PAPERS sent from *India* touching the Recent
DISTURBANCES in *Travancore*.”

India Office, }
5 August 1859. }

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary in the Political and Secret Departments.

(*Mr. Bazley.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
6 August 1859.

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COPIES of the OFFICIAL PAPERS sent from *India* touching the Recent
DISTURBANCES in *Travancore*.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.—No. 7 of 1859.

To the Right Honourable Lord *Stanley*, Secretary of State for India.

My Lord,

WE have the honour to lay before your Lordship copies of the papers noted in the margin having reference to the recent disturbances in South Travancore ; and in doing so, we would solicit special attention to the report submitted through the Resident by the Dewan Madava Row on the origin, progress, and suppression of these disturbances, as also to the Minutes recorded by our President and the Civil Members of Government on the subject.

Consultation, 1 Feb. 1859, Nos. 4 to 6. Consultation, 8 Feb. 1859, Nos. 19 & 20. Consultation, 15 March 1859, Nos. 10 to 15.

2. The agitation, it will be seen, occurred in the three or four Southern Districts of the Travancore territory between portions of the Soodra and Shanar population, and appears to have arisen from some Hindoo Shanar women having assumed the right of covering the upper part of their persons with a cloth, which was objected to by the Soodras as preventing a recognition of the caste.

3. Disturbances from a like cause broke out in the year 1829, on which occasion her Highness the Ranee of Travancore in her proclamation of 3d February 1829, republished, "as the only Regulation in force in the matter," a previous Circular Order of May 1814, whereby "no women of Palavres, Shanars and others of that description, were ever to be allowed to wear cloths on their bosoms as the Nair women," but were not prevented from wearing jackets, called coopayum, such as were in use by the women of Christian converts and of some other castes.

4. Your Lordship will perceive from the last paragraph of our proceedings of the 27th January last, that the Resident has been instructed to be careful to give no countenance to the idea that the British Government, of which he is the representative, recognises any exclusive distinctions, or the right of any set of men to prevent others from following in all matters of social or domestic life such course as they may see fit, provided it be not repugnant to public decency and morals. He has also been desired to impress these views on his Highness the Rajah, and to point out to him that such prohibitions as those contained in the Circular Order of May 1814, or in the Proclamation of 3d February 1829, are unsuited to the present age, and unworthy of an enlightened prince, and that he is not to look for the support of the British Government in any attempts to maintain them, as respects any class of his subjects.

5. We now await information as to the result of the communication which the Resident has held with his Highness the Rajah in furtherance of the instructions as above conveyed to him ; as also regarding the arrangement proposed to be made by the Dewan with a view to suit the requirements of altered times and circumstances and satisfy all parties, as far as it may be possible to do so. There is reason to hope that the excitement in Travancore is subsiding, and that no further disturbance or breach of the peace need be apprehended.

6. We take this opportunity to forward and to request attention to a correspondence with the Government of India, relative to the appointment of a Commission for investigating the condition of the Travancore State.

From Government of India, 9 March 1859, No. 963. To Government of India, 23 March 1859, No. 183.

We have, &c.
(signed) *Harris.*
Jas. Grant.
Walter Elliot.
W. A. Morehead.

Fort St. George, 26 March 1859.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.—No. 9 of 1859.

To the Right Honourable Lord *Stanley*, Secretary of State for India.

My Lord,

WE have the honour to transmit, in continuation of the correspondence forwarded with our Despatch of the 26th instant, No. 7, copy of a letter addressed to the Resident of Travancore, and of his reply thereto, on the subject of a petition addressed to his Highness the Rajah by the missionaries of the London Missionary Society stationed in South Travancore, in reference to the recent disturbances in that part of the territory.

To Resident of Travancore, 17 March 1859, No. 178.
From Resident of Travancore, 23 Mar. 1859, No. 31.

We have, &c.
(signed) *C. E. Trevelyan.*
Jas. Grant.
Walter Elliot.
W. A. Morehead.

Fort St. George, 28 March 1859.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.—No. 14 of 1859.

To the Right Honourable Lord *Stanley*, Secretary of State for India.

My Lord,

IN continuation of our letter under date the 28th March, No. 9 of 1859, Political Department, we have the honour to forward to you a copy of a Minute,* which has been laid before us by our President, submitting to us a copy of a letter which he has addressed to General Cullen, Resident of Travancore and Cochin, on the subject of the proceedings in the former State relating to the Shanar women.

* Dated 7 May 1859.

We have, &c.
(signed) *C. E. Trevelyan.*
Jas. Grant.
Walter Elliot.
W. A. Morehead.

Fort St. George, 9 May 1859.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.—No. 17 of 1859.

To the Right Honourable Lord *Stanley*, Secretary of State for India.

My Lord,

IN continuation of our Despatch of the 9th ultimo, No. 14, we have the honour to forward a copy of a letter from the Resident of Travancore, with a copy of a report from the Dewan, containing the proposals of his Highness the Rajah on the subject of the dress of females of the Shanar caste.

Proceedings of Government, from 18 to 27 May 1859, Nos. 21 and 22.

Proceedings of Government, from 1 to 10 June 1859, Nos. 14 to 16.

2. From the Dewan's letter it will be observed, that his Highness feels, that the provisions of the Proclamation of 1004, relative to the dress of the inferior castes, require to be greatly modified.

3. His Highness proposes to abolish all rules prohibiting the covering of the upper parts of the person of Shanar women, and to grant them perfect liberty to meet the requirements of decency in any way they may deem proper, with the simple restriction, that they do not imitate the same mode of dress that appertains to the higher castes.

4. His Highness, it is stated, would not have made even this reservation, were it not for the fear that the sudden and total abolition of all distinctions of dress which have from time immemorial distinguished one caste from another, might produce most undesirable impressions on the minds of the larger portion of his subjects, and cause their serious discontent.

5. A proclamation

5. A proclamation to the effect above stated is to be issued immediately.

6. We have informed the Resident, for communication to the Rajah, that we are prepared to accept this concession, as a practical earnest on the part of his Highness of his desire to put an end to the barbarous and indecent restriction previously existing on the dress of the Shanar women.

We have, &c.
(signed) *C. E. Trevelyan.*
Jas. Grant.
Walter Elliot.
W. A. Morehead.

Fort St. George, 7 June 1859.

Fort St. George Political Consultation, 1 February 1859.

READ the following letters :

No. 4.—From Lieutenant General *W. Cullen*, Resident of Travancore and Cochin, to *T. Pycroft*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, dated 13th January 1859, No. 4.

Sir,

I REGRET to have to report that there is a very disturbed state of feeling at present in the south of Travancore on a matter of caste, *i. e.*, as to the kind of dress to be worn by the women of the different castes.

2. The low caste of Shanar women, who are very numerous, are prohibited by long usage and regulation from wearing any cloth over the upper part of their person in the presence of the higher castes, such as Soodras and Bramins, &c.

3. On the establishment of the London Mission in the south of Travancore, their converts to Christianity were almost exclusively from the Shanar class of the population, but who, like the other Shanars, for several years attempted no change of dress, and abstained from covering their bosoms. Latterly, however, they began to wear a cloth like the Soodras, and it led gradually to violent outrages and quarrels, and almost to an insurrection.

4. Troops had to be sent to the south* (the subsidiary force being then at Quilon), though they did not require to be called out, and the issue of a proclamation in 1829, establishing a particular description of covering for Christian females by which they could be at once distinguished as such, gradually allayed all irritation.

* As per reports to Government, 6, 8, and 13 Jan. 1829.

5. The agitation has been recently revived, the Soodras asserting that the Shanar women are constantly assuming the privilege of covering the upper part of the person, and thereby preventing a recognition of the caste, while the Shanars themselves simply complain of the prohibition as a hardship. It is believed that the Christian converts sympathise with the Shanars, if they do not occasionally actually encourage them. There have been several assaults of individuals, and some outrages at Kotar, Nagercoil, and Neyoor, &c.

6. It may be in the recollection of Government that several petitions from Shanars have been received at different times within the last two or three years, complaining of the prohibition to their females wearing an upper cloth, but that they were returned as a matter of local usage and caste, with which the Government declined to interfere. I had reason to believe that some of these petitions had been prepared by Christians of Nagercoil.

Some misinterpretation of a part of Her Majesty's recent proclamation has also tended to add to the excitement, the Soodras believing that the proclamation not only prohibited all future interference with caste distinction, but that it annulled all previous innovations.

7. In communication with the Dewan, I, a few days ago, sent to the south 100 men of the Nair Brigade under an European officer, to support the civil power, and which I hope may be sufficient, as the Dewan also proposes going there to ascertain on the spot the exact state of matters.

No. 5.—From Lieutenant General *W. Cullen*, Resident, Travancore and Cochin, to *T. Pycroft*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, dated 18th January 1859, No. 7.

Sir,

I HAD the honour, under date the 13th instant, to report the disturbed state of feeling prevailing in the three or four southern districts, between portions of the Soodra and Shanar population.

2. Several small mission schools and chapels have since been burnt by incendiaries, whom it has not been possible to trace, and a small thatched bungalow, occasionally occupied by the Resident at Nagercoil, was burnt on the 10th instant.

3. On the 14th instant, a small village occupied by Shanars in the Thovalah talook was fired by a party of Vellalers in daylight, but several of the perpetrators of the outrage have since been apprehended.

4. It is difficult to account for the burning of the mission buildings, except on the supposition that the mission converts being all from the Shanar caste, the Hindoo Shanars and convert Shanars may be supposed to combine together, to obtain the privilege of wearing the upper cloth, and hence the bad feeling of the Soodra population, Nairs, and Vellalers towards the mission.

5. A letter from the Dewan, dated yesterday, and received this morning, informs me of a report of the Shanars across the frontier in the Tinnevely District collecting there with a view to enter Travancore to join the Shanars, and plunder the villages along the frontier. A letter from the Vullioor tahsildar (Tinnevely) rather corroborates the report; I have communicated the information to the magistrate of Tinnevely.

6. A party of 50 men of the Nair Brigade have been detached to Sooshendrum, and the Dewan is desirous to have an additional 100 men of the brigade at his disposal, and I have accordingly directed the officer commanding the brigade to hold them in readiness.

No 6.—Order thereon, No. 75; dated 27 January 1859.

THE Resident of Travancore reports the disturbed state of feeling prevalent in the three or four southern districts of the Sircar territory between portions of the Soodra and Shanar population.

2. The excitement appears to have arisen from some Hindoo Shanar women having lately assumed the right of covering the upper part of their persons with a cloth, which is objected to by the Soodras as preventing a recognition of the caste.

3. Disturbances from a like cause broke out in the year 1829, on which occasion her Highness the Ranee of Travancore, in her proclamation of 3d February 1829, republished, "as the only regulation in force in the matter," a previous Circular Order of 7th Yadavom in the year 989 (May 1814), whereby "no women of Palavres, Shanars, and others of that description, were ever to be allowed to wear cloths on their bosoms as the Nair women," but was not prevented from wearing jackets, called *oopayasen*, such as were in use by the women of Christian converts and of some other castes.

4. From General Cullen's second letter it seems that several small mission schools and chapels have been burnt by incendiaries, whom it has not been possible to trace. These outrages are supposed to have been perpetrated by the Soodras, under the idea that the Hindoo Shanars have the support and sympathy of the Christian converts from that caste, in their efforts to obtain the privilege of wearing the upper cloth. A small thatched bungalow, occasionally occupied by the Resident at Nagercoil, was burnt on the 10th instant, and on the 14th, a small village inhabited by Shanars in the Thovalah talook was fired by a party of Vellalers in daylight, but several of the perpetrators of this latter outrage have been apprehended. The Government trust that they will be severely punished.

5. The Right Honourable the Governor in Council hopes that the present excitement will soon be allayed, and order restored. The Resident will be careful to give no countenance to the idea that the British Government, of which he is the

Chapel at Collengully, Culcolum district.
Chapel at Medalum, Erneel district.
School at Goonamcadu, Erneel district.

the representative, recognises any exclusive distinctions, or the right of any set of men to prevent others from following, in all matters of social or domestic life, such course as they may see fit, provided it be not repugnant to public decency and morals. It will be his duty to impress these views on his Highness the Rajah, and to point out to him that such prohibitions as those contained in the Circular Order of May 1814, or in the Proclamation of 3d February 1829, are unsuited to the present age, and unworthy of an enlightened prince, and that he is not to look for the support of the British Government in any attempts to maintain them, as respects any class of his subjects.

(signed) *T. Pycroft,*
Chief Secretary.

Fort St. George Political Consultation, 8 February 1859.

No. 19.—From Lieutenant General *W. Cullen*, Resident at Travancore and Cochin, to *T. Pycroft*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George; dated Trevandrum, 26th January 1859, No. 10.

Sir,

SINCE my letter, No. 7 of the 18th instant, no more acts of incendiarism have been reported to me, and the Dewan, who has subsequently visited Nagercoil, Sooshindrum, and Cape Comorin, appeared to consider that quiet had in general been restored, and I in consequence some days since countermanded the march of the additional party of the Nair Brigade.

2. A number of the perpetrators of the outrage at the village of Tittiveilly, alluded to in the 3d paragraph of my letter, have been apprehended, and handed over to the criminal court for trial; but after the late excited state of feeling, I fear that perfect quiet cannot be depended on for some time to come without the utmost vigilance on the part of the police and local authorities: and I believe there are several cases of assault and interference with the mission converts still remaining to be disposed of by the Dewan.

No. 20.—Order thereon, No. 93; dated 7th February 1859.

To be recorded.

(signed) *T. Pycroft,*
Chief Secretary.

Fort St. George Political Consultation, 15 March 1859.

No. 10.—From Lieutenant General *W. Cullen*, Resident, Travancore and Cochin, to *Thomas Pycroft*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George; dated Trevandrum, 16th February 1859, No. 19.

Sir,

1. I HAVE the honour to transmit copy of a report by the Dewan of Travancore, on the late disturbances in the South, between the Soodras and Shanar population. No. 196, of 12th instant.

2. Although the wearing the cloth over the upper part of the person by the Shanar women appears to have been the more immediate cause of the disturbances, there has, I think, for several years past been a growing feeling of disquietude on the part of the Soodras at the innovations of the Shanar, both Christian and heathen. Indeed, in a recent petition from the missionaries in the south to his Highness the Rajah, they distinctly admit that "the present disturbances are to be traced to the dissatisfaction of the landed proprietors at the emancipation of their slaves, announced by proclamation in 1855."

3. I believe this to have been one source, because the missionaries then also availed themselves of that partial emancipation to endeavour to make converts to Christianity, and I know that it led to much excitement, for in travelling about those districts at the period in question, I was frequently visited by large numbers of proprietors, complaining bitterly that they lost the services of their slaves on Sundays, and that their slaves had in other respects proved very refractory.

4. Another subject of irritation has been the exemption on the part of all
158—Sess. 2. A 4 Shanars

Shanars attached to the mission for Oolium duties on Sundays, and from work connected with Hindoo festivals or places of worship.

5. It is not only the exemption of Shanar Christians, but of those in mere connexion with the mission, for it will be observed in the Travancore Calendar for 1859, p. 82, that there are baptized - - - - - 2,168
Unbaptized - - - - - 14,572
Yet these latter have all the exemptions enjoyed by the baptized.

6. Under the Church Mission at Cotyam the baptized are - - - 2,000
Inquirers - - - - 1,926

As to the possibility of presently effecting any changes in the existing usages, in regard to the wearing of the cloth, I fear that much difficulty may be expected; the Nair troops could hardly be expected to afford much aid in such a case, for there are no greater sticklers for the usage than the Nair Brigade, who are themselves proprietors of land in Nanjenaud, and the greater part of them related to the residents there; in fact, most of the men of the brigade reside some 15 or 20 miles distant from the capital, where they occupy themselves with cultivating when off duty. They are also constantly employed on fatigue duties in the pagodas and palace at Trevandrum, which adds to their caste prejudices.

7. The prohibition, too, is not confined to the south of Travancore, but extends, I believe, through the whole of the Malabar Coast as far as Cannanore.

8. In regard to the present state of the south, although no outrages have of late been repeated, there is still much disquietude, and a large party of them have recently arrived at Trevandrum to complain.

From *T. Madava Row*, Dewan of Travancore, to Lieutenant General *W. Cullen*, British Resident of Travancore; dated Trevandrum, 12th February 1859, No. 196.

Sir,

1. I HAVE the honour to submit to you a concise report of the origin, progress, and suppression of the recent disturbances in South Travancore, adding a few observations which the subject suggests.

2. You are aware that in the Malabar year 1004, corresponding with 1829, Christian era, her Highness the Ranee, with the concurrence of the British Resident, issued a proclamation, permitting the use of a jacket, called cooppayam, on the part of Christian Shanar women, and prohibiting the use of the upper cloth on the part of Hindoo Shanar females. In contravention of the provisions of this proclamation, the Shanar women, particularly those of converts to Christianity, had, it appears, begun, though not prominently, to wear a dress similar to that worn by Soodra and Brahmin females, and this, you are aware, occasionally gave rise to troubles ere this. About the time of the appearance of Her Majesty's Proclamation, either the practice became more general and conspicuous, or the Soodras felt more encouraged to resist it, or, what was perhaps more likely, both the causes operated together. Both parties became equally determined. The Shanars, probably influenced, in a measure, by the recent events in the contiguous district of Tinnevely, would by all means bring the upper cloth into use. The Christian Shanars appear to have taken the lead, though they had less cause for complaint, the proclamation in question permitting their women to use jackets, which had been on all hands acknowledged as a more decent covering than the upper cloth. But they probably desired a total abolition of all restrictions as to dress, and calculated upon the sympathies and support of the European missionaries residing among them. The Soodras, forming the majority of the population under the influence of caste feelings, which, you know, have least relaxed in force in Travancore, and feeling that they had the proclamation of the Sirkar on their side, and probably interpreting Her Majesty's Proclamation too much in their favour, equally resolved to put down the innovations attempted by the Shanars; from this state of feelings the steps to open disturbances were not many.

3. As the Shanars took it upon themselves to infringe the Proclamation of 1004 M. E., so the Soodras took it upon themselves to punish such infringement. The Shanar women were attacked when they openly appeared with what was considered the high caste costume. The Shanars, on the other hand, did not confine themselves

themselves to a bare defence; they, too, retaliated the outrages on Soodra women. Hostile feelings gathered strength. A chapel had been burnt down in Maycode on the 27th December last. An affray occurred in the Kotar bazaar on the 30th idem. A more serious one, assuming the dimensions of a riot, also followed at the great market of Erneel on the 10th ultimo. The panic, it seems, was great, and men on both sides were said to have been severely ill-treated, and some wounded, though only a few appeared before the cutcherry with formal complaints, the others having probably been deterred by the consciousness of misconduct. On the same night another chapel, and the Residency bungalow at Nagercoil, were destroyed by fire, evidently at the hands of incendiaries. Between the 11th and 16th two more chapels at different places shared the same fate; two mission schools were similarly destroyed; a mob of Soodras assaulted a Shanar and his wife at Tittoovellay, and his house, and 27 houses adjoining it, were burnt down. Other houses and chapels were said to have been openly threatened. It was reported that the Shanars of the Agasteeswarom district were raising men and money, and proposed combined and systematic resistance to Sirkar authority, and the plunder of the villages and towns. It was also clear that they had solicited the co-operation of the Shanars residing in the district of Tinnevely in the vicinity of our frontier.

4. The first intimation I had of the existence of unsatisfactory feelings was, when I happened to be at Pudpanabapoorom, about the end of December last. Numbers of Shanars and Soodras, with Lubbays, waited on me, and complained against each other, on the subject of the upper cloth. The police officer of Erneel also wrote to me on the subject. The Deputy Peishcar in charge of the southern division, too, thought it desirable that some kind of public warning was necessary. It is obvious, that as long as the Proclamation of 1829 is in force, the Shanars, both Hindoos and Christians, are bound to conform to its provisions, that no section of subjects can be permitted to infringe a law affecting the great majority of the people, on the ground that, in their opinion, the law ought to be changed; that the only legitimate course open to them is, to continue to submit to it, and formally to apply to the Sirkar for a change, with such facts and arguments as they may have to urge in their favour. On these considerations, a public warning was given on the 27th of December last, to the effect that existing rules and usages should be respected; that if any class of people desired a change, they should represent the case to the Sirkar, and await its decision; that, on the other hand, on no account should breaches of the peace be caused. For a short while there was an appearance of quiet; but soon after the Peishcar in the south reported the Kotar affray, and suggested that the police should be strengthened, and that a detachment of Sepoys should be sent down to overawe. Orders were forthwith given accordingly; and a detachment of the Nair Brigade, consisting of 100 rank and file, with the usual complement of commissioned and non-commissioned, were sent at once. Some members of the London Mission, residing in the south, arrived at Trevandrum, and personally represented to yourself and to me the state of matters there. I had the permission of his Highness and yourself to go to the scene of disturbances.

5. On the 14th ultimo I reached Pudpanabapoorom. A detachment of the Nair Brigade had already arrived there on the 11th. I was followed by Captain Daly, who was put in command of all the troops in the southern districts. The troops were moved where mischief was apprehended. The police was further strengthened in different places; auxiliary police officers were appointed to keep the peace, and speedily inquire into and dispose of police cases, which were of course expected to be numerous at the time. Some minor Sirkar officials, who appeared to have acted improperly, were suspended from employment. Some of the leaders of both parties concerned in these disturbances were apprehended; other measures, too, were taken with a view to preserve order. The determination of the Sirkar to exact implicit obedience to its authority from all classes of its subjects soon became known; and I am happy to add, that without the necessity of resorting to extreme measures having arisen, tranquillity has been restored. I have the pleasure to acknowledge here the zealous exertions of the Deputy Peshcar Shungoony Menowen on this occasion.

6. Though matters had assumed a very serious aspect, I am glad to be able to state that the mischief already done is far from being considerable. I beg to enclose a memorandum showing the probable value of the chapels and schools

destroyed by fire. It is to be observed that the roofs of the buildings in question are all thatched. No loss of life or limb has occurred anywhere.

7. As regards future arrangements, I think it desirable that the detachment of the Nair Brigade, now in the south, should continue there for some little time longer. The additional police establishments should also be continued. A re-arrangement of officials in certain localities will be necessary; about which, however, I may write to you at another time. I may also submit in a very few days my plans for better organising the police of the whole country.

8. The authority of the Sirkar having been vindicated, it may be desirable to take an early opportunity to consider what modifications should be made in the Proclamation of 1004, so as to suit the requirements of altered times and circumstances, and satisfy all parties as far as it may be possible to do so.

MEMORANDUM showing the probable Value of the Chapels and Schools destroyed by Fire.

Names of Chapels and Schools.	Probable Value.
	<i>Fanams.</i>
1. Maycode Chapel - - - - -	144
2. Vadakunkurray Chapel - - - - -	520½
3. Vallathottathoo Chapel - - - - -	100½
4. Aroomanay Chapel - - - - -	8
1. Arrapooray School - - - - -	112½
2. Coonnacaud School - - - - -	26½
TOTAL <i>Fanams</i> - - -	912½
or <i>Rupees</i> - - -	128

Huzzoor Cutcherry, Trevandrum,
12 February 1859.

(signed) *T. Madava Row,*
Dewan.

(True copies.)

(signed) *W. Cullen,* Resident.

No. 11.—MINUTE by the Right Honourable the President; dated
28 February 1859.

It is evident from this report, that a very excited state of feeling continues in South Travancore, and that it requires very careful treatment.

2. The difficulty is evidently complicated by the fact, that the differences on religious principles and caste habits are mixed up with social and pecuniary interests. The Shanars, on becoming Christians, claim privileges which partly, if not entirely, free them from many of the duties which their state of serfdom, if not of slavery, previously entailed upon them; and on these advantages accruing to the Christian converts, the heathen Shanars evidently aspire to the enjoyment of the same changes, though without conversion.

3. The Soodras, on the other hand, look with great jealousy on these changes, not only on account of their placing those whom they consider a degraded race in a better social position, but also because they themselves become losers by the emancipation, to some extent, of their serfs or slaves from some of their duties.

4. The difficulties are of that description which always must exist in heathen countries where Christian missionary enterprise is permitted.

5. Purer morals and more refined manners will be inculcated, and on their being confirmed

confirmed by practice amongst the population, they are pretty sure to clash with the older customs and habits of the country.

6. The British Government has now for some years permitted missionary enterprise, though it has carefully abstained from taking any part in it, and it cannot now withdraw from the position it has taken up.

7. The Resident and the Dewan must be urged to suggest such measures to the Rajah as will secure individual rights and privileges, and at the same time as far as possible protect the interests of all parties.

8. I am happy to see that the Dewan in para. 8 of his report, contemplates making modifications in the Proclamation of 1829, and it would be advisable that a report of the proposed changes should be made to this Government at an early date,

9. I regret that this Government should not have been able to investigate more fully the state of affairs in Travancore, at a time when there existed much less excitement than at present, and when changes might have been effected with much less probability of serious embarrassment, but the power has not been accorded to it.

10. I had hoped that the appointment of the new Dewan would have tended to smooth down the irritation which had existed so long, and in many respects, he has no doubt effected great improvements in the administration and state of the country, but it is evident that the fire was smouldering, and that the main cause of irritation is as rife as ever.

11. In order to show that there has been every endeavour during the period of my Government to enter upon the attempt to improve the state of affairs of Travancore, I am now desirous of bringing on record, the memorandum which accompanies this minute, in order that the proceedings which have taken place, may be seen at one view.

(signed) *Harria.*

No. 12.—MINUTE by the Honourable *Walter Elliot*, Esq.; dated 3 March 1859.

THE Dewan's report appears to be a temperate and fair statement.

2. I do not think that any further disturbance or breach of the peace need now be apprehended.

3. I have confidence that the Dewan will take a liberal and enlightened view of the matters in dispute; and, with the support of the Resident, will lend his influence to the introduction of a more tolerant recognition of individual rights.

4. The work of amelioration must be gradual, but it cannot stop. The pride and intolerance of caste prejudice prevail with greater intensity in Travancore than in any other part of India, because that province has never come under direct foreign control. There is no reason, however, for apprehending that it will not yield to the influence of a higher civilisation, as it has done in other parts of India.

5. I do not see that more is required at present than to reiterate and maintain the views communicated to the Resident, in Extract Minutes Consultation, 27th January 1859, No. 75, para. 5.

6. As far as I can learn, the present excitement has nothing to do with the question of slavery.

7. The Shanars, though an inferior caste, are not out-casts, like the serf population, the Chermars, Polayars, Nayadis, comprehended under the general term of *Serumakkal*.* These are considered to be almost beyond the pale of humanity, and are probably as much despised by the Shanars, as the Shanars are by the Nairs and higher castes of Sudras.

8. The privileges for which the Shanars (who are the same as the Tiyars of Malabar and the Toddy drawers of Madras) contend, seem to be nothing more than social distinctions, affecting particular sections of the population only, and by no means of general acceptance.

9. The Nairs who comprise the most influential, and, I believe, the most numerous class of the Sudra population, discard the use of clothing for the upper part

* These wretched creatures keep up the same pride of caste among themselves, and observe similar native distinctions of purity and defilement as their higher-born neighbours.—Report on Slavery, by Law Commission, p. 209.

part of the person as completely as the Shanars, and from Lieutenant Connor's Memoir on the Survey of Travancore, this would appear to be the practice among the higher classes generally.

10. It is not likely, therefore, that the concession of a larger degree of individual liberty of action to the Shanars will meet with much opposition.

11. It must be borne in mind, that the degree of interference exercised by the representative of the British Government in the affairs of Travancore and Cochin has now become so large, as to deprive the nominal rulers of all real responsibility, and to fix the credit or discredit of the administration principally on the British Government.

12. Of the wisdom or policy of such a state of things, this is not the place to speak; but, such being the fact, the local Government must, as a matter of necessity, insist upon the observance of a more decided system of toleration, than if it had merely to bring its influence to bear on an independent state.

13. This, I think, has been done, as far as at present is necessary, by the orders above referred to. I would now only add to them, by desiring the Resident to report at an early date on the means proposed by the Dewan for affording relief to the Shanar population.

(signed) *Walter Elliot.*

No. 13.—MINUTE by the Honourable *W. A. Morehead, Esq.*

I QUITE agree that there is nothing further for this Government to do. I observe the Dewan makes no allusion to an order issued by Colonel Munro, wherein permission was given to all Shanar females to wear jackets; in fact, in para. 2 of his report, he ignores altogether the existence of such a custom, as he states, "The Christian Shanars had less cause of complaint, the proclamation in question permitting their women to use jackets," plainly thereby indicating that other than Christian Shanars could not wear jackets.

(signed) *W. Morehead.*

No. 14.—MEMORANDUM on Petitions presented to Government from Travancore, and of Correspondence connected with them, dated March 1859.

PETITIONS from Travancore are numerous enough. Speaking generally, they may be divided into two classes; the first and smaller class includes complaints that the revenue authorities have saddled the petitioner with an unauthorised demand, or disturbed him in the occupation of his land, contrary to the usages of the country. The second contains those received from dissatisfied suitors, or the friends of parties alleged to have been subjected to imprisonment in the teeth, or in the absence of satisfactory evidence.

2. Unless the matter of the plaint appears very atrocious, the petitioners under the first class are informed, that "Government does not interfere in the revenue details of the Sirkar's administration," while those under the second are simply referred to para. 9 of the General Rules.*

3. In the year 1855, however, complaints of maladministration had become so frequent and so urgent, that the Madras Government were led to form the opinion, that a formal investigation was imperative. The cases which particularly attracted their attention were eight in number. A precis of these eight cases was prepared in October 1856, by Mr. Norman, Deputy Secretary to Government; it follows below:—

- A. "Arrears of salaries of public servants."
- B. The Memorial of one Emanuel Class.
- C. Petition of Rev. John Cox.
- D. Petition of Rev. T. O. Whitehouse.
- E. The "Eddapilly murder case."

F. The

* "Petitions will not be received by Government regarding matters which properly fall under the jurisdiction of the courts."

F. The Petition of Rev. F. Baylis.

G. A joint Petition of certain missionaries, complaining that convicted criminals are employed in high offices.

H. A joint Petition from the same, containing more general charges of maladministration and corruption.

A.

The Government having observed an entry in the diary of the Resident, dated 18th December 1854, noticing the irregularity in the payment of the salaries of the acting judges, moonsiffs, &c., called for a report of the amount of arrears of salary due, and the number of persons unpaid.

Extract Minutes Consultation, No. 40, Political Department, dated 26th January 1855.

The Resident explained, that, according to the Dewan, the delay was owing to frequent references having to be made to the palace, in order to regulate the scale of the allowances of the acting officers, which only remained unpaid.

From Resident, dated 19th February 1855.

This petition complains that the salaries of the public servants are four, six and eight months in arrears. The Resident declares this assertion to be utterly unfounded; and that but none the most ordinary arrears of two or three months exist any where.

Anonymous Petition, dated 26th January 1855.

From Resident, dated 19th February 1855, para. 2.

The Government did not think the causes assigned for the arrears were satisfactory; they observed that it was admitted that two months' arrears existed, and trusted that such a state of things would be avoided in future.

Extract Minutes Consultation, No. 87, Political Department, dated March 6th, 1855.

B.

Class, Emanuel, Petitions of.

Emanuel Class complained,—

(1.) That the Government servants were largely in arrears.

Petitions, dated 10th May, 16th June, 19th June 1854.

(2.) That the Resident, out of regard for the Dewan, winked at the charges of corruption brought forward against the fourth judge of the Appeal Court, Hanumantha Rao, and severely censured the court for trying to get the case inquired into.

(3.) That the pepper arrears were unpaid.

(4.) That the Dewan is guilty of cruelty, extortion, corruption and murder, and that he screens the torturing Jemadar Nilakanthan, who was guilty of murder.

The Resident, in reply to these petitions, which were referred to him for report, stated that "Emanuel Class denied all connexion with them;" and he forwarded a written denial in Class's own hand.

From Resident, dated 23d September 1854.

(In the petition from this individual, dated 10th May, the Eddapilly murder case is alluded to. The assertions respecting it will be found under that head.)

C.

The next is the Reverend J. Cox's case. Mr. Cox complained of specific acts of oppression and violence committed by the district authorities, and others still higher.

Mr. Cox's original petition, dated Trevandrum, 12th February 1855.

Cox, Reverend John; Petition of, and Proceedings thereupon.

On the 9th March 1855, the Reverend John Cox, one of the missionaries in Travancore, forwarded several petitions from native converts, complaining of specific acts of oppression and violence against them as Christians. He complained that the whole of the Sirkar officials, with the Dewan at the head of them, were in league to oppress and insult the Christians; and, that the good intentions of the Rajah were neutralized; and, that appeals to the Resident were not only useless, but marked the appellant out for further oppression. He pledged his veracity, as a Christian minister, that the grossest oppression existed, and that torture so severe as to cause death was practised.

1. The first petition is from Chinnai, the widow of Devasahayam. It sets forth that her husband, herself and others, were seized and confined for refusing to sign an agreement, binding themselves to do palace work

Petition 1. Enclosed by Mr. Cox.

without pay. Her husband was shockingly ill-treated, and died from the effects of the torture; she and the others were released after six days' confinement in the stocks: states further, that appeals to the Resident were disregarded.

Petition 2. Enclosed by Mr. Cox.

2. The second petition is from one Joseph, a schoolmaster under Mr. Cox; it relates how petitioner was violently beaten and left insensible by the Adhikári of Némam and other Government officials; and how his petitions to the Tahsildár and Dewán were of no avail, the case being dismissed "without any actual examination concerning it."

He says that, as the Resident would only send his petitions to the Dewán, he did not address that authority, and concludes by asserting that the Némam congregation have been scattered owing to persecutions, and entreats inquiry and justice.

Petition 3. Enclosed by Mr. Cox.

3. In a third petition, one Thomas Paul, a native Christian, states,—

(1.) That he was violently beaten for refusing to contribute towards a heathen ceremony.

(2.) That no notice whatever was taken of his complaint at the Tahsildar's or Dewan's office.

(3.) That one Perumál, a native Christian, was beaten till he vomited blood; no notice being taken of any complaint.

(4.) The said Adhikári subsequently came with 50 persons to the front of petitioner's house, set fire to some thatch, and destroyed his Betel vines.

(5.) Petitioner complained to the Rajah, but still no notice was taken of the complaint by the Dewan, though the latter ordered him to do so.

(6.) One Kunjan was violently assaulted and subjected to a gross outrage; no justice was obtainable at the hands of the police officers, though the Resident issued an order for the inquiry. Ends by detailing the miserable state of the Christians generally.

4. Enclosure 4 is a private letter from the Rajah to Mr. Cox, showing how desirous he is of securing perfect toleration to all sects within his dominions.

Petition 4. Enclosed by Mr. Cox.

5. Petition 4 is from one Másilámani. He complains that, as a teacher of Christianity, he is threatened with personal ill-usage, and that his applications for protection have been treated with contempt, because proceeding from a Christian, while his petition to the Resident was returned with an altogether irrelevant endorsement. Begg Government to interfere.

From Chief Secretary, to Resident, No. 126, of 27th March 1856.

General Cullen was ordered to institute immediate inquiries, and to fully investigate and report upon the specific allegations contained in the petition.

From the Resident, dated 8th May 1856.

In answer to this order the Resident reported,—

1. With reference to Chinnái's petition; no "complaint was presented to me, and no communication was made by Dr. Reed. No application is stated by petitioner to have been made for more than a month after the alleged occurrence of the outrage, which is remarkable. But the case, if true, is a bad one, and shall be fully investigated."

2. The second case (Joseph's petition), is a very old one; and he acknowledges that he never addressed the Resident at all.

3. "Másilámani's case is on the same subject. He represented it to me by post four months after the occurrence; and charged the Adhikár of Némam with general animosity towards the Christians. Joseph was directed, by endorsement, to appear before the police or Dewán. He never did so."

4. "Thomas Paul, in his petition, acknowledges, that he did receive replies on two different occasions from the Resident, and that his relative was, in consequence, immediately released.

"With reference to his case, the Dewán replied that he was bound by law to perform certain services in the Rání's palace, and when, on account

account of his refusal, compulsion was attempted, he and his people offered resistance with knives.

"In the face of petitioner's previous acknowledgment that he received two endorsements, he says the Dewán and Resident never will listen to complaints."

The Resident goes on to say, that full explanation shall be furnished respecting the petitions, but in the meantime he considered it necessary to bring to the notice of Government the extenuating circumstances of all such complaints. All missionaries are notoriously deceived and misled by their catechists; they are moreover prone to interfere in local disputes. The converts claim exemption, on account of their assumed religion, from services which they are bound by law to perform, and are supported by the missionaries; *hinc omnes iræ*.

The Resident points out, that the Reverend John Cox has contradicted himself, in that he admits that he was aware of the proclamation of toleration when he arrived in Travancore in 1838, though two years ago he declared himself ignorant of the existence of any such:

Though now claiming the benefit arising from the proclamation, Mr. Cox has deliberately infringed its provisions in building chapels and schools near Hindu Pagodas without sanction:

That complaints from the missionaries are more frequent of late is not to be denied, but it must be remembered, first, that the number of missionaries and of converts has very largely increased; and, secondly, the converts are all from certain low castes, who owe certain feudal services which they now seek to withhold.

Government expressed a hope that the promised investigation would be concluded and the matter reported upon without delay, and deferred consideration of the whole case till the inquiry was complete.

Extract Minutes of Consultation, No. 325, dated 2d June 1855.

The Resident, in July following, reported that the case of the petitions turned out, on investigation, not to differ materially from his pre-conceived idea.

From Resident, dated 3d July 1855, No. 42, reporting fully on the petitions.

1. Chinnai's case is as follows:

Certain of the Shanar, whose duty it was to serve in the Rani's palace, refused to do so. They were therefore called before the palace Karyakar, for inquiry. The Hindoo part of the Shanar admitted their fault and were released, but the converts refused to admit their guilt; so they were confined, and six weeks after their release, Devasahâyam died of dysentery; they suffered no hardship while confined; they may have been ill-treated in the palace, but that they were so ill-treated as to result in the death of one of them, is not to be believed. These points are fully borne out by the testimony of the converts themselves.

1st Petition; from the widow of deceased Devasahâyam.

Vide Enclosures 8 and 9, in Resident's letter.

The schoolmaster's case appears clearly to be one got up by the teachers and others. Joseph and Mâsilâmani and two witnesses, all contradict each other on important points. Mr. Cox's conduct in this case and in others was open to much blame. He does not bring a case to the authorities' notice till long after its occurrence, and then blames them for not investigating; to say nothing of a most objectionable paper which he circulated with reference to Davasahâyam's case. A copy of this paper is enclosed in the Resident's letter. It purports to be an appeal from Mr. Cox, to his "fellow men" on behalf of the injured parties.

2d Petition, or Schoolmaster Joseph's complaint.

Mr. Cox, in direct violation of the Rani's proclamation and the printed instructions to the London Missionary Society, systematically interferes in the secular concerns of his converts. This is productive of the greatest inconvenience by weakening the just influence of the local police.

The catechists are scattered all over the country, and bring all sorts of reports to the missionaries, who receive them without inquiry, and who are thus grossly deceived and misled.

Mr. Cox having established his mission at Trevandrum itself, and his converts being all among those classes who owe services to the palace, and who claim exemption on conversion, his complaints have been

Extract Minutes of Consultation, dated 27th July 1855, No. 307.

Mr. Cox's reply, dated 26th December 1855.

Note.—This letter and appendix have been printed separately.

(The remarks on the Eddapilly case are entered on the precis of papers on that case.)

Minute by the Governor, and Extract Minutes Consultation, No. 75, of 8th March 1856.

From Resident, dated Kuttalam, 27th September 1856, No. 51.

Vide previous report, No. 42, of 3d July 1855, para. 5.

Paras. 28 and 29.

frequent, but from the great mass of the Christian population the complaints are few, and none on the score of persecution.

The Government directed, that copies of the paragraphs of the Resident's letter which describe Mr. Cox's interference with the secular affairs of his converts, be referred to the reverend gentleman for explanation and remark; Mr. Cox was also informed that Government awaited his irrefragable proof of the serious charges against the Dewan and Resident; and warned him that he was himself accused of exciting discontent, and of taking up an offensive position between two pagodas.

Mr. Cox, in his reply to the order of Government, comments at very great length upon the report of the Resident and remarks of the Dewan upon his petition. He divides his address into "three parts. In the first he meets fully the general charges brought against him by the Resident and analyses them, to show the nature of the materials with which they were constructed; and when anything particular or tangible was found, he answers it as minutely and fully as possible; he tries in every respect to meet every reflection cast on his character, and to establish an unassailable claim to the consideration of the Government." He trusts that the occasion will be held to justify his decided language, and appeals to Government for protection and redress against the contradictory and unjustifiable attacks of the Resident and Dewan.

In the second part, he "refutes the attempts to invalidate the petition which he represented;" and in the third he descants minutely upon all circumstances relative to the state of the country, which justify the language of his former petition, and gives a summary of the chief oppressions.

The Right Honourable Lord Harris considered that "the case, as stated by Mr. Cox, was very strong;" and the Government resolved to defer the consideration of the papers until the Resident had perused and remarked upon them; that officer was directed to reply without delay.

Para. In September 1856 the Resident submitted to Government his remarks on the above, of which the following is a brief summary:

Para. 2. "Mr. Cox has not confined himself to a simple explanation or refutation of facts stated by myself and the Dewan, but has indulged in a virulent course of attack on matters foreign to the subject."

3. Almost every instance noted by Mr. Cox has been previously reported on by me.

4. I originated no charges against Mr. Cox, as that gentleman states.

5, 6 & 7. Mr. Cox appeals for protection against attacks upon his "motives and character:" he makes the same attacks upon myself.

8 & 9, 36 & 37. Mr. Cox's case of murder was not only not proved, but entirely disproved.

11. "I deny the necessity of Mr. Cox evading a reply to my remarks, by saying the "remarks of the Resident and Dewan cannot always be replied to separately."

12. Mr. Cox's statements about no complaints having been received from the missionaries are uncandid; and though Mr. Cox brings forward the united petition, as an instance of their having complained, yet, in this very united petition, the missionaries adopted the very course which he himself so strongly reprobates.

13. "Privately, I had complaints; officially, very rarely."

14 to 20. Points out that Mr. Cox appeals to, and quotes as examples two young missionaries not two years in the country, the conduct of both of whom had been demonstrated to Government to be unjustifiable in the extreme.

21 & 22. Mr. Cox has not confuted my assertion that "complaints did exist under Mr. Mead," for, for nine years previous to the present Dewan's accession to office, similar complaints had existed; and a remark of Mr. Cox's own in his report for 1854, proves this; but then the missionaries were few; now, they extend all over the country, and their converts are among those classes who owe feudal service to the pagodas, which they now withhold; and hence the disputes.

23. Mr. Whitehouse never made complaints, though he had been 14 years in Travancore; he was in charge of a hospital; if the other missionaries

missionaries kept themselves in like manner to their duties, it would be more becoming.

24. In support of his arguments, Mr. Cox quotes the printed reports of Mr. Abbs. But Mr. Abbs was a very moderate person, and in a letter to me distinctly said, "I cannot indiscriminately condemn the local officials. I have always found redress by an appeal to Trevandrum."

26 & 27. The censure passed by Government on Mr. Lewis, in extract minutes of consultation, 27th January 1854, No. 50, affords a perfect illustration of the spirit which seemed to prevail among the missionaries.

31. I blame Mr. Cox for not bringing Joseph's case to the Dewán's notice, because both Joseph and the parties were at and near Trevandrum.

32. The murder case is previously noticed; as to the offensive paper, I gave all that was sent to me.

33. The misdate which Mr. Cox, at para. 38, insinuates was intentional, was a clerical error.

34. Mr. Cox had every assistance in the case of the Christian convert seized as a cooly on Sunday; he did not by any means conduct himself with calmness.

34 & 35. Mr. Cox built a chapel in the vicinity of two pagodas, questioned the accuracy of the description of the site by the Sirkar officers, and contested with them whether there were any religious or caste objections; these are matters in which the missionaries should not interfere.

40. I trust that it is unnecessary to enter into any discussion with part 3 of Mr. Cox's letter, in which he details abuses in every department in the country.

41. It is not the business of the Resident to introduce any sweeping alterations.

43. I have asserted nothing in any of my reports of which I had not a moral conviction.

44. Reiterates sentiments expressed in No. 42 of 8th July 1855, as to the cause of complaint with the Christian converts now.

45. Mr. Cox quotes in support of his cause a private note from Mr. Peet. No one has been so much engaged in excited controversies with the authorities as Mr. Peet.

46, 47, 48 & 49. There has been the utmost exaggeration on the subject of torture.

49 & 50. From my report on Mr. Whitehouse's case, is traceable much of the irritable feeling subsequently shown in the proceedings of Messrs. Leitch, Lewis and Baylis.

51 & 52. Mr. Leitch established a Pancháyat ostensibly for purely missionary objects, but who doubtless interfered in secular matters.

53. Mr. Russell has been 18 years in Travancore; though he never presented a petition before, yet he signed the "United Petition."

54. Some of the petitions are got up by mere boys attached to the mission school about other people's grievances.

55. The petition from the Shánár women about covering their bosoms, also had its origin probably from the native servants of the missions.

56. The Rajah's letter to the Marquess of Tweeddale was got up by Subba Ráo, the late Dewan, and Mr. Caldecott, his friend.

57. Krishna Ráo was not intruded on the Rajah. I wished Keshava Pandit to be appointed, but the Rajah refused.

58. After being 2½ years out of office, Krishna Ráo was employed by the late Rajah, without the slightest interference on my part. That the Rajah cannot exercise his own free will is a totally unfounded assertion.

59. Mr. Kohlhoff was transferred at his own request to the appointment of conservator of forests.

60. Quotes the former report on the Eddapilly co, *q.v.*, as entirely refuting Mr. Cox's assertions, and asks whether it is likely that when Mr. Cox, who is a friend of Mr. Kohlhoff's, and must have known all

the circumstances of the case, has so glaringly mis-stated a matter of public notoriety, that his other assertions, most of which are founded on the reports of his catechists and converts, are worthy of much credit?*

D.

Fourth comes Reverend T. O. Whitehouse's case. He alleged a flagrant instance of persecution with torture, inflicted on a Christian slave by his master.

Whitehouse, Reverend J., Complaints of.

Mr. Whitehouse's original complaint, dated April 2d, 1855.

On 11th April 1855, the Government received a petition from Mr. Whitehouse, a missionary, residing at Nágarkoil, in Travancore, which set forth, that one Madan Pillay and his brother Chitambaram Pillay had cruelly beaten and tortured one Arumeináyagam, the slave of the former, for attending at a Christian place of worship; that the said slave suffered horrible injuries from the torture; that the tahsildar before whom the complaint came, only fined the offenders five rupees each; that the injured slave was sent to Trevandrum for medical treatment; that the Resident saw him; that the Resident's dresser pronounced the injuries trifling; but that Dr. Reed, in charge of the Charity Hospital at Trevandrum, who saw him a month after the ill-treatment, details the very serious injuries that the unfortunate man received; stated that it would be some months ere he regained the use of his limbs; and that he was surprised that the injuries he received had not been followed by still more serious consequences; that application to the Resident is useless, and that the present is a good opportunity for striking a general blow at slavery: concludes by requesting orders for inquiry.

Political Department, No. 188, dated 4th May 1855, from the Chief Secretary to the Resident. Letter from the Resident, dated 28th June 1855, with enclosure.

Government directed that the Resident should institute a strict investigation, and immediately report the result for their information.

The Resident, on the 28th June, reported that the case had been committed to the Criminal Court for trial. He encloses a minute report from the Dewan detailing all the circumstances.

He further states, that the slave came to his tent, and that he sent a dresser out to examine him, who reported that there was no fracture, and that he perceived no injuries himself.

General Cullen goes on to deny that petitions to himself do not meet with attention, and discusses the irregular proceedings of the missionaries; states that Mr. Whitehouse is embittered in his feelings, owing to his father-in-law, Reverend F. Mault, and Reverend E. Lewis having been assaulted at Shusindram, when the former (says the Resident) forced his way through a religious procession; and shows that Mr. Whitehouse, living in the extreme South of Travancore, cannot possibly know much about the general state of the country; says that the ryots of the missionaries' district complained to him, that, owing to the missionaries' interference, the slaves had become insubordinate and unmanageable.

Extract Minutes of Consultation, dated 14th July 1855.

The Government called for a report of the finding of the court upon the conclusion of the trial; and noticed that the "tahsildar who could attempt to gloss over such a serious case by only fining the defendant five rupees, was unfit to be trusted with police powers at all;" they further desired to know what fine was imposed on the tahsildar for his neglect.

* Note.—No orders were passed on this report by Government at the time, nor on a further address from Mr. Cox, dated 9th February 1857. "The consideration of those papers," it was observed in recording Mr. Cox's last letter on the 20th September 1858, E. M. C., No. 622, "has been delayed pending the receipt of the reply which the Government were expecting to the references (i. e. regarding the appointment of a commissioner) made by them to the Government of India. Subsequently the Dewan has died, and as much of Mr. Cox's memorials is directed against him, the investigation of so much of it has become unnecessary. Nor as regards the remainder are the Government in a condition to give any orders until they are apprised whether the inquiry ordered by the Honourable Court (Political Letter, dated 30th April, No. 3, of 1856, paras. 33 to 36), will or will not be carried out. For the present, therefore, these papers must lie over."

neglect of duty, the proportion it bore to his salary, and whether it had been paid or not.

Government also expressed surprise that the Resident omitted to see the marks of ill-treatment on the person of the slave, and pointed out to General Cullen that the delay in disposing of the case was not accounted for by the reported absence of the prosecutor.

On 7th August, the reply of the Resident to the above was received and recorded; it set forth that the case had been transferred to the calendar of the Circuit Court for trial, and that the tahsildar had been fined 70 rupees, or one month's pay.

From Resident, dated 2d August 1855, No. 53.

On 22d November 1855, the Government received a letter from the Resident, forwarding the final decision of the Circuit Criminal Court in the case. The judgment of the court was, that the "1st prisoner had been in confinement for 6½ and the 2d for 2½ months; they will therefore remain in gaol for a further period of three months each; the 3d prisoner will find security for 30 rupees to keep the peace for six months; and the 4th, 5th and 6th prisoners will be released for want of proof."

From Resident, with enclosure, dated 17th Novembr 1855, No. 79.

E.

Fifth on the List is the "Eddapilly Murder Case."

Eddapilly Murder, &c., Case at; and Proceedings with reference to it.

PURPORT.

In these petitions certain inhabitants of Eddapilly, in the Kunnatnád Taluk in Travancore, complained of two of their relatives having been unjustly implicated in a certain charge of robbery; and stated that the district police who conducted the preliminary inquiries acquitted the parties accused, but that the Dewan interfered and transferred the case to Trevandrum; where, to extort a confession, they were so severely ill-treated, that two of their number died from injuries they received; that the remainder were still under trial; and that their representations of their wrongs to the British Resident had been ineffectual.

Government directed this petition to be forwarded to the Resident for inquiry and disposal.

On 23d December 1854, another petition was received from certain native servants of the Rajah of Eddapilly. They stated that their case was still undecided, that their former petition which was referred to the Resident for inquiry came to nothing, owing to a false report of the Dewan; they briefly recapitulate the main features of their case, as follows:

DOCUMENTS.
Petitions 274, 401, and 479 of 1853.

Eddapilly is a petty quasi-independent State in the North of Travancore. The Rajah (a Nambúri Bráhmaṇ) and the heir apparent (the "Velía" and "Ilaya", or elder and younger Rajahs, are at feud.

On 18th September 1852 some ruffians broke into the house of one Krishnan Eláyudam, and beat him so severely that he died within 30 days.

The house where Eláyudam was living was situated in a garden, which was the bone of contention between the two Rajahs.

The deceased presented three petitions to the police officers of Kunnatnád and Perúr.

In his 1st and 2d petitions, he merely states, generally, that some ruffians had broken into his house; in the 3d he gives the names of the 1st, 3d, 6th, 7th and 18th. On the 25th day after the assault he gave a deposition in the hospital, but could give no particulars, and says he could identify no one, as the night was dark, but from their voices thought they were Moplas; (all the prisoners but three are Nairs); in his fourth petition, however, to the Cochin Dewan he implicates 46 prisoners. The case was examined by order of the Dewan, but nothing was proved.

That result did not please the Ilaya Rajah, who forwarded substantial inducements to the Dewan, who had all the prisoners apprehended, and taken to Trevandrum, 160 miles; then to Quilon, 46 miles; and then to Kalliakuttam, 26 miles from Quilon, where there is a small cutcherry

Order of Government in the Petition Department, dated 4th April 1853.
Petitions 69 and 449 of 1855.

(A man formerly in the service of the Rajah, but dismissed for cruelty to the ryots, and then karyagar or agent of the Ilaya Rajah.)

N.B.—In the Madras Athenæum these Rajahs are called Wallia Thumboorum and Ellia Thamboorum. Thamboorum is a mistake for Tamburan (Malayalam), which is a title of the royal families of the western coast, and may be best translated by Prince. Wallia and Ellia mean elder and younger (properly Velía and Ilaya), viz., the reigning Rajah and the Heir-apparent.

in a lonely spot. Here the Dewan ordered Muhidin Beg, the police duffadar, to torture the prisoners, to extort a confession from them; 6th prisoner was suspended from the hair of his head, and beaten on the neck and chest with a stone: Karulan Govindan, 1st prisoner, had two of his teeth knocked out in the presence of Vencatramana Ayan; and, after four hours of torture, the prisoners all confessed, and were committed to the Trevandrum Criminal Court for trial upon this evidence.

Sixth prisoner died from the beating, &c. at the door of the Criminal Court; the Dewan refused to give the body to the prisoner's friends (who wished for a *post mortem* examination), and declared that the death was caused by "bloody flux."

The 25th prisoner also died on June 20th, from the injuries he had received. The criminal court examined officially the scars on the prisoners, and torture was fully proved to their satisfaction against the Dewan and Venkataramana Ayan.

The 14 servants of the Dewan, attesting witnesses of the alleged confession, denied their having seen the prisoners confess, or sign the confession. Petitioners requested the Resident to let Mr. Kohlhoff, a European, try the case, but the Resident refused, on the ground of the investigation in the criminal court not having been completed.

But a vacancy existing in the appeal court, the Resident, on the recommendation of the Dewan, appointed the very police Sheristadar Venkataramana Ayan, who tortured the prisoners, and directed that he should be specially appointed to try the case. But the Rajah directed the appeal court to apply to the Resident to allow the case to be forwarded to the appeal court to be decided by all the members of that court.

Shortly afterwards Mr. Kohlhoff was removed, and the first judge of the court is entirely under the Dewan's control; so that Venkataramanayan alone, the very party who tortured the prisoners, examines the case: one of the prisoners made a mistake of one day in giving evidence, and was imprisoned for five months; all the prisoners were admitted to bail by order of the Rajah, there being no proof; four of the prosecutor's witnesses are in gaol for giving false evidence.

The Resident is fully conversant and has been for years of the systematic torture carried out. The Dewan's police Jemadar Nilakanthan is the perpetrator of it, and in his house the most horrible implements of torture will be found. [Here another horrible (if true) case is detailed, which ended in the death of 25 men charged with smuggling.]

We humbly entreat inquiry into the case; an endorsement to the Resident is useless, for the Dewan is the party at fault, and on his report does the Resident implicitly trust. If the Dewan remains uninjured, the Resident does not care what becomes of the whole population of Travancore. If even now inquiry be made by a European, the Dewan, the Sheristadar, now judge of the appeal court, the Duffadar and the subordinates will be convicted of the torture.

The second petition set forth the same facts, and solicited the suspension and trial of the Dewan.

The two petitions were forwarded to the Resident for early report; and he was requested to state whether Venkataramanayan, who first examined the case, afterwards tried it.

On July the 2d the Resident's report was received. He gave an entirely different account of the case from the petitioners. He stated that "the elder and younger Rajahs had quarrelled about a garden.

"Petitioners are the servants of the elder Rajah; and the first defendant, one of them, was known to have long entertained strong feelings of personal animosity against the deceased, the servant of the younger Rajah. In 1032, the deceased's house was broken into, and he was beaten so severely, that he died on the 8th day, having previously identified defendant 1. and others; the case was examined by the police on the spot; but as it was thought that the influence of the Rajah might interfere with the inquiry, it was transferred to the Hoozoor cutcherry. The present acting second judge of the appeal court was then police Sheristadar, and had the investigation of the case; he was charged

Order of Government in Petition Department, April 24th, 1855.

From Resident, dated 25th June 1855, with 3 enclosures, No. 38.

charged by the defendant with acts of severity while under trial before the police, but from the inquiry made at the moment, I had reason to believe them unfounded."

"The case was handed over to the criminal court, and I was anxious that the case should come on before Mr. Kohlhoff. But some of the prisoners had been released on bail, and it was left for the next sessions.

"The police Sheristadar was immediately after this promoted to the appeal court, and he went on circuit, but the defendant having petitioned the Rajah and myself against his trying the case, it was eventually determined to hand it over at once to the appeal court. It was thus altogether an accident that the case came on during the circuit of the judge in question.

"There has been very great delay in bringing the case to a close, partly owing to the great number of witnesses and the distance of their residence, and partly to indirect influence exercised by the elder Rajah in keeping back witnesses."

The Resident encloses extract from a letter to himself from the Eliya Rajah, who hints at the influence of his uncle to help the prisoners who murdered Krishnan Eláyudam.

On receipt of this report the Government observed, that from "the tenor of it, there would seem reason to believe that undue influence was more likely to be used on prisoners' behalf than to their detriment." They also pointed out the extreme impropriety of a trial for murder being allowed to extend over a period of three years with no prospect of a speedy termination; and desired the Resident both to bring the circumstance to the notice of the Rajah, and to report the result of the trial.

They also feel it a duty incumbent upon them to report the matter specially to the Honourable Court of Directors.

Accordingly a report of the case was transmitted to the Honourable Court on 20th July, and at the close of the letter an intention was intimated of adopting a similar course in future cases.

A copy of this Despatch was also sent to the Government of India.

On 16th October, the prisoners in the case addressed a petition to Government, praying them to call for the record of the trial, as they had been compelled by torture to put their names to fabricated confessions.

Upon this, the Resident was directed to report what progress had been made in the trial of the case.

The Resident reported, accordingly, that the petitioners were the very persons against whom sentence had been passed by the appeal court; and requested that (as petitioners were at Madras) the Government would send them to Trevandrum in charge of the local police. On the same day the Resident forwarded to Government a copy of the decree passed by the appeal court in the case in question; and remarked that he had communicated to the Rajah of Travancore the sentiments of the Government on the subject of the delay; also that the criminal courts were much to blame for releasing the first prisoner on bail.

The decree of the court sentences the seventh prisoner to three dozen lashes, and hard labour for 18 years; the first, third and fourth, 24 lashes each, and hard labour for 16 years; and the 20th, 12 lashes and hard labour for eight years. The second and sixth prisoners were found guilty, but since died. 16 of the prisoners were sentenced to find security for three years, from 300 up to 1,000 rupees; and the rest were released. The court expressed a decided opinion that the assault in question had been committed with the knowledge and concurrence of the Velia Tamburán, and recommended an investigation.

Government pointed out, in reviewing the above reports, that the Dewan must make a formal application for the apprehension of the criminals, and that some one acquainted with them must be sent to Madras to identify them. Government also noticed with much dis-

Note.—The Resident's meaning appears to be that the judges of the appeal court go on circuit in turns, and make a preparatory trial, which is concluded before all the judges together in the appeal court at Trevandrum. Mr. Kohlhoff was one of these judges. Next before his circuit concluded, Venkataramana Ayan was promoted, and it became his turn to go on circuit. The case was not ready before the circuit of Mr. Kohlhoff was ended, because some of the prisoners were released on bail, and it was ready just after Venkatramna's circuit began. Against his trying the case the prisoners petitioned, and it was decided that the case should be transferred at once to the appeal court, which was done. Information being wanting as to the method of procedure in the courts, prevents this part of the case from being very clear, and it is uncertain whether the circuit judges have any finite jurisdiction, or whether they only prepare cases for the appeal court where all the judges sit. From the Resident's words the latter appears to be the case.

Extract Minutes Consultation on the above, Political Department, No. 273, of July 10th, 1855.

Political letter, No. 8, of 1855, dated 20th July.

Petition 2389 of 1855, from Karulan Govindan and others.

Order of Government, dated 30th October 1855.

From Resident, No. 83, dated 19th November.

From Resident, No. 81, of 19th November 1855, with enclosure.

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Extract Minutes of Consultation, No. 495, of 11th December 1855.

pleasure the part taken in the matter by Velia Tamburán, and expressed an opinion that he should not go unpunished.

Despatch from the Hon. Court, No. 3, of 1856, dated 30th April, and received June 10th.

Note.—At this time the Court of Directors had not before them the final result of the trial. This was communicated to them in general letter, dated 20th June 1856.

Political letter to England, No. 1 of 1856, paras. 20, 21, 22, and 23, dated 20th June 1856.

Extract Minutes of Consultation of 9th July 1856, No. 199, para. 12.

The Honourable Court, in their Political Despatch, No. 3 of 1856, after noticing the complaints of mal-administration in Travancore, said charges of a similar nature (*i. e.* of inflicting torture to extort depositions), were brought against the Dewan by certain inhabitants of Eddapilly, and observed that the Resident's statements are far too general; we desire an amended report upon the subject.

Copies of the Resident's communications reporting the final result of the trial were transmitted to England in Political Letter, No. 1 of 1856, and the orders passed were detailed.

The Government in the Minutes of Consultation, noted in the margin, passed orders on the part of the Honourable Court's Despatch of April 30th, and directed the Resident to furnish an amended report upon the subject of the charges of torture brought against the Dewan personally, by the inhabitants of Eddapilly.

In Mr. Cox's second address that gentleman remarks on the Eddapilly case as follows:

Remarks on the Eddapilly case in the second address of the Rev. John Cox, para. 91.

The assault was committed 16th September 1852. The case called before the magistrate in November 1852. It arose out of quarrels between the two Rajahs of Eddapilly. Inquiries in the case on the following particulars will elicit the truth:

(1.) Did not Eláyudam, before he was killed, inform the Dewan that the Velia Rajah had resolved to kill him?

(2.) Did not the Dewan order the district police to trouble no one belonging to the Velia Rajah?

(3.) Did not the facilities to the murderers to escape originate with the Dewan?

(4.) Why did the Dewan suddenly shift over and strive to obtain a conviction?

(5.) Why were the confessions of the prisoners rejected as evidence?

(6.) How were the prisoners treated by Dewan and Police Sheristadar?

(7.) How were the signatures of the attesting witnesses attached?

(8.) How did two of the prisoners die, and why were their bodies concealed?

(9 and 10.) Were not false reports of these deaths made and received?

(11.) Did not the appeal court report the torture to the Resident, and did he not, instead of inquiring into it, express his displeasure, and reply so as to weaken the report?

(12 and 13.) Did the reasons assigned by the Dewan for calling the case before him agree with his former conduct or his subsequent conduct?

(14.) Whence arose the delay?

(16.) Did not the Resident detain a Government endorsement nine months?

(17.) What did the Appeal Court say to the delay?

(18.) How many applications were made by Resident to the Dewan for witnesses, and what was their result?

(20.) Did not the Appeal Court first approve of the release of the prisoners on bail?

(21.) Did not the Resident show vexation at this?

(23.) Do the latter reports of the court exhibit any change?

(24.) Are there any other diversities apparent in the court's decree?

(25.) Did the Resident not strive to have the case tried by the same Judge who was an accomplice with the Dewan in the torture? and did he not disarrange the court circuit to effect this, and why?

Why was Venkataramanayan appointed?

Do the facts reported by the Resident differ from the real ones?

(30.) Date of decree? Does it show the dissent of the third Judge?

All the documents must be called for, otherwise extracts, giving a partial view, will be forwarded.

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From R.
June 1856
No. 38.

In the petition from Emmanuel Class (*vide supra*) the Eddapilly case is thus alluded to :

“ The parties stated to have been concerned in the murder case were, during the investigation of the case by the Dewan, subjected to much torture and oppression, whereby some of them since breathed their last. The fact that the Dewan had recourse to torture, whereby he made some of the parties depose admitting participation in the murder, will be proved if the records of the proceedings in the criminal court and appeal court are perused, and the Yadast addressed by the former to the latter. Also the Resident sent to the appeal court partial and unnecessary letters to see that the charge of torture practised by the Dewan might not be so well proved in the circuit as in the criminal court ”

F.

Sixth is the memorial from the Rev. Mr. Baylis, detailing certain outrages committed against certain converts by some Lubbays.

Baylis, Rev. F., his Complaint, and the Proceedings thereupon.

PURPORT :

Mr. Baylis (London Mission Society).

(1.) Sets forth the general impossibility of obtaining justice for the poorer classes in the Travancore State, and brings particularly to the notice of Government a specific case as follows :

(2.) One Arumainayagam, a catechist, under Mr. Baylis, was, on 5th November 1854, returning from Vannánvili, where he had been performing Divine service, when he was stopped on the way by an Ilavan and seven or eight Lubbays, and beaten and robbed. Mr. Baylis represented the case to the Resident; and parties were sent to apprehend the robbers; but they were repulsed by their friends, the Tanah Naick, &c. being wounded. Another representation to the Resident was productive of no better success, the acting Tahsildar and his party being again repulsed.

The Sàrvadhikàryagàr, of the pepper department, was then sent. They offered no resistance to him, and eight men were captured and taken to Trevandrum for inquiry, and not as would have been regular to the police office of the district. (To a letter from the Dewan calling on Mr. Baylis to send the injured party and his witness, Mr. Baylis replied, detailing other cases of oppression and injustice, only one of which had come before the police officers of the district.) Mr. Baylis then says that now he hears, “ on good authority, that the eight men have been allowed to depart with no other punishment but the money paid in bribery,” and he prays his Lordship in Council to take steps to have the whole of the proceedings brought before him; remarking that the whole country being overrun with bands of robbers, principally the friends of these Lubbays, affords ample excuse for troubling the Government. Mr. Baylis also again appeals to Government on behalf of a poor woman, named Sivattiyal; the man who injured her, he states, was captured, but escaped by bribing the peon who was in charge of him. He submits copies of his correspondence with the Resident on this case. He lastly states that the poorer people well know that it is in vain to hope to get any case settled without extensive bribery, and are thus unable to obtain justice; “ and that if a general inquiry were to be made into the state of Travancore, the utter absence of anything like real and impartial justice in Sirkar affairs would be easily seen.”

The Government ordered that the petition be forwarded to the Resident for serious attention and early report.

The Resident in his reply to this order set out by expressing his belief that “ the outrage complained of by Mr. Baylis had arisen in a great measure from the imprudent proceedings of that gentleman himself and his catechist among the Lubbays; a class proverbially jealous of interference with their religion.”

DOCUMENTS.

Original Petition from Rev. Frederick Baylis to the Governor in Council, with enclosures, viz., Correspondence between himself and the Resident relative to the subject-matter of the petition, and various petitions to the Resident.

Extract Minutes of Consultation. No. 648, of 9th March 1855.

From Resident to Government, 28th July 1855, No. 51, reporting on the above.

General Cullen shows that it was unlikely in the extreme that a whole district should have risen on behalf of eight men who robbed a catechist of a cloth and books, and has reason to believe that imprudent and offensive conduct and discussions of teachers and catechists with the Lubbays on the merits of their respective religions caused the excitement, which was considerable, till allayed by a letter of the Dewan's to the head of the Lubbays, and the deputing the deputy Peshkâr to apprehend the accused.

Para. 8. He further says, "Resistance was offered to the police, but it was, the Resident thinks, because they went accompanied by converts who were on bad terms with the Lubbays."

Para. 9. "The investigation was transferred to Trevandrum, because the Lubbays believed that the police officer of the district was partial to the converts."

Para. 10. "The cause was handed over to the criminal court at Nâgarkovil two days before I was called upon for report."

[Note.—Date of plaint, February 17th 1855; date of commission of offence, November 5th, 1854; date of committal to criminal court, March 12th, 1855.]

Para. 11, 12, 13 and 14. The Resident then shows that in his opinion the gratuitous assumptions of corruption against the Dewan and deputy Peshkâr are most unwarrantable; and state that the Lubbays were "sent back to their houses because the examination was completed," (being admitted to bail by the criminal court).

Para. 15, 16 and 17. Mr. Baylis's complaints are matters of ordinary police. It is true that many robberies have taken place in his neighbourhood, but the Taluk is a troublesome one; and bands of robbers and smugglers are known to exist and are aided by their *confreres* in the company's country.

* Copies of communications relative to the robbery, from the Resident and the Dewan.

18. Mr. Baylis's statements that no steps were taken to inquire into the case are gratuitous and unfounded aspersions; for the enclosures* of his own letter prove the contrary.

Paras. 19, 20, 21 and 22. The missionaries are in general misled by the exaggerated and unfounded stories of their catechists; and they manifest an unwarranted dislike (the Rev. Mr. Leitch expressed this plainly) to be in any way subject to native authorities; and they all, and Mr. Baylis in particular, he having written 18 letters between 1st March and 1st July, persist in referring to the Resident complaints which should always be brought previously to the notice of the local authorities.

"It would never answer as a system for the Resident to receive and inquire into complaints which have not been previously made to the local authorities."

Extract Minutes of Consultation, dated August 11th, 1855, No. 380.

The Government conveyed their opinion to the Resident that his explanation was on the whole satisfactory; but at the same time thought that there was some reason to doubt whether justice in Travancore was readily and impartially administered to all. They at the same time directed the Resident to report the result of the trial of the Lubbays; and an endorsement was passed on Mr. Baylis's petition.

Endorsement on Mr. Baylis's petition.

(1.) Informing him that the Government considered the Resident's explanation satisfactory;

(2.) Warning him against the injudicious conduct of the teachers attached to the mission;

(3.) Expressing disapprobation of the imputations cast on the character of the Dewan.

Second petition from Mr. Baylis, dated June 25th, 1856.

In this letter Mr. Baylis brings to the notice of Government the extremely irregular and loose way in which the trial of the Lubbays has been conducted, and other cases which have since occurred, showing the gross injustice and oppression prevailing in his part on the Rajah's dominions. He first complains that the Lubbays have, though accused of a heinous crime, been admitted to bail, contrary to the regulations, and that while at large they committed a horrible outrage (ravishing a poor woman in succession), and another robbery; and that they intimidated the witnesses for the prosecution, and raised fresh funds for bribery; and that they at last refused to return to the court for the completion of

of the trial, and that it was impossible that the trial could end satisfactorily.

2. That the case of the poor woman Yesudiál is still undecided.

3. That one Kulashékaran and a gang of robbers entered the house of one Champakaperumál, and robbed it and wounded him mortally; that Kulashékaran, by the connivance of the police Amín sent to capture him, remained for some time at large, but that he and a few of the gang were at last taken: that since the capture of these parties and others, the number of outrages has considerably decreased, and that the said capture is attributable to his continued representations to the Resident.

4. That the said Kulashékaran and others violently beat, robbed and maltreated one Arumeináyakam and then pretended that he was the party who had robbed Arumeináyakam the catechist; and gave him in charge, whence he was released without trial after being 60 days in prison, in spite of repeated notices on the subject to the Resident. Dilates on the extreme irregularity of this proceeding.

5. That one Vellayan, a noted robber and smuggler, robbed the garden near the house of Arulánandam alias Arumugaperumál, and then accused Arulánandam of robbing his house and inflicting some wounds which he inflicted upon himself; that Arulánandam was apprehended and kept in custody three days. That Vellayan was at last apprehended and is still in custody.

The deputy Peshkár does all he can to assist the robbers and oppress the poor, especially the Christians. Vellayan is treated like an innocent man in prison and not fettered, while Arulánandam was treated as a common felon. Entreats inquiry into this case in particular.

6. On March 25th a Christian was severely beaten for refusing to carry leaves on the Sabbath. Nothing was done to the offender.

7. Complains that blacksmiths, carpenters, &c. were forcibly taken from his premises to Sirkár works.

8. That the Deputy Peshkár threw wilful and needless obstacles in the way of his obtaining certain work for repairs.

9. That a bearing palmyra tree, belonging to one of his converts, was cut down, and that he failed to obtain redress for the owner, who was also beaten.

10. That a bearing mango tree, belonging to another Christian, was cut down (on Janmi land), and that the owner obtained no redress; that this and the last case are only two out of numbers that are constantly occurring in which the injured parties can never obtain justice.

11. That two Christians were compelled forcibly to carry leaves for the Sirkar elephants, and beaten and kicked on a Sunday. That inquiry was commenced but the matter allowed to drop.

12. That the Mulikár of Kannankód, forcibly took away some planks from a Christian's house, and beat his elder brother, and "took him to Pakali, where he was put in prison and in fetters." That the same party on the same day entered the house of another Christian and took away more planks. That up to this date no compensation has been rendered to the injured parties. That the Tahsildar of Kalkollam gives great trouble to the complainants. That he is a party who has been previously dismissed for bribery. That however much the Resident exerts himself, his efforts to do justice are neutralized directly his back is turned by his subordinates.

13. That two bandies were seized for Sirkar use, and a parcel and letter in them directed to him opened by the Tannah Naik; that the circumstance was made known to the Dewan by Captain Daly, but without any result.

That the Sirkar officials habitually insult Europeans, thinking they can do so with impunity.

As an instance, Mr. Baylis details the gross outrage upon the person of the Reverend E. Lewis (witnessed by several of the missionaries) when he was pelted and his palanquin broken.

That the Tannah Naik who seized the bandies and opened the

letter, boasted of another outrage, from which he had come off with impunity.

14. That on June 12th, nine men, among them the Ilavan, mentioned in para. 4, and four of the others, those concerned in the outrage mentioned in para. 14, seized and assaulted one Semban, robbed him and beat him with sticks. That the injured party is afraid to complain.

15. On 14th June, one Paramánandam was severely beaten by one of the village watch and robbed and otherwise ill-treated; that the offender is a protégé of the Tahsildar's, and that complaint is useless.

16. On 18th the Kottanvily chapel was burnt; it must have been the Lubbays, who have been known to threaten vengeance.

17. On 15th instant, a Christian's house was entered, and his property and himself seized on a pretended charge of theft; and a bribe of 100 fanams demanded for release; 25 were given, but on his making inquiries the parties endeavoured a compromise and restored part of the money.

18. That his only object in detailing all this is that a Commissioner may be appointed, and truth and justice prevail instead of the present misgovernment and oppression, and that were the wrongs of the poor relieved by the Governor in Council, thousands would bless his name.

In Extract Minutes of Consultation, dated 21st July 1855, No. 301.

The Government, in forwarding this second petition to the Resident, directed that officer to bring the allegations contained in it to the notice of the Rajah himself, and to press upon him the duty of instituting a rigid inquiry, saying that it was impossible to overlook the reports constantly received of the want of energy and efficiency in the administration of justice, &c.

Supplemental Address from Mr. Baylis, No. 388, dated July 16th, 1855.

In a further petition, Mr. Baylis brings to the notice of the Governor in Council,

1. That the Lubbays before alluded to were perpetrating fresh outrages, and that two Christians against whom they have vowed vengeance, have been obliged to quit their villages and occupations.

2. That he has himself been threatened by them, and does not consider his own life and property safe, and has sent his wife and child away.

3. That the Lubbays prepared to resist when they heard of the advent of the Resident's writer, who was sent to inquire into the case. The Government are perfectly powerless, and it is only by the introduction of a strong, wise, and impartial rule, that things can be remedied.

4. That he duly informed the Resident, that he had witnesses to prove that three of the crowd who came and burnt the chapel were three of the Lubbays in question; that he also sent the names of the men to the Tahsildar, but that no steps had been taken to apprehend them.

5. That the complainants in some of the cases before detailed are kept dancing attendance on the police without a hope of getting their cases investigated.

7. The chief of the band who committed the outrage and murder on Champakaperumál's house is openly at large; that he brought the fact to the Resident's notice, and that the son of the murdered man petitioned the Rajah; but that no effort was made to apprehend the criminal. "Only this day (16th July), a Christian woman was brought to me with her ears torn open by a band of men, who plundered her house, and beat her husband severely."

Extract Minutes of Consultation, No. 313, of 31st July 1855.

The Government requested the Resident to bring the further allegations contained in the subsequent letter from Mr. Baylis to the notice of the Rajah, and to submit an explanation thereon.

From Resident, No. 57, dated 30th August 1855.

In this letter, the Resident brought to the notice of Government that the Rajah had appointed Captain Daly, Mr. Thomas White, and an intelligent native officer to inquire into the allegations of Mr. Baylis; and that every exertion was being made to capture the Lubbays, who had committed more outrages.

Mr.

Mr. Baylis subsequently submitted another address to Government, passing remarks upon the statements contained in the report furnished by the Resident on his former petition, dated 26th February; "with the object of justifying the courses pursued in bringing the matters before the Madras Government." Mr. Baylis shows that at the date (28th July), on which the Resident reported that "order had been restored," that officer was aware that the Lubbays had escaped from the Court of Nágarkoil, for on May 23d, Mr. Baylis himself informed the Resident that they had returned to Kolachal.

Last Petition from Rev. F. Baylis, August 28th, with enclosures.

8. The Resident, in answer to Mr. Baylis' representation about the identification of the Lubbays who had been concerned in burning the chapel, only "regretted that any of them should have been charged on suspicion;" and he was totally misled in the case of Arulánandam's assault, by false reports to him.

Reports prejudicial to the Christian are generally easily received; and the case of Thomas who was beaten severely by a peon shows an example of this; for the Resident was persuaded that the beating was only the result of a fit; in another case also the Resident gave an endorsement founded on false report of a police officer made without examining the complainant's witnesses.

9. Instances a case of a frightful murder in which he took the dying declaration of the accused; no Government servant being forthcoming. The wound cannot have been caused by himself, and is said to have been inflicted by the aforesaid Lubbays.

10. These men, and the before-mentioned Kalan were thus allowed to remain at large, till they plundered a Roman-catholic village of much property, when some of them, and Kalan, were apprehended. But nothing will avail unless the men are fairly tried; and some of them and Vellayan, the noted robber and smuggler, are still at large. The latter, though his trial is pending, is in his own house.

11. Expresses his disbelief that any of the disturbances were caused by the imprudence of the mission people; there is not a particle of proof that such was the case; the Resident has been evidently misled in this matter. No complaints have ever been given by the Lubbays of interference with their religion, and the man assaulted was not engaged in a controversy with them. Also the subsequent conduct of the Lubbays show them to have acted independently of any influence caused by the interference of the mission people.

12 & 13. Regrets, in fine, that his language should have been blamed by the Government, pleads the great provocation from the wrongs under which the people smart, urges the uselessness of hoping for justice from the Dewan, and prays the appointment of a commission of inquiry as the only way of regenerating the country.

The Madras Government, in reply to this, merely directed the Resident to inform Mr. Baylis that they had no power to appoint a commission, and they further forwarded the petition, with its enclosures, to the Resident for his information.

Extract Minutes of Consultation, No. 416, dated 16th October 1855.

G.

Seventh comes the complaint, that persons of infamous character, and who have suffered the sentence of the law for their crimes, are holding high office in the Sirkar.

Criminals. Appointing to high Ministerial Offices, alleged charge of, against Dewan by the Missionaries; Proceedings upon.

Certain of the missionaries in Travancore, in the course of their petitions to Government about the alleged misrule in that country, made specific charges against the Dewan, of having appointed to high office convicted criminals.

Petitions of Rev. J. Cox, &c.

The Reverend J. Cox, para. 88 of his petition of 20th December 1855, gives a list* of seven individuals, whom he states were thus re-appointed.

Petition of United Missionaries, dated 26th July 1856, Appendix G.

The united petition of the London Society Missionaries of last July, gives a still longer† list, and goes at considerable length into the circumstances of each having been dismissed and reinstated.

Reference on the subject was made to the Government of India, and the Resident was instructed to furnish a specific report upon the appointments in question.

(The imputation was at first met generally by the Resident, but a specific report was called for, meeting each case; as mentioned above.)

Extract Minutes of Consultation, No. 250, dated 15th August 1856.

From Resident, No. 57, of 13th October 1856, with the Dewan's report, No. 1812, of 27th September 1856.

Paras. 2, 3 and 4. The Resident replied to the order in October. He stated that Government would be surprised "to see the confidence with which the reverend missionaries accepted as facts, assertions into the truth of which they could not have inquired;" and that (certain as he was that no appointment of convicted criminals could have been proposed to him) he could only account for such misrepresentations of facts by taking into consideration the circumstances under which the missionaries' petition was drawn up, viz., when the Kolachal Lubbays were committing outrages.

Para. 5. The missionaries are palpably misled and deceived by their native agents.

6. to 8. The Resident concludes by directing the particular attention of Government to the utterly unfounded assertions of the missionaries, especially in cases 9 and 10.

The Dewan furnishes full explanation as to the offence with which he is charged. The assertions of the missionaries, and that officer's explanation in each case are given, abstractedly, below, in juxtaposition.

Account of the Missionaries.

United Petition, Appendix G.

Lakshmana Ráo, Tahsildar of Nedumangád, was tried for a case of murder, he was convicted and sentenced to be fined, yet the Dewan reinstated him.

2. Sundra Aiyan, Tahsildár of Tovald, was found to have been concerned in the murder of the persons found in a tank at Nanjinád; yet he was reappointed to a larger situation.

He has been lately guilty of gross injustice in a torture case, in which the victim was disabled for life.

Explanation of Dewan.

He was not tried for, or convicted of, or suspected of murder; he neglected to attend at an inquest, and was fined by the court for the neglect; but his re-employment was not prohibited, and he was re-employed in a subordinate situation.

N.B.—In the Dewan's letter, para. 4, he states "The court generally express an opinion as to the eligibility for re-employment of any individual, without which they would never be re-employed."

He was not "concerned in a murder case," but was fully acquitted of all blame by the court.

In the torture case reported, the tahsildar was fined "for neglect to properly investigate," 70 rupees. (*Vide* Whitehouse, the Reverend J. O., petition of, &c., for all the particulars of this case.)

The

* 1. Lakshmana Ráo. 2. Krishna Pillai. 3. Sundara Aiyan. 4. Rájagopál Aiyan. 5. Seshu Aiyan. 6. Mádhavan Pillai. 7. Kutti Pillai.

† 1. Lakshmana Ráo. 2. Sundara Aigan. 3. Krishna Pillai. 4. Rájagopál Aiyan. 5. Seshu Aiyan. 6. Sankara Nárráyana Pillai. 7. Káli Pillai. 8. Mádhavan Pillai. 9. Kutti Pillai. 10. Sávari Perumal. 11. Madhuranayagam. 12. Raman Pillai.

Explanation of Dewan.

The Tahsildar was not recommended by me to receive presents. When the Rajah went on his tour he gave him the customary token of satisfaction at his having made good arrangements for the progress.

3. He was charged with neglect to investigate properly a murder case and suspended for a year, when he was re-employed.

4. He was removed in General Fraser's time for neglect in a police case; he was restored by the Rajah's order.

In 1852, he neglected to properly investigate a murder case, and was suspended for a year. He is now superannuated.

He was dismissed for bribery. After five years it was considered that he had been sufficiently punished, and he was re-employed, but not on the Resident's recommendation.

6 and 7. Sankara N. Pillai was never suspended. He was complained against, but nothing was proved. He is an active and intelligent servant of 20 years' standing. "I am at a loss to understand what is meant by re-instated by the Dewan" "on an understanding between them."

Ráman Menovan, who investigated Mr. Leitch's complaint, only recommended the Tahsildar's transfer to another taluk, this man is of 24 years' standing; his taluk was the most troublesome district in Travancore.

10. The appointments had long been vacant, which caused great inconvenience. The charges against him in 1840 were proved to be false, and his accusers were sentenced to hard labour in irons, and he was recommended for re-employment.

The second time also, nothing was proved against him.

He was appointed to the Accountant Generalship simply because he was the cleverest and most experienced accountant.

11. He was never even charged with giving away any hill country.

12. He is one of the most experienced and intelligent servants the Government have; inherited large property from his father and uncle; never been charged before, or sentenced by the appeal court; completely eradicated large bands of smugglers, and was selected to suppress the outrages of the Kolachal Lubbays.

Account of the Missionaries.

Though the Resident ordered him to be forthwith suspended, the Dewan has continued to shelter him, and while his conduct was still under reference to the Madras Government, he procured him presents of a bracelet and cloth from the Rajah.

3. Krishna Pillai, Tahsildar of Vaikam, was formerly punished for hushing up a murder case, but by the Dewan's favour was appointed to his present post.

4. Itajógopal Aiyan, Tahsildar of Chenganúr, was "tried" by General Fraser; afterwards he hushed up a murder case, and was dismissed, but obtained a situation from the Dewan.

5. Sessa Aiyan was dismissed for bad conduct, and pronounced unfit for further service. By the special recommendation of the Resident, whose intimate friend he is considered to be, he was re-employed.

6 & 7. Sankara Narayana Pillay, Tahsildar of Mávalikarai and Káli, alias Kutti Pillai, Tahsildar of Nedumangad, were both suspended; but reinstated merely on an understanding between them and the Dewan.

9. Kutti Pillai's irregularities were inquired into on Mr. Leitch's petition. He has since been appointed (though then removed from office) Tahsildar of Nedumangad, though the Resident stated that the Dewan was already aware of his corrupt practices, and that he was not likely to be re-employed.

The following appointments were made by the Dewan within 1½ month of his going to Madras:—

10. Savari Perumal Pillai to be Accountant General. This man was once, while Tahsildar, dismissed and imprisoned, and reinstated by improper influence. He was again dismissed for his great crimes; but, through the Dewan's influence, he was again appointed, though the Resident said that he wished that he had been entirely out of the service. Within a year, he was made Accountant, and now is Accountant General. This man's history has been one of crimes and corruption.

11. The assistant to the Accountant General was dismissed for giving away some of the hill country to an influential person, and declared to be ineligible to any office of responsibility.

12. Ráman Menovan, the deputy Peshkar, is a man notorious for crime.

Details how he swindled the Sirkar out of 2 lakhs of rupees when in the pepper department, and how besides, he was tried by the appeal court, and sentenced to be unfit for holding any appointment. He has by bribery obtained property worth a lakh of rupees. He has lately been in the south on his old course of iniquity and gathering riches by it.

H.

Eighth is the joint petition of the missionaries, which led to the proposal to appoint a commission, and to a correspondence between Lord Harris and the Rajah.

Missionaries; in Travancore, General Petition of.

The five gentlemen whose names are mentioned in the margin, despatched a petition to Government on 26th July 1855, of which the following is an abstract.

That, up to late years, any complaint on the behalf of native Christian converts for redress of any grievances they might have, were always

Petition, with enclosures, dated 26th July 1855, from the Rev. Messrs. Russell, Cox, Lewis, Whitehouse, and Baylis, members of the London Missionary Society in Travancore.

attended to by the Dewan and Resident; but that now things are changed; corruption, oppression and extortion are openly practised by the Government; no redress is to be obtained by the Christians or others; the most serious cases are treated by the Resident as unimportant, and attempts are made to caste odium on parties who appeal as dissatisfied and troublesome; complaining only extends the sufferings of the complainants and aggravates the power of the oppressors.

That the chief abuses at present existing in the administration are as follows:

I. The police is a tremendous engine of iniquity and oppression: for

(1.) Prisoners are confined for very long periods without investigation (at the present moment).

(2.) Many are acquitted after a long imprisonment, being all the time innocent; some have just been released who suffered five years' false imprisonment.

(3.) Many are imprisoned without any specific charge; whence release is impossible; no door is open to the cry of the prisoners who die in gaol, though a monthly return of persons confined is sent to the Resident.

(4.) Many are illegally imprisoned by the district officers without summons or warrant, according to the malice or caprice of any law officials; prisoners are repeatedly tortured in prison.

(5.) The Regulations are systematically set aside throughout the country; not only in the courts but everywhere; appeal to the Resident is vain; he refers to the Dewan, who himself practises all such atrocities, as false imprisonment, torture, &c., but uniformly shields his subordinates. If the Regulations were abided by, it would be different.

(6.) The most barbarous treatment in prison prevails; frequent recourse is had to torture from the Dewan downwards.

(7.) Real criminals are suffered to be at large committing fresh outrages and intimidating any witnesses of their crimes.

(8.) Real complaints are unheeded; nothing can be done without extensive bribery.

(9.) The police officers not only receive bribes to let off all thieves, but retain the stolen property.

(10.) Complaints against Government officials are quite hopeless. The consequences always recoil upon the complainants.

II. The character of the high Government officials is bad.

(1.) Convicted criminals are appointed to the most responsible offices, among which are the Accountant General and Deputy Peshkar.

(2.) Men grossly and notoriously incompetent are posted to high appointments.

(3.) And new offices are created for these men.

(4.) Every appointment has its price, and when offices are filled by such men it is no wonder that their official power is abused "to extort bribes, to pervert justice, oppress the weak, shield the guilty, promote favourites, and amass large private fortunes."

The oppression of the small officials is carried on on a corresponding scale.

(5.) The Sirkar officers are not paid regularly; of this there can be no manner of doubt, and all the evils inseparable from such a system are entailed upon the people.

III. Bad as the above state of things is, some hope might shine forth for the people if the state of the higher courts were such as to afford redress to the people. But the appeal court is packed, and every one is removed who dares to maintain the claims of justice against the Sirkar officials. Thus is the whole channel of justice corrupt, and the whole country groans under the pressure of the enormous evil.

IV. The forced labour system exists to a great extent.

(1.) In many cases a nominal equivalent is rendered which is practically

cally worthless. And this state of vassalage is compulsorily perpetuated ; no one can exempt himself.

(2.) Supplies are in many cases extorted gratis ; cadjans for covering the Sirkar buildings, leaves for the elephants' food, branches of plantains for festivals, fish for the table of the chief Europeans at Trevandrum, &c.

(3.) Forced service is also of other descriptions ; carrying supplies and salt and timber and the baggage of the Rajah and Resident, and Christians are compelled to work on Sunday, &c., at the Temples.

(4.) Free men are also pressed into slavery. The palace authorities compelled and do compel men to sign documents, making themselves slaves ; and other authorities have recourse to torture ; in one of these cases death ensued. *Vide Rev. John O. Whitehouse's complaint.*

This forced labour system furnishes every subordinate officer or peon throughout the land with a pretext of supplying himself with what he demands on behalf of the Sirkar.

This oppression literally consumes the people.

V. Immeasurable evils arise from the pepper, salt, and cardamum monopoly.

The reverend gentlemen do not attack monopolies in the abstract, but strive to show that, as at present carried on in Travancore, "they impoverish the people without increasing the revenue, and demoralise and oppress the inhabitants."

VI. The institution of a proper inquiry would expose an amount of evil far greater than can be described in the following sketch :

(1.) The registration of lands is omitted ; this is a fruitful source of litigation and dispute.

(2.) The revenue is diminished ; the accounts furnished to the Madras Government are cooked.

(3.) Officers are withdrawn from the courts to scour the country for money. Business thus stagnates. The Dewan and all others frequently suspend their police duties to attend to festivals.

Corruption and extortion is universal ; licensed oppressors with the countenance of the high authorities are let loose upon the people. The country in short is entirely ruined. The truth is concealed by the Travancore Sirkar : the appeals to the Resident are useless, for he only refers to the Dewan and believes him implicitly ; we are convinced that had the Madras Government only known the truth they would have interfered with decision long before this ; if this our petition be referred to the authorities it will serve no purpose ; and we "pray for the appointment of a commission of well qualified Europeans, with full powers first to secure the records in the courts and public offices, and then to inquire into the whole affairs of the government."

Appended to the petition are statements corroborative of the allegations contained in it. This is the eighth or last petition in the précis.

The Government ordered that the memorial above recorded should be despatched to the Resident of Travancore, and that a copy of the following letter to the Government of India should also be forwarded to him. *Extract Minutes of Consultation, dated 13th August 1855.*

This Government represented to the Government of India that "the language of the missionaries was no doubt highly coloured, and that they were often deceived by their catechists ; but that two of the writers of the petition have been expressly indicated by the Resident, as not in the habit of preferring unnecessary complaints, and considering the very grave charges contained in the petition, corroborated in some measure by the continual petitions from natives of the country, it appeared to the Madras Government that investigation of some sort was imperative." *To the Government of India, dated 13th August 1855.*

Copies of some former complaints from the missionaries, and of proceedings thereupon, were enclosed in the letter ; and also copies of the Treaties of 1797 and 1805, and the consideration of the case by the Governor General was requested.

From Secretary to Government of India, with the Governor General at Ootacamund, No. 637, dated 12th October 1855.

Treaty of 1805, Clause 5.

Extract Minutes of Consultation, No. 464, of 21st November 1855, with enclosure, viz.

Letter to his Highness the Rajah Martanda Varma of Travancore.

Reply of his Highness the Rajah to Lord Harris, dated 21st April 1856.

From Resident, 28th April 1856.

* Para. 8.

† Para. 11.

Extract Minutes of Consultation, No. 167, of 7th June 1856.

Letter to Government of India, dated June 7th, 1856, No. 168.

On the 22d October a reply was received from Mr. Secretary Edmonstone, stating the Governor General's view of the case to be, that, although the only occasion upon which direct interference with the internal management of the Travancore State could take place was when the Government saw reason to apprehend a failure of the subsidiary funds, which was not now the case; nevertheless by Clause 9 of the Treaty of 1805, the Rajah was bound to pay at all times the utmost attention to such advice as the English Government might on any occasion judge it necessary to offer him; and that the representations of the missionaries presented such occasion, "and seemed to call for some formal and forcible expression of the sentiments of the British Government on the abuses which appeared to prevail, with suitable advice and warning."

In accordance with these views a letter was written to the Rajah by the Madras Government, and a copy forwarded to the Resident.

The letter began by setting forth in detail the state of things, which a series of correspondence with the Resident, and numberless petitions from the Rajah's subjects, had led the Madras Government to believe prevailed in Travancore; the inefficiency of the police; the venality of the courts; the demoralizing effects of the revenue system pursued; the neglect of public works, and the general misrule; went on by observing that it had been brought to the ears of Lord Dalhousie; and concluded by stating that in accordance with his Lordship's views, and Clause 9 of the Treaty of 1805, it had become the duty of the Government to call the Rajah's attention, in the most serious manner, to the manifold abuses prevailing in his dominions; to urge an enlightened policy, and to warn him that it was to be feared that the contingency against which Article 5 of the Treaty was directed was not far distant, unless averted by timely and judicious reforms; the Rajah was also informed, that in carrying out any such reforms the assistance of the Resident was available.

In his reply to the above letter his Highness the Rajah addressed the Governor of Madras on 21st April. He began by an admission that there were some just grounds of complaint, but urged that there had at the same time been much exaggeration. He urged unforeseen failure in the grain crops as the reason of the undischarged pepper arrears, admitted the expense of religious ceremonies, which custom rendered compulsory; that 5 lakhs of rupees had been advanced from the Pagoda funds to meet what was due to the ryots for their pepper, and to the public establishments; acknowledged the evils of the monopolies; showed the impossibility of their sudden abolition; declared that the ryots had never been paid in tobacco for their pepper;* reported the institution of a revenue survey, and the issuing of orders to the judges of the appeal court and Dewan for the better judicial and revenue management of the country; also the detaching of two of the high officers of the cutcherry to dispose of business, both revenue and police, in the provinces;† stated that the Dewan had been called upon for a full explanation on the points to which his attention was drawn, and that a report of all the Sirkar establishments had been made out, with a view to reductions of expenditure; that the native Christians' complaints had given him much uneasiness; that the missionaries had some cause of complaint; but that the increase in their numbers, and their dispersion all over the country had led to disputes which have tended in some degree to impair the control exercised by his Government over its Hindu subjects; that the Resident was consulted on all occasions; and that lastly he begged to thank the Governor General for his advice.

The above letter was ordered to be forwarded to the Government of India; and the Resident of Travancore was directed to inform the Rajah that such a course had been pursued, and to repeat to him, that it was solely with a view to his own best interests, and to the advancement of the happiness of his people that Government had tendered him their advice.

On

On the 6th September 1855, General Cullen's letter, passing certain remarks on the complaint of the five missionaries, was received by Government. His observations are as follows: From Resident, No. 61, of 30th August 1856.

(1.) That the motive for the complaint was probably the occurrence of some fresh disturbances in Erneel and Thengapatnam. The two gentlemen who have so long abstained from joining Mr. Baylis in his violent exaggerations have probably not concurred in all the assertions now brought forward.

Para. 2.

(2.) That the whole of the gang of Lubbays have been captured by the very man Ráman Mémon, whom Reverend Mr. Baylis slandered so unjustly.

Para. 3.

(3.) A Commission has been appointed to inquire into the allegations of the missionaries generally.

Para. 4.

(4.) The missionaries' conduct in calling for inquiry into the general management of the Sirkar is wholly unwarrantable.

Para. 5. 9.

(5.) That corruption exists is not to be denied; it does exist everywhere.

Para. 8.

(6.) The returns of crime show Travancore to be not worse off than Malabar, and the comparative table of criminal cases show the utter falsity of the wild assertion that persons linger for years in prison without a trial. Much blame is unjustly thrown on the Dewan in regard to the state of the finances of the country. The assessments are light, and have been in force 100 years. The assertion that the Dewan is all-powerful over the Rajah is utterly false; the Rajah can do anything: In Cochin it is different, there the Dewan is paramount.

Para. 9.

(7.) The number of petitions to Government is not great, and are mostly of the most ordinary nature.

Para. 15.

This letter of the Resident was forwarded for the information of Lord Dalhousie, with reference to former correspondence.

In Extract Minutes Consultation of 14th September 1855, No. 387.

And on the 11th March 1857, Government resolved to forward to the Honourable Court some explanations received from the Dewan, on the charge of complicity in many of the foregoing cases. No opinion was passed by Government on the Dewan's letter, but the Resident considered that it thoroughly refuted the imputations on his character. The Dewan is now dead.

To Government of India, No. 388, of 14th September 1855. Extract Minutes Consultation, Political Department, No. 209.

Meanwhile, on the 10th June 1856, or about ten months after the date of the letter to the Government of India, proposing a Commission, and eight months after the proposal was rejected, the Government received from the Honourable the Court of Directors their Despatch in the Political Department, 30th April 1856, No. 3, in paragraphs 33 to 36 of which they direct that a Commission should be appointed to investigate the condition of the Travancore State. The following letter was thereon addressed to the Government of India:—

“ POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.—No. 251.

“ To the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department.

“ Sir,

“ I AM directed by the Right honourable the Governor in Council to address the Government of India in reference to the observations and orders of the Honourable the Court of Directors on the subject of the Travancore State, as contained in paragraphs 24, 25, 26, and 33, 34, 35, 36, of their Despatch to this Government, in the Political Department, No. 3, of 1856, 30th April last.

“ 2. In these paragraphs the Honourable Court, having in a preceding part of their Despatch remarked on the numerous petitions presented from Travancore, and the allegations of grave acts of cruelty and oppression made in them, go on to say, ‘ The impression left on our minds by the perusal of the various documents respecting Travancore,

now forwarded to us, is by no means favourable to the manner in which the affairs of that Government are conducted.'

" 3. After observing that, from the comments made on these petitions by the Resident, it was sufficiently shown that the statements advanced in them were not without some foundation, and that these charges had not been fully met by General Cullen; the Court state: 'We are anxious therefore, that the mode of conducting the government of Travancore, and the evils imputed to the present administration of that country, should receive your serious consideration, and be the subject of an early report to us.'

" 4. Subsequently, in paragraphs 33 to 36 of their Despatch, the Honourable Court, having intermediately received further communications from this Government, advert to the strong representations made by the missionaries, and their offer to prove them before a Commission. They notice the application made by this Government to the late Governor General, his reply, and the letter which was in consequence addressed by the Right honourable the President to the Rajah of Travancore. They then proceed: 'The first step which ought to be taken for this purpose (*i. e.* the improvement of the system of government in Travancore) is an impartial investigation, and Lieutenant General Cullen has already reported that the Rajah has appointed a Commission (consisting of Captain Daly, of the Nair Brigade, Mr. Thomas White, a 'gentleman of intelligence and experience,' and 'an intelligent native officer,') to inquire into the allegations of the Rev. Mr. Baylis, respecting a particular district. But a much more comprehensive investigation than this is absolutely necessary, and though the officers to whom it is entrusted must hold their commission from the Rajah, they should be recommended to him by your Government, and should carry on their inquiries independently of the Resident. Lieutenant General Cullen must be sensible that he is himself one of the parties under accusation; that he is alleged to be prejudiced in favour of the Dewan, who was introduced into Travancore by himself, and is indebted to him for his high appointment; and that no inquiry in which either the Dewan's instrumentality or his own is employed, could be considered a fair one, or would effectually clear the official character of either from even unmerited imputation.'

" 5. The representations which have led to the above orders from the Honourable Court are, I am instructed to state, the same as those which in August last year, were laid before the Most Noble the late Governor General, then on the Neilgherries, with my letter of the 13th idem, No. 334. In reply to that communication, his Lordship intimated his opinion, that 'although a certain right of interference in Travancore is given (by treaty) to the Governor General in Council, it can be exercised only when the Governor General sees reason to apprehend a failure of the funds which the Rajah is bound to contribute annually to the British Treasury, and that as there was no reason to apprehend such a contingency, the Governor General in Council had no right whatever to interfere in the affairs of Travancore by Commission of Inquiry or otherwise.'

" 6. Copies of the treaties between the British Government and the Travancore State of 1795, 1797 and 1805 are enclosed.

" 7. It may be proper to remark, in reference to the ninth article of the treaty, that practically, the intercourse between the Madras Government and the Travancore State, has not been confined to the occasional tender of advice under that article. The nomination by the Rajah of his Dewan or chief minister, is reported for the sanction of Government. The Resident also exercises a general supervision over the proceedings of the Travancore Courts, both on the civil and criminal side, and in the latter all sentences of the Appeal Courts involving heavier punishment than 14 years imprisonment, are submitted for his consideration. Complaint from the subjects of the Travancore Circar are received by this Government and referred by them for the report of the Resident. Annual reports of the revenue and expenditure of the state are submitted to Government, and, especially of late years, these reports and their

Note.—See Report on Travancore, furnished by Lieut. Gen. Cullen, and included in the Appendix to the Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency for 1855-56, recently forwarded to the Supreme Government.

their accounts have been closely scrutinised, and strong remarks made on the subject of the expenditure, even to the extent of prescribing the maximum sum, which, however, has never been observed, to be spent in outperas or ceremonies.

" 8. The Commission alluded to by the Honourable Court, though the members of it would be *pro forma* nominated by the Rajah, would in fact be appointed by this Government, by whom the Commissioners would be selected. To be effective it must exercise a minute and searching scrutiny into the entire system of the administration of the Travancore Government in all its branches—into the present condition of the country, and into the past proceedings of the Dewan and Resident. Looking to the decided opinion expressed by the late Governor General in respect to the appointment of such Commission, the Madras Government have deemed it proper, before taking any measures in consequence of the Despatch of the Honourable Court, to bring the subject fully before the Supreme Government, and to solicit the instructions of that authority for their guidance.

" I have, &c.
(signed) " T. Pycroft,
" Chief Secretary."

" Fort St. George,
15 August 1856."

No answer was received to this, and, on the 23d February 1857, attention was solicited to it, in consequence of the receipt of a further Despatch* from England, remarking that no reply had been received from this Government to the Honourable Court's previous Despatch, No. 3 of 1856, paragraphs 33 to 36.

* Extract Political Letter from Honourable Court, dated 2d January, No. 1, of 1857, paras. 9 and 10.

This second reference was also unnoticed, upon which, on the 13th May 1857, No. 376, the Supreme Government was informed that " the attention of the Governor in Council has been again called to the state of affairs in Travancore, by the receipt of another petition (No. 597 of 1857) from certain native Christian inhabitants, complaining of acts of injustice on the part of the local authorities, and of their inability to obtain redress." " The subject of a formal inquiry into the numerous allegations of cruelty and oppression brought from various quarters against the Dewan, has again been alluded to in the Despatches of the Honourable Court to this Government, No. 3 of 1857, in the Political Department, paragraph 15."

Fourthly and lastly, a reference was made on the 6th February 1858, No. 98, in which it was explained to the Supreme Government, that " the object of this Government in making these applications was simply to obtain an answer to the legal point, as to whether, under the treaties, on the ground of holding paramount power, this Government can appoint a Commission, which the Honourable Court appear to think can be done on the latter ground, but which, in consideration of the different opinion given by the late Governor General, has been referred to the Government of India."

" Should this point," the letter went on to say, " be settled in favour of this Government having such power, it will then be for them to decide whether there be grounds sufficient for appointing the Commission."

In conclusion, it was stated that the Governor in Council was very " reluctant again to trouble the Government of India upon this subject, but he continues to receive from Travancore complaints of oppression and maladministration, which have induced him once more to bring the matter under consideration."

In their Despatch, Political Department, No. 4 of 1858, 3d March, received 5th April, paragraphs 23 and 24, the Honourable Court say,

" You have again addressed the Government of India on the subject of the proposed appointment of a Commission to inquire into the alleged maladministration of the Travancore State. In the meantime, the papers you have transmitted to us, respecting the circumstances of the death of the late Tannah Naick, of Paroor, tend to confirm the statement as to the discreditable condition of the Travancore police."

"The explanation forwarded by Lieutenant General Cullen on the cases of torture, resting mainly on the assertions of the person chiefly criminated, the Dewan, cannot be regarded as satisfactory, and we wait for the opinion of the Government of India, on the proposal for further inquiry."

It should be added in conclusion, as observed in the last paragraph of Extract Minutes Consultation, No. 622, dated 20th September 1858, that since the death of Krishna Row, "and the appointment of Madava Row, petitions from Travancore have much abated both in number and tone, affording good grounds to hope that the administration is by his exertions being placed on an improved footing."

No. 15.—ORDER thereon, No. 161, dated 12th March 1859.

THE Resident of Travancore submits a report from the Dewan Madava Row on the origin, progress, and suppression of the recent disturbances in South Travancore.

2. The Report appears to Government to be a temperate and a fair statement, and they hope that no further disturbance or breach of the peace need now be apprehended.

3. In the closing paragraph of his report, the Dewan states, that it may be desirable to take an early opportunity to consider what modifications should be made in the proclamation of 1004, so as to suit the requirements of altered times and circumstances, and satisfy all parties, as far as it may be possible to do so.

4. Such a proceeding is undoubtedly most desirable. With respect, however,

"The Christian Shanars appear to have taken the lead, though they had less cause for complaint, the proclamation in question permitting their women to use jackets."

to this proclamation it may be observed, that the Dewan speaks as though, under it, the use of the coopyun or jacket was confined to the Christian Shanars only, whereas that proclamation expressly refers, as "the only regulation in force in the matter," to the order of Colonel Munro, 7 Yadavone, year 989 (May 1814), which explicitly states that the wearing of jackets, such as were in use by the women of Christian converts, was not prohibited to the women of Palaores, Shanars and others of that description. If then the women of the Hindoo Shanars have of late been prevented from wearing jackets, they have not even been allowed the full benefit of the proclamation itself.

5. The Government will hope to learn, at an early date, what arrangement has been made by the Dewan. The principle on which it should proceed has already been laid down by Government in the last paragraph of Extract Minutes of Consultation, 27th January 1859. General Cullen will inform Government what communication he has held with his Highness the Rajah in furtherance of the instructions then conveyed to him. The degree of interference which for many years past has been exercised by the representative of the British Government in the affairs of Travancore, is so large, and his intervention so general, that the credit or discredit of the administration greatly rests with the British Government, and it has thereby become their duty to insist upon the observance of a system of toleration, in a more decided manner than they would be at liberty to adopt, if they had merely to bring their influence to bear on an independent State.

6. Resolved, That the memorandum referred to by the Right Honourable the President in the concluding paragraph of his minute be brought on record.

(signed) T. Pycroft,
Chief Secretary.

FORT SAINT GEORGE, Political Consultation, 28 March 1859.

No. 1.—From R. Simson, Esq., Under Secretary, to the Government of India, to the Chief Secretary to Government of Fort St. George, dated Fort William, 9 March 1859, No. 963.

Sir,

I AM directed by his Excellency the Governor General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, dated the 6th February 1858, No. 98, and of your previous Despatches noted on the margin, relating to the affairs of Travancore.

Foreign Department.

No. 251, dated 15 August 1856.
No. 158, dated 23 February 1857.
No. 376, dated 13 May 1857.

2. In

2. In your letter, dated the 15th August 1856, the Madras Government urge the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the state of Travancore, to conduct a minute and searching scrutiny into the entire system of the administration in all its branches, into the present condition of the country, and into the past proceedings of the Dewan and Resident.

3. But in the letter to your address, dated the 12th October 1855, No. 637, the Government of India declared its opinion that, under the treaties with Travancore, the Governor General in Council has no right to interfere in the affairs of Travancore, by Commission of Inquiry or otherwise, unless there be reason to apprehend failure in the funds destined to defray the expenses of the permanent military force. It has not been shown that any such apprehension is entertained.

4. By the 9th paragraph of the treaty, however, the Rajah is bound at all times to pay the utmost attention to such advice as he shall receive from the Resident, with a view to the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, or any other subjects connected with the advancement of the interests and happiness of the people and the mutual welfare of both States. The Despatch of the Court of Directors, dated 30th April 1856, paragraph 25, says: "Whether the petitions which reached you were genuine or not, the Resident in his comment on them, says enough to show that the statements they contain are not without some foundation; and considering how serious were the imputations they cast upon the conduct of the chief officer of the state, and on the character of the Resident, as tacitly sanctioning the irregularities complained of, Lieutenant General Cullen was bound to furnish you either with a complete refutation of the allegations, if such could have been afforded, or with a report of the measures he had taken for correcting of the abuse." And in the 35th paragraph, the Court declare that a comprehensive investigation is absolutely necessary, and that the Commission should carry on their inquiries independently of the Resident, who is himself one of the parties under accusation.

5. Holding then to the opinion already expressed by the Government of India in the letter to your address, dated the 12th October 1855, No. 637, it does not appear to his Excellency the Governor General in Council desirable to make investigation by means of a Commission; but the events now passing in Travancore, considered with the state of things described in the papers from which passages have been quoted, show that investigation should not be delayed.

6. I am accordingly directed to state, that although, as at present informed, the Government of India is not prepared to resort to a Commission, the Government of Madras is at liberty to suspend the Resident, and to appoint another person to officiate in his room. The officiating Resident should be directed to report on the state of the country as soon as he can do so confidently. If this state be such as has been described, he should further report how far Lieutenant General Cullen is answerable for it; how far the Durbar has departed from the provision of the treaty under which they were bound to follow the Resident's advice; and what measures he would propose with a view to the restoration of order.

7. His Excellency the Governor General in Council desires me also to remind the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, how necessary it is that the person appointed to officiate as Resident should be a person of tried and known sound judgment, and one who may be expected to obtain the confidence of all parties.

No. 2.—To the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, dated Fort St. George, the 23d March 1859, No. 183.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right Honourable the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Under Secretary Simson's letter of the 9th instant, No. 963, on the subject of the references of dates as per margin,* which have been made by this Government to the Government of India, relative to the appointment of a Commission for investigating the condition of the Travancore State, which was ordered by the Honourable the Court of Directors in their Despatch of 30th April 1856, No. 3.

2. The Government of India, holding to the opinion expressed by the late Governor General, under date 12th October 1855, do not deem it desirable to make the proposed investigation by means of a Commission; but they consider

that the events now passing in Travancore, combined with the state of things described in the papers forwarded by this Government, show that investigation should not be delayed.

3. It is accordingly stated, that although, as at present informed, the Government of India is not prepared to resort to a Commission, the Government of Madras is at liberty to suspend the Resident, and to appoint another person to officiate in his room. The officiating Resident should be directed to report on the state of the country as soon as he can do so confidently. If this state be such as has been described, he should further report how far Lieutenant General Cullen is answerable for it; how far the Durbar has departed from the provision of the treaty under which they were bound to follow the Resident's advice; and what measures he would propose with a view to the restoration of order.

4. In reply to this I am instructed to state, that as the political relations between the Travancore and Cochin States and the British Government are under the immediate charge of the Government of Madras, by which the Resident is also appointed, the Right Honourable the Governor in Council never doubted his competency to suspend that officer, or even to remove him altogether, and he would not have hesitated to adopt either of those measures on good grounds shown; but he has not yet been in a position to determine whether adequate reasons for so strong a measure did exist, and to clear up this doubt would, it is submitted, have been one of the main objects for the appointment of a Commission, as originally proposed by this Government, and subsequently ordered by the Honourable Court. It has been clear that there were quite sufficient grounds for inquiry, but not sufficient so far to prejudge the case as to suspend the Resident.

5. It is further to be noted, that subsequent to the receipt of the Honourable Court's orders of 30th April 1856, and of the applications from this Government to that of India of 15th August 1856, 23d February and 13th May 1857, the Dewan Kristna Row, to whose maladministration the evils which afflicted the

Died 26th November 1857.

Appointed Acting Dewan as reported by the Resident, 25th January 1858.

Confirmed November 22d, 1858.

Travancore State were mainly ascribed, has died. His successor Madava Row has received a liberal English education, is able and intelligent, and the complaints to Government of oppression and mis-

rule in Travancore, have greatly decreased since his assumption of office.

6. The late disturbances in Travancore do not appear to this Government attributable either to the Resident or the Dewan. They are rather referable to causes connected with the recent changes in the Home Government of India, and the steps taken for inaugurating it, which have not been without similar effects in other parts of the Madras Presidency.

From Resident, Travancore and Cochin, 13th and 18th January 1859, Nos. 4 and 7.

Ext. Mins. Cons., 27 January 1859, No. 75.

From Resident, Travancore and Cochin, 26th January 1859, No. 10.

Order thereon, 7th February 1859, No. 93.

From Resident, Travancore and Cochin, 16th February 1859, No. 19.

Minute by Right Honourable the President, 28th February 1859, No. 177.

Minute by Honourable W. Elliot, 3d March 1859, No. 178.

Minute by Honourable W. A. Morehead, 4th March 1859, No. 179.

Memo. on petitions presented to Government from Travancore, and of correspondence connected with them.

Ext. Mins. Cons., 12th March 1859, No. 161.

7. There is, however, reason to hope, that the excitement in Travancore is subsiding. With a view to possess the Government of India of the nature and origin of that agitation, as well as of the line of policy which this Government have seen fit to adopt regarding it, I am desired to forward copies of the papers, as per margin; and I have to add that this Government would, under any circumstances, defer taking any steps in consequence of Mr. Simson's letter, until they have before them the information called for in paragraph 5 of extract Minutes of Consultation of

the 12th instant; viz., as to the endeavours made by the Resident to impress upon his Highness the Rajah, the views of Government respecting the principles by which such disputes as those between the Shanars and Nairs of Travancore should be settled.

(signed) T. Pycroft,
Chief Secretary.

PETITION to his Highness the Rajah of Travancore, from Missionaries of the London Missionary Society.

To Lieutenant General *W. Cullen*, Resident of Travancore.

Sir,

We have the honour to forward to you a petition intended for his Highness the Rajah, which we trust you will do us the favour to present to his Highness with as little delay as possible. We have further to request that you will kindly accompany the petition with your own recommendation in favour of the objects which it seeks to accomplish.

We have, &c..

(signed) *James Russell.*
John Abbs.
John Cox.
Ebenezer Lewis.
Frederic Baylis.
John Joll Dennis.

7 February 1859.

THE respectful PETITION of the Missionaries of the London Missionary Society, stationed in South Travancore, to his Highness the Rajah of Travancore.

May it please your Highness,

1. WE, the undersigned missionaries of the London Missionary Society stationed in South Travancore, take the liberty of addressing your Highness on the present disturbed state of the districts in which we severally reside, and beg to inform your Highness,—

2. That, for the last few weeks the Christian converts under our care have been subject to much molestation, chiefly from men of the Soodra caste; that many of them, women as well as men, have been beaten, their clothes torn off, and other indignities shown to them; that our catechists and schoolmasters especially have been ill treated, being still seized, bound, beaten and imprisoned, their houses plundered and burnt, and their families obliged to leave their homes and seek protection where they can; that many of our congregation are now unable to meet on Sabbath days, according to the usages of our holy religion, and worship God in our usual manner, as some of their spiritual teachers are in prison, others concealing themselves from their pursuers, and others have left the country, and that some of our schools also are broken up for similar reasons.

3. That the Soodras, in their lawless proceedings as above mentioned, are not only encouraged and abetted by some of the lower grades of Government officials, as we can prove by facts, but that these officials themselves are the chief instigators and perpetrators of the above-mentioned wrongs and indignities; that they plead authority from your Highness for what they are thus doing, and either misunderstand or wilfully misrepresent the proclamation of Her Majesty the Queen, as though for the future all protection were withdrawn from European missionaries and their converts, and such missionaries prohibited from carrying on their work; and that they openly avow that their object in all this is to destroy the Christian cause in Travancore, and restore society to that state in which it existed previous to the year 1809.

4. That we, the missionaries, are also the objects of intense hatred to the Government officials above-mentioned; that we cannot venture, during the present commotions, to visit our congregations and schools in some parts of our respective districts; that our lives are menaced and our dwellings threatened to be destroyed by fire; that our families, in consequence, are kept in a constant state of alarm, and that not only as missionaries, but as Europeans also, we are openly reviled and held up to contempt by the Government officials aforesaid at the police stations; and other Sircar offices.

5. That we beg to remind your Highness that such a state of disorder, violence and suffering has not existed during any previous period of your Highness's reign; that the present violent opposition made to Christianity and its professors is in direct contrariety to the religious liberty conceded to all classes of your Highness's subjects by previous proclamations; that the Christian part of the community have not been known at any time to use violence to any Hindoo sects as such, or interrupt them in the performance of their religious rites, but that on the contrary they have always been among the most orderly and best behaved of your High-

ness's subjects, and are yearly becoming more intelligent, industrious and prosperous, and therefore contributing more than any other class to the prosperity of your Highness's country.

6. That as far as we are able to ascertain, the origin of the present disturbance is to be traced to the dissatisfaction of the landed proprietors at the emancipation of their slaves announced by proclamation in the year 1855; that finding it impracticable to procure from the Government a repeal of that proclamation, their disappointment now demands some compensation for the loss of dignity connected with their social status which they imagine has been caused by the aforesaid proclamation; that the most practical method, and one conformable with the laws of Travancore, of repairing that loss which has suggested itself to their minds, is to restore in all their entirety social superiority and ancient domination over the "lower orders;" that, as this superiority is most patent in the style of dress to be adopted, the "higher orders," including the above-mentioned Sircar officials who all belong to those orders, have taken the law into their own hands, and are now compelling all classes below them to adopt the style of dress prescribed to them by the ancient laws of the country, which consists, as your Highness is aware, of a single cloth of coarse texture, to be worn alike by males and females no lower than the knee and no higher than the waist.

7. That the style of dress just mentioned being incompatible with the modesty and decorum which the Christian religion inculcates and promotes, a former Resident of Travancore procured from the Government to all Christian women below the Soodra caste the liberty of wearing a jacket; that many Christian women have of late years (not from any opposition to the Government, but simply from the love of appearing decent in public) been in the habit of wearing also the upper cloth, some of whom are expert workers of "pillow lace," specimens of which, worked with silver and gold thread, your Highness was pleased to order for the "Great Exhibition" of 1851, and which procured for the makers a bronze medal; that the assumption of an upper cloth even by such women, all of whom have received a good education in our schools, and deserving as they would be deemed by all enlightened nations to wear it, has not been at any time encouraged by us, on account of its being known as contrary to the laws of the country, and that even now, at all our mission stations when advice is given on the subject, it is to the effect that it be discontinued; that the charge therefore preferred against us of aiding and abetting the converts in their opposition to the Government on this point is founded either on misapprehension or ill will.

8. That the statement, now so often repeated, that "the Christian women have taught the heathen women to wear the upper cloth," will appear to your Highness to be incorrect, inasmuch as there are many rich heathen Shanar families who have from times previous to the introduction of Protestant Christianity to this country been in the habit of wearing it, inasmuch also as hundreds of heathen families of the Shanar class, who annually spend half the year in Tinnevely, where they are allowed without molestation to wear it, return for the remainder of the year to the eastern and southern parts of Travancore, where they continue the same style of dress; that other women of the same class living in the numerous and scattered villages where these reside, have gradually followed their example, till at length it has become the rule and not the exception in those parts to wear it; and that therefore the custom of assuming the upper cloth by the heathen women of the Shanar class finds its origin among themselves, and not among the Christian converts of the same class.

9. That in reference to the present disturbance, we are of opinion that the Dewan is most anxious to suppress it, but that he is greatly thwarted by the lower grades of Government officials, whom it seems he has not the power to dismiss at will; that whatever may be the extent of power in this respect with which the Dewan may be entrusted by your Highness for the conduct of public affairs in times of peace, we are of opinion that a temporary extension of his present powers is highly advisable for the speedy and effectual suppression of the present disturbance.

10. That we have therefore to entreat that your Highness will be pleased to grant the Dewan, with as little delay as possible, that increase of power which the present emergency calls for; that your Highness will further be pleased to signify, in a way to be understood by all, your disapproval of the manner in which the native Christian portion of your subjects are at present oppressed, plundered, and imprisoned without just cause, by another portion of your subjects, including especially

especially Athigaries and their subordinates; that your Highness will especially visit with your displeasure every attempt made to keep our chapels closed, and to disturb the public worship of the Christians by peons apprehending them and their teachers during the hours of worship on Sabbath days; and finally, that your Highness will cause a due and strict observance by all the Government officials of the police regulations with regard to the arrest and subsequent treatment of those who are charged with offences against the law, and this, we beg to assure your Highness, will call forth still more abundantly the prayers of your Christian subjects on behalf of your Highness, to our Almighty Saviour, the "King of kings, and Lord of lords."

We have, &c.
(signed) *James Russell.*
John Abbs.
John Cor.
Ebenezer Lewes.
Frederic Baylis.
John Joll Dennis.

P. S. March 12. No reply has been vouchsafed to the above, nor have any of the grievances complained of been redressed.

FORT SAINT GEORGE, Political Consultation, 22d March 1859.

No. 19. To the Resident of Travancore and Cochin; dated Fort Saint George, 17th March 1859, No. 178.

Sir,

THE Right Honourable the Governor in Council observes from the "Madras Daily Times" of this date, that a petition addressed to his Highness the Rajah of Travancore by the missionaries of the London Missionary Society stationed in South Travancore, was forwarded to you under date the 7th ultimo, for the purpose of being presented to the Rajah with as little delay as possible, with a request that you would accompany it with your own recommendation in favour of the objects which it seeks to accomplish. It appears from a postscript, dated the 12th instant, that no reply has been vouchsafed to this petition, nor have any of the grievances complained of been redressed.

2. I am accordingly directed to inquire,—1st. Whether such a petition has been received by you?—2d. If so, whether it has been presented by you to the Rajah?—3d. If it has been, what action it has been proposed to take on it?—4th. If the petition has been received and not presented, why not?—5th. If received and presented, but no action proposed, why?—6th. Whether the receipt of the petition has been acknowledged to the missionaries; if not, why not?

3. The Government desire that you will forward by express an immediate answer to the several inquiries above specified.

(signed) *T. Pycroft,*
Chief Secretary.

FORT SAINT GEORGE, Political Consultation, 28 March 1859.

No. 32. From Lieutenant General *W. Cullen*, Resident of Travancore and Cochin, to *T. Pycroft*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Fort Saint George; dated 23rd March 1859, No. 31.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt, yesterday forenoon, of your letter, No. 178 of the 17th instant.

2. In reply I beg to state that the petition in question was duly transmitted to his Highness the Rajah on the 14th ultimo, and I beg to annex a copy of my letter which accompanied it.

3. I left Trevandrum on the 3d instant on route for this place in consequence of the absence on leave of Major Drury.

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4. At the date of my quitting Trevandrum, the 3d instant, I had not received a reply from the Rajah; but I believe his Highness had to make some references to the Dewan for information on the points complained of in the petition.

5. The latter part of the postscript to the petition in the "*Madras Times*," dated 12th March, "nor have any of the grievances complained of been redressed," I believe to convey an unjust and erroneous impression. All the reports I had received previous to my leaving Trevandrum from the Dewan, as well as from the deputy Peshkar and other parties in the South of Travancore, were that order had been restored; and the Reverend Mr. Cox, who waited on me about the middle of February, assured me that perfect quiet had been restored in his district and that he had then recently visited it without experiencing any molestation.

6. I availed myself of the opportunity to mention to that gentleman that I had duly transmitted their petition to the Rajah.

7. There may perhaps be some complaints still under investigation, and the criminal trials have not yet been completed; but I believe the Dewan, and his officers in the south, to be anxiously engaged in their endeavours to remove all grounds of complaint, but it may require some time to perfect.

8. The remark of the missionaries that the Dewan has not the power "to dismiss at will the lower grades of Government officials" is altogether incorrect. It was a power which I specially procured for him on his appointment, and, in his report of the 12th of February, now before the Government, he states that "some minor Sirkar officials who appeared to have acted improperly were suspended from employment." Suspension is tantamount to dismissal, but there is no Sirkar servant from the Tahsildar downwards whose dismissal the Rajah would not at once have assented to had the Dewan recommended any such measure.

9. It was a matter too on which I was myself in communication with the Dewan while he was himself to the south.

10. The petition of the missionaries, it will be observed, is dated 7th February, and probably had been in preparation some days previously, and before the disturbances had entirely been put down, as reported in the Dewan's letter about a week subsequently.

From Lieutenant General *W. Cullen*, Resident of Travancore and Cochin, to his Highness the Rajah; dated Trevandrum, 14th February 1859.

Highness,

I beg to send to your Highness a petition from the Missionaries of the London Mission Society in South Travancore. It is on the subject of the late disturbances in the south between the Sudras and Shanars, and in which some of the mission converts seem to have got a little implicated; but what the missionaries chiefly complain of is, that in the present disturbed state of feeling they are prevented themselves, as are also their catechists and readers, from pursuing their religious avocations. I think there are some little exaggerations as well as inaccuracies, but there is no doubt, I believe, that their labours have been seriously impeded. They remark on the Dewan not having sufficiently independent powers to allay the disturbances effectually, but in that I imagine them to be mistaken.

No. 33. ORDER thereon, No. 201; dated 28th March 1859.

RESOLVED, That the above letter be communicated to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India and to the Supreme Government, in continuation of the previous papers on the subject.

(signed) *T. Pycroft*,
Chief Secretary.

MINUTE by the Honourable the President, dated 7 May 1859.

I BEG leave to submit to my colleagues a copy of the letter which I intimated to them my intention of writing to General Cullen, the Resident at Travancore :—

Dear Sir,

Madras, 6 May 1859.

Having now perused the whole of the correspondence relating to Travancore, I am able to write to you with confidence.

The recent proceedings in reference to certain females of the Shanar class which have attracted so much attention, both in England and India, require no comment from me. I have seldom met with a case in which not only truth and justice but every feeling of our common humanity are so entirely on one side. The whole civilised world would cry shame upon us if we did not make a firm stand on such an occasion. If anything could make this line of conduct more incumbent on us, it would be the extraordinary fact that persecution of a singularly personal and indelicate kind is attempted to be justified by a Royal proclamation, the special object of which was to assure to Her Majesty's Indian subjects liberty of thought and action, so long as they did not interfere with the just rights of others. I should fail in respect to Her Majesty if I attempted to describe the feelings with which she must regard the use made against Her own sex of the promises of protection so graciously accorded by Her.

I, however, observe with pleasure, that in his letter to you, dated the 12th of February last, Madava Rao, Dewan of Travancore, wrote to you as follows :— "The authority of the Sirkar having been vindicated, it may be desirable to take an early opportunity to consider what modifications should be made in the proclamation of 1,004, so as to suit the requirements of altered times and circumstances, and satisfy parties as far as it may be possible to do so," from which I infer that his Highness the Maha Raja is sensible that the conduct of a portion of his subjects towards the Shanar women belongs to an age of barbarism utterly unsuited to the present advanced stage of civilisation in this country.

By the order of this Government, dated the 27th of January last, you were instructed to be careful to give no countenance to the idea that the British Government, of which you are the "representative, recognises any exclusive distinctions, or the right of any set of men to prevent others from following, in all matters of social or domestic life, such course as they may see fit, provided it be not repugnant to public decency and morals. It will be your duty to impress these views on his Highness the Rajah, and to point out to him that such prohibitions as those contained in the circular order of May 1814, or in the proclamation of the 3d February 1820, are unsuited to the present age, and unworthy of an enlightened prince, and that he is not to look for the support of the British Government in any attempts to maintain them, as respects any class of his subjects."

And by the further order of this Government, of the 12th March last, you were informed that "the Government will hope to learn at an early date what arrangement has been made by the Dewan. The principle on which it should proceed has already been laid down by Government in the last paragraph of Extract Minutes of Consultation, 27th January 1859. General Cullen will inform Government what communication he has held with his Highness the Rajah in furtherance of the instructions then conveyed to him. The degree of interference which for many years past has been exercised by the representative of the British Government, in the affairs of Travancore, is so large, and his intervention so general, that the credit or discredit of the administration greatly rests with the British Government, and it has thereby become their duty to insist upon the observance of a system of toleration in a more decided manner than they would be at liberty to adopt if they had merely to bring their influence to bear on an independent State."

Since that time numerous petitions have been presented to Government by the inhabitants of Travancore, complaining of the ill-usage and indignities to which the Shanar women are exposed, all of which have been referred to you for an early report of what you have done in these cases with reference to the orders of this Government of the 27th January 1859.

It is my earnest desire to support the just authority of the Maha Raja in his ancient dominions, and I know what is due to yourself as an old and

deserving officer of this Government; but the case now before me is one in which the claims of public duty are of the most imperative kind, and I must therefore desire that you will without further delay yield obedience to the repeated orders which have been conveyed to you, and report in detail what you have done in consequence of the resolutions of this Government communicated to you on the 27th January and on the 14th of March last, and what the Maha Raja has done in consequence.

To Lieutenant General Cullen,
Resident of Travancore and Cochin.

I remain, &c.
(signed) *C. E. Trevelyan.*

As this subject has already, as might have been expected, begun to excite warm interest in England, I suggest that a copy of this letter should be sent to Lord Stanley as an earnest of the continued resolve of this Government to deal effectually with the subject.

(signed) *C. E. Trevelyan.*

(True copy.)
(signed) *T. Pycroft, Chief Secretary.*

PROCEEDINGS of the Madras Government, Political Department, from 18th
to 27th May 1859.

No. 21. READ the following letter from Lieutenant General W. Cullen, Resident at Travancore and Cochin, to T. Pycroft, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George; dated Trevandrum, 12th May 1859, No. 44:—

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Extract from Minutes of Consultation, No. 75, of the 27th January last, and of Extract from Minutes of Consultation, No. 161, of 12th March, also of a number of petitions from Shanars of South Travancore, referred to me for report with reference to the above orders of Government.

2. I lost no time in communicating the above orders to the Dewan, who was at the time in the disturbed districts; and I also communicated the Minutes of Consultation of 27th January, to his Highness the Rajah, immediately after his Highness' return from his visit to Quilon in the month of February.

3. All disturbances in the South had ceased before the middle of February, but my absence from Trevandrum from the beginning of March until the 21st of last month, and the Rajah's and Dewan's occupation with the marriage ceremonies of the young Ranee, have subsequently prevented his Highness the Rajah, as well as the Dewan, from giving their full attention to the subject; but the Dewan is now engaged in drawing up a report, and which I am in daily expectation of receiving.

4. There is no difficulty or objection, I believe, on the part of his Highness the Rajah or the Travancore Government to allow the Shanar women to wear the coopayom of the Christians or the molacatchay of the Mookwas, but there would be a strong disinclination, I believe, to conceding to them the particular form of dress in use by the Soodra women.

5. The several parties, whether Soodras or Shanars, implicated in the late disturbances, are now under trial at Nagercoil, by a special commission from Trevandrum recently appointed to the duty because of the dilatory proceedings of the local courts. Some of the individuals who signed the petitions and were in prison have since been liberated on bail.

No. 22. ORDER thereon, 21st May 1859, No. 316.

To be recorded.

(signed) *T. Pycroft,*
Chief Secretary.

PROCEEDINGS of the Madras Government, Political Department,
from 1 to 10 June 1859.

No. 14. READ the following letter from Lieutenant General W. Cullen, Resident of Travancore and Cochin, to Thomas Pycroft, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Fort Saint George; dated Trevandrum, 21st May 1859, No. 46:—

Adverting to my letter, No. 44, of 12th instant, I have now the honour to transmit copy of the report of the Dewan of Travancore, on the order proposed to be issued on the subject of dress for the females of the Shanar caste in the south of Travancore, and which I trust may be considered by the Honourable the Governor in Council as satisfactory. No. 895, of 17th instant.

2. I have replied to the Dewan, that I see no objection to the immediate issue of a corresponding proclamation.

From T. Madava Row, Dewan of the Durbar, to Lieutenant General W. Cullen, British Resident of Travancore; dated Trevandrum, 17th May 1859, No. 895:—

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters, Nos. 460 and 622 respectively, dated the 2d and 23d March last, together with extracts from the Minutes of Consultation of the Madras Government.

2. As requested, I have laid the correspondence before his Highness the Rajah.

3. The whole subject has had careful consideration.

4. His Highness certainly feels that the provisions of the proclamation of 1004, M. E. on the subject of the dress of the inferior castes require to be greatly modified.

5. His Highness now proposes to abolish all rules prohibiting the covering of the upper parts of the persons of Shanar women, and to grant them perfect liberty to meet the requirements of decency any way they may deem proper, with the simple restriction that they do not imitate the same mode of dress that appertains to the higher castes.

6. His Highness desires to observe, that anxious as he is to meet the wishes of the Government to the utmost of his power, and to give free scope for the improvement of the moral and social condition of his subjects of all classes, his Highness would not have made even this small reservation, were it not for the fear that the sudden and total abolition of all distinctions of dress, which have from time immemorial distinguished one caste from another, may produce most undesirable impressions on the minds of the larger portion of his subjects, and cause their serious discontent; still I am to observe that, by the present concession, the demands of decency have been fully answered without needlessly offending the feelings peculiar to the other castes.

7. It is, of course, needless to remind you of those many circumstances which would make the introduction of decisive reforms, especially in matters of caste and religion, much more difficult in Travancore than in Her Majesty's territories.

8. While, therefore, the progress of education among the people in general may be expected to pave the way for much greater changes, his Highness hopes that the arrangement now proposed, the only one which seems calculated to answer the object in view, without the probability of disturbing the peace of the country, would meet with your approval and that of the Madras Government.

9. A corresponding proclamation will be issued by his Highness on hearing from you.

No. 15. MINUTE by the Honourable the President; dated 30th May 1859.

THIS concession must, I think, be accepted as a practical earnest on the part of the Raja of a desire to put an end to the barbarous and indecent restriction previously existing upon the dress of the Shanar women, but we cannot pronounce a final opinion until we see the working of the new regulation.

(signed) *C. E. Trevelyan.*

No. 16. ORDER thereon, 6th June 1859, No. 347.

THE Resident of Travancore submits the copy of a report from the Dewan, containing the proposals of his Highness the Rajah, on the subject of the dress of females of the Shanar caste.

2. His Highness feels that the provisions of the proclamation of 1004, relative to the dress of the inferior castes, require to be greatly modified.

3. His Highness proposes to abolish all rules prohibiting the covering of the upper parts of the persons of Shanar women, and to grant them perfect liberty to meet the requirements of decency in any way they may deem proper, with the simple restriction, that they do not imitate the same mode of dress that appertains to the higher castes.

4. His Highness would not have made even this reservation, were it not for the fear that the sudden and total abolition of all distinctions of dress, which have from time immemorial distinguished one caste from another, might produce most undesirable impressions on the minds of the larger portion of his subjects, and cause their serious discontent.

5. A proclamation to the effect above stated will be issued immediately.

6. The Government are prepared to accept this concession as a practical earnest on the part of the Rajah, of his desire to put an end to the barbarous and indecent restrictions previously existing on the dress of the Shanar women.

(signed) *T. Pycroft,*
Chief Secretary.

(True copies.)

(signed) *T. W. Kaye.*

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RESPECTING THE

EXCAVATIONS

AT

BUDRUM AND CNIDUS.

(In continuation of Papers presented to Parliament,
March 26, 1858.)

*Presented to the House of Commons by Command of Her Majesty, in pursuance of
their Address dated August 2, 1859.*

LONDON:
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RETURN to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated August 2, 1859;
for—

“Such a selection as may be of public interest, from the Despatches of Mr. Charles T. Newton to the Foreign Office, respecting the Budrum and Cnidus Expedition, between December 1857 and July 1859.”

No. 1.

Vice-Consul Newton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received March 22, 1858.)

My Lord,

Ruins of Cnidus, December 31, 1857.

I HAVE the honour to report that, on the departure of Her Majesty's ship “Supply,” for Malta, on the 20th of October last, I took advantage of that opportunity to visit the celebrated Temple of Apollo Didymeus, near Miletus, of which the site, anciently called Branchidæ, is now occupied by the Greek village of Geronta.

I took with me Corporal Spackman, of the Royal Engineers, and the photographic apparatus.

Having been landed from the “Supply” in the Island of Calymnos, opposite to which Geronta is situated, we crossed over in a Greek vessel. The remains of the magnificent Temple of Apollo at Branchidæ have been so fully illustrated by the Dilettanti Society in the first volume of their “Ionian Antiquities” that I did not bestow on them more than a cursory examination.

My principal object in visiting this site was to obtain photographs and drawings of certain ancient statues in the vicinity of the temple, which, as I had long been aware, are among the earliest extant specimens of Greek art.

As far as I know, these statues have been but little noticed by travellers. In the “Ionian Antiquities” (vol. i, p. 47), they are described as ranged in a line with ancient sarcophagi along both sides of the Sacred Way which led up to the Temple of Apollo from the north-west, and their several positions are marked in Sir William Gell's plan of the environs of the Temple (c. 3, pl. 1, of the same work), of which I have the honour to inclose a tracing.

It is further stated in the “Ionian Antiquities” that on the bases of these statues are inscriptions in very ancient characters; but no copies of such inscriptions are given, nor any delineation of the statues themselves, except in a small vignette, p. 29, *ibid.*

This engraving, which gives a general view of the ancient remains in the Sacred Way, has been re-engraved in Müller, “Denkmäler der Alten Kunst,” (i, taf. 9, fig. 33,) and, though on a small scale, serves to show the peculiar character of the statues. They are evidently executed in the Egyptian style, and, most probably, by Greek artists who had been educated in Egypt.

The manner in which they appear to have been disposed, so as to form an avenue, is another arrangement borrowed from Egypt.

Though we know from history that Greek art was, in part, derived from Egyptian sources, there are very few extant monuments which can be cited as examples of such derivation.

The statues at Geronta present, therefore, a peculiar interest to the student of Greek art, and thus their illustration by photography and description appeared to me, as I have already stated to your Lordship in a previous despatch, one of the most important secondary objects in connection with the Budrum expedition.

I shall now proceed to describe the present condition of these statues, and my operations in reference to them.

The ancient site, marked in Sir William Gell's plan as the Sacred Way, forms part of an uninclosed tract to the north-east of the Temple.

The accompanying tracings, from three drawings by Corporal Spackman, will give an idea of the form of the ground. The line of the Sacred Way is, apparently, marked by a ridge running from south-east to north-west. Along this ridge I found eight seated figures of white marble, placed at irregular intervals.

All these statues were partially buried in the ground. In some cases only the base of the neck was visible; in others the soil did not rise higher than the lap of the figure.

It was, therefore, necessary, before taking photographs, to remove the earth which had accumulated round each figure. As I had only two Turkish workmen with me, and could obtain no assistance from the Greeks of the neighbouring village, this operation occupied some days.

The statues may be thus generally described. They are all seated in chairs. Their present height averages rather more than 4 feet. The side of the chair forms a cube 2 feet 3 inches each way.

The figures are all clad in a talaric *chiton*, over which is a *peplos*, the arrangement of which differs in each figure.

I shall now describe these sculptures severally. The numbers attached to the several descriptions correspond with those by which the positions of the statues are marked in the plan and drawings made by Corporal Spackman.

I have the honour to inclose herewith outline drawings to a scale of all these figures, and nine photographs of the more interesting ones.

Both the photographs and drawings have been made by Corporal Spackman.

No. 1, (Photograph No. 1.) This figure differs from the rest in the arrangement of the drapery. The *peplos*, as will be seen by the accompanying drawing and photograph, passes diagonally across the legs and knees, and winds round the thighs in a horizontal fold across the lap.

The folds of the *chiton* are strongly marked on the body. The sleeves terminate at the elbow, but below this point an outer sleeve hangs down at the back of the arm. The left hand is preserved.

No. 2. This figure is in good condition, and has the left hand better preserved than the rest. The *peplos* is wound diagonally across the body; the ends fall vertically over the left shoulder; one end reaches half way down the calf.

No. 3. (Photograph No. 2.) This figure is in fair condition; the left hand is preserved.

The folds of the *chiton* are very distinct on the breast and right arm, and converge to a point on the right shoulder where the *chiton* has been fastened.

The front of the chair is ornamented with a kind of pilaster similar to those represented in early vases. This appears to have been surmounted by a projecting capital, now broken away.

On the left side of the chair a portion of the lower pannel has been left rough, as if unfinished. This side and the back of the chair are cracked, and have been anciently mended with lead. (See the drawing.)

No. 4. (Photograph No. 3.) This figure has the shoulders and breast broken away; the left hand rests on the knee. The *chiton* is wrought in narrow vertical folds on the right side. The sleeves have oblique folds, as if hanging loose. Down the outside of the sleeves runs a vertical seam, ornamented with the Mæander pattern. At the back of the chair is the inscription, *ΝΙΚΗΓΛΑΤΚΟΤ* (*Νίκη Γλαύκου*), cut on the top rail. Of this I inclose an impression in paper. If this inscription be of the same age as the statue, the monument may commemorate a victory gained by Glaucus, probably in some public games.

The front of the chair is ornamented similarly to that of the last figure.

No. 5. (Photograph No. 4.) In this figure the *peplos* passes under the right arm. A narrow fold falls from over the left shoulder on to the lap.

The *peplos* is carried round the legs as far as the bottom of the calf.

The *chiton* fits close to the body, reaching to the base of the neck.

Down the outside of the sleeves is a broad Mæander stripe, which makes a return at the hem. Below this appears the edge of the sleeves of some undergarment.

Part of the left hand remains. This figure is superior to most of the others in execution. The anatomy, particularly about the breast and shoulders, is more correctly rendered.

On the chair is an inscription which, as will be seen by the inclosed photograph, No. 4, is graven on two adjacent sides of the chair in two lines, of which one appears on the front; the other, on the return face, or left hand side of the chair. The lines are written *boustrophedon*, that is to say, alternately from right to left, and from left to right, as follows:—

ΞΟΧΡΑΞΗΞΟΙΧΙΞΤΞΟΙΞΤΧΟΙΜΙΞΞΗΡΑΧ
ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΟΑΓΟΡΕΩΝΟΞΙ

Χάρης εἰμὶ ὁ Κλέσιος Τειχιόσσης ἀρχὸς
ἄγαλμα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος

I inclose a fac-simile of this inscription. We learn from it that the statue is the portrait of Chares, the son of Klesis, the ruler of Teichioessa, and that it is a dedication to Apollo.

In the only geographical work which I have here, it is stated, on the authority of Thucydides (viii, 26, 28), that Teichioessa was a fortress near Miletus; and in the Admiralty Chart of this part of the coast it is placed near Cape Monodendro.

I do not know upon what evidence its position is thus fixed.

The occurrence of the Homeric word *ἀρχός*, and the general form of the letters, show that this inscription is of an early period. The employment of the first person in the verb is also an idiom characteristic of archaic inscriptions. The object inscribed is always supposed to address the spectator.

On the celebrated Panathenaic *amphora*, found by Mr. Burgon at Athens, the inscription runs, "I am (one) of the prizes from Athens."

A silver coin of Segesta, in Sicily, is inscribed ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΣΙΒΕΙΜΙ, "I am of Segesta."

Not having a library of reference here, I am unable to ascertain whether the name "Chares, son of Klesis," occurs in any ancient historian.

He was probably one of the *τύραννοι*, who ruled many of the Greek cities on the western coast of Asia Minor in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C., and of whom Herodotus mentions several.

No. 6. The right hand of this figure is nearly perfect, and part of the left hand remains.

Both hands rest on the knees. The *peplos* is wound round the body, passing under the right arm.

This figure is treated in a very monotonous and conventional manner.

No. 7. This figure wears a talaric *chiton*; the *peplos* falls over the knees to the bottom of the calf. The shoulders and chest are broken away.

No. 8. (Photograph No. 5.) This is a female figure, and on a smaller scale than the rest.

The *chiton* has sleeves reaching below the elbow, and looped down the arm.

Over it is a *diploidion* reaching nearly to the knees. This figure is much decayed. The left shoulder and arm are broken away.

All these figures are placed in a line running from south-east to north-west. At the back of two or three in the centre of the row is a foundation wall of concrete and rubble, apparently of Byzantine construction, and running parallel with the row of figures.

At the side of No. 5 was found a square base, a plan of which, with a section of its moulding, is given in the tracing, Inclosure No. 7.

This may be the base of the statue by the side of which it is placed.

In the representation of form in these statues the treatment is throughout Egyptian. The wrist bone, the muscles of the upper arm, and the pectoral muscles, are indicated.

In some the hair has been preserved at the back of the neck, and falls as far as the nape, in long parallel tresses, as in Egyptian art.

All the figures have the feet placed nearly parallel with each other, and either actually touch, or are very close, as in Egyptian sculpture.

There is an attempt at modelling in the representation of the extremities; the feet rest on a semicircular ledge projecting from the base.

All the chairs have had brackets, projecting about three inches in front, for the support of the hand. These have been broken away, except in the case of No. 1, where a single bracket has been preserved.

In Nos. 6, 7, 8, the upper panel at the side of the chair is made convex, so as to represent the side of the cushion on which the figure is seated.

In the rest, this panel is flat, so that the chair appears solid, without a detached arm.

To the north-east of the row of figures already described, I discovered two more, lying half-concealed in the soil.

Of these, one was a female figure, No. 9 (Photograph No. 5), wearing a talaric *chiton* and a *diploidion*. She is seated in a chair, one hand resting on each knee. Her head is broken away at the neck; the hair falls in long tresses. The breasts are well formed, and youthful. The *chiton* has sleeves falling below the elbow at the back of the arm.

The chair has been left roughly-tooled at the side; in front there is no rail. The feet are broken away.

No. 10. (Photograph No. 7.) Discovered at the distance of fifteen paces to the north-east of the ridge. The head was preserved, but the features destroyed. The hair falls in long tresses down the neck. The dress is a talaric *chiton* with sleeves, and a *peplos*, differing in the arrangement of the folds from that of the others. It crossed the left shoulder, being brought over the knees, and thence to the back in curved lines. The general composition is ungraceful, and the proportions of the figure heavy and coarse. The ear is well formed, and finished with more care than would have been the case in Egyptian art. The feet are wanting; they have been sculptured on a separate piece of marble.

At the distance of 118 paces to the north-west of the figure No. 8, are a colossal lion, No. 11 (Photograph No. 8), and a sphinx, No. 12 (Photograph No. 9).

The sphinx I found above ground, greatly mutilated; it is female; the head is wanting, and the surface generally in bad condition.

The lion had been nearly buried in the soil.

Both these are in the Egyptian style. The sphinx is modelled with some knowledge. The execution of the lion is very rough, with but little anatomical marking, but with a general grandeur of effect.

The repose of the folded fore paws is characteristic of the animal, and shows observation of nature, though the bony structure of the fore legs is very imperfectly indicated.

The head is wanting. On the hind quarter is an oblong mark, apparently a monogram composed of several letters, but which I am unable to decipher.

Along the back of the lion runs an inscription in five lines, which, after some labour, I have in a great measure deciphered, and of which I inclose a fac-simile. It may be read thus :—

Τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰδε ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Πύ-
-θωνος παῖδες, Ἰσάρχελος? Θαλῆς,
καὶ Πασικ[λ]ῆς καὶ Ἡγήσανδρος καὶ [Αύ-]
σιος καὶ Ἀναβλέως δεκάτην τῷ
Ἀπόλλωνι.

This inscription is one of the earliest specimens of Greek Palæography which I have ever seen. It is written in the *boustrophedon* manner. Among the letters are several only to be found in very ancient inscriptions; as, for instance, the \oplus for \ominus , the $\}$ for Σ , and the \boxplus for \boxplus .

With regard to some of the names, especially the first and two last in the list, the reading which I propose is not certain, but it is the best which I can offer after long study of the original.

On the other hand, I entertain no doubt in reference to those words in the first, penultimate, and last lines, by which the dedication of the tenth (*δεκάτη*) to Apollo, is expressed.

It is hardly necessary here to remark that such votive offerings were very common among the Greeks, and especially at oracular shrines. Herodotus records many dedications of works of art and treasure made antecedently to the Persian war. The lion at Branchidæ certainly belongs to this early period. The last name in the second line I read *Θαλῆς*. Of the initial Θ , there are but faint traces, but the other letters are perfectly distinct, and can hardly form part of any other name.

The nearness of Branchidæ to Miletus suggests at once the probability that

this name is that of the celebrated Ionian philosopher and statesman who flourished about B.C. 560, and was accounted one of the seven wise men of the ancient Hellenic world.

In that case, the other names in the inscription would be those of citizens of Miletus.

A search in the index to "Herodotus," and in Pape's "Lexicon of Proper Names," might identify some of the other names. It is worthy of remark that, while the dedicatory inscription contains a name identical with that of the most distinguished citizen of Miletus, the object inscribed is an animal which is the constant type of the coinage of the same town.

All the archaic coins of Miletus have on one side a lion's head, on the other a star.

On the later coins, the lion in combination with the star occurs on one side, and on the other, the head of Apollo. The same type of the lion occurs on the earliest coins of Cnidus, and the recent excavations at the Mausoleum show how extensively it was employed in another Carian city, Halicarnassus, in the design of a regal tomb.

Whether the frequent recurrence of this type was accidental, or may be regarded as the figurative expression of some religious or political idea common to the three contiguous cities which adopted the type of the lion, is a question which I would reserve for future inquiry.

These are all the sculptures which I could discover on the site of the Sacred Way. It would appear, however, that at the time of Sir William Gell's visit, others existed, which have been since buried in the soil or destroyed.

With reference to the original arrangement of these statues, it may, I think, be assumed that they formed an avenue, but, as the statues have evidently been displaced from their ancient bases, their former positions cannot be ascertained without further excavation of the site.

This might, perhaps, lead to the discovery of the original pavement of the Sacred Way, and the direction and width of the avenue might thus be determined.

In the vignette already cited, the statues are very much less concealed by earth than at the period of my visit, and their arrangement does not correspond either with the observations made by me on the ground, or with Sir W. Gell's own plan.

Reference to the original drawing would probably show how for the composition of the vignette is due to the imagination of the engraver.

It is probable that the lion and the sphinx were at the north-west entrance to the avenue.

The words *Τὰ ἀγάλματα τάδε*, at the commencement of the inscription on the lion clearly refer, not merely to that single object of dedication, but to a number of statues, *ἀγάλματα*, dedicated in common, and arranged in combination with it.

At the time of my arrival at Geronta, I found that the seated figure, No. 1, and the lion, had been recently uncovered, and I regret to state that the surface of the lion has been much injured since its exposure.

The Greek inhabitants of Geronta have scored the surface with knives, in a manner which much increases the difficulty of reading the inscription.

Though I placed two Turks on guard on the site while I was excavating, two of the statues which I had uncovered were disfigured in the night in the same barbarous manner.

In consequence, after the photograph drawings and measurements had been completed, I caused each of the statues to be covered with a small mound of earth, in the hope that they might thus be protected from further injury.

I would, however, venture to submit to your Lordship, that such interesting monuments of early Greek art as these should on no account be left in their present situation, exposed to mutilation, and ultimate destruction, at the hands of the barbarous inhabitants of this district.

With the exception of the lions at the gate of Mycenæ, there are, perhaps, no sculptures of the archaic period which would form so valuable an acquisition for our national collection as these.

Their artistic interest is greatly enhanced by the positive evidence of their antiquity afforded by the inscriptions, and by the circumstance that, while the great mass of archaic Greek art seems derived from Assyrian models, these

sculptures, on the other hand, exhibit strong and unequivocal evidence of Egyptian influence. We know from Herodotus that this influence created a peculiar school of artists in the immediate vicinity of Branchidæ, in the Island of Samos.

There, as early as the seventh century B.C., flourished a family of sculptors who studied in Egypt, and by whom the canon of Egyptian proportions was so exactly observed, that the half of a statue executed by one artist, Theodoros at Samos, tallied perfectly with the other half made by his brother artist, Telecles, at Ephesus.

The traveller who stands on the site of the Sacred Way, at Branchidæ, and sees Samos at the distance of a few hours' sail in the offing, can hardly fail to connect this historical tradition with the statues before him, which were probably executed by the Samian school mentioned by Herodotus, and which he himself, a native of Halicarnassus, could not have failed to know.

The removal of these sculptures would be an operation involving no considerable expense or difficulty, if undertaken with the means now at our disposal here.

As no labourers could be procured on the spot, it would be necessary to land a party of about fifty men, with trucks and other necessary gear.

The services of the "Supply" would be required for this purpose. On consulting Commander Balliston I find that there is safe anchorage in a bay a little to the east of Cape Monodendro.

The road down to the coast is an easy incline, along which the statues might be conveyed on wheels.

The time required for the removal and shipment of the statues would not, I should think, exceed one month. If the whole site of the Sacred Way were excavated, a longer period might be required. Such a labour would probably be rewarded by the discovery of more statues and inscriptions. The spring would be the best time for such an expedition.

During my stay at Geronta a number of inscriptions from the Temple of Apollo were copied by Corporal Spackman and myself.

Some of them are very interesting, and, I believe, inedited.

As they are of a later period than those on the statues in the Sacred Way, and are not connected with them, I purpose to make them the subject of a separate report to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. T. NEWTON.

No. 2.

Vice-Consul Newton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 2.)

My Lord,

Budrum, February 10, 1858.

I HAVE already stated to your Lordship in previous reports that at the distance of 33 feet to the east of the eastern side of the Quadrangle, the rocky platform terminates abruptly in a vertical cutting running north and south, in front of which is a wall composed of large blocks of isodomous masonry, which forms apparently a *revêtement* to the face of the rock.

This wall has now been laid bare throughout its whole length.

Issuing from the northern wall of the *peribolus* at a right angle, it runs from this point due south for 147 feet, its line being parallel with that of the east side of the Quadrangle and with the eastern wall of the *peribolus*.

Its average depth is 25 feet below the surface. It rests on the rocky bed of the quarry, which, immediately to the east of it, is cut into angles and ledges.

The inclosed tracings from four drawings by Mr. Pullan will show the character of the masonry and of the rock at its base.

This wall is built almost entirely of blocks of the native rock of the field. It is, however, remarkable that among the lowest courses, at a depth of 25 feet below the surface, are two limestone blocks, which have evidently been taken from some earlier building, and one of which has a fine joint all round.

To the southward the wall extends beyond the south-eastern corner of the Quadrangle nearly to a house on the platform marked in the Progress Plan as Hadji Nalban's house. As this house is still standing, I cannot tell whether the wall runs further in this direction.

I have met with no trace of a return wall at right angles to it in the southern part of the platform.

I have stated that this wall appears like a *revêtement* of the vertical face of the rock. The space between the wall and the rock is 4 feet, and was filled up with earth.

The wall itself consists of a single course of squared blocks dressed only on their outer face, and forming a casing, the space between which and the rock may have been occupied by a drain, or have been filled up with earth, as I found it. I cannot at present decide whether this wall formed part of the design of the Mausoleum.

It is remarkable that it should run parallel to the eastern line both of the edifice and of the *peribolus*, but, if it was meant as a terrace-wall or inner inclosure, the coarseness of its materials seems inconsistent with the fine marble of the *peribolus* wall, to which it runs at a right angle, nor is there any indication of a change of level in the platform east of this line, as might have been expected if the wall had served as the support of a terrace. Towards the southern extremity of this wall, and a little to the east of it, was the *soros*, which I discovered some time ago, as I have reported in my despatch of the 30th of September, 1857.*

This was placed in a rectangular cutting in the quarry, about 25 feet below the upper surface; under it was a depth of soil of 2 feet 6 inches.

This *soros* was empty, and had no lid. On removing the earth at its sides, we found an iron dagger and a terracotta vase in the form of a female head, about 3½ inches high. This head is an interesting specimen of archaic modelling.

It is probably of the same period as the alabaster vase bearing the name of Xerxes, that is to say, more than a century earlier than the date of the Mausoleum.

There can hardly be a doubt that this terracotta and the dagger belong to the *soros* at the side of which they were found, and the discovery of these sepulchral objects at so great a depth, and bearing the mark of such high antiquity, corroborates the opinion which I have already advanced, that the quarry was used as a cemetery in very ancient times, antecedently to the building of the Mausoleum on its site.

I have the honour to inclose tracings from drawings by Mr. Pullan, of the terracotta head, the dagger, and the *soros*, and a tracing from Lieutenant Smith's map to mark the position of these objects in reference to the wall.

The discovery of the *soros* was made some months ago, when we cleared out a branch of the upper gallery, which, passing from the south-east corner of the Quadrangle in a south-eastern direction, falls into the rectangular cutting in which the *soros* was found.

On first entering this cutting through the gallery, I imagined that I had discovered another sepulchral chamber. In consequence of the great depth of the soil above it, much time and labour were required to clear this spot out, when the supposed chamber proved to be a rectangular cutting in the quarry.

On digging through the superincumbent mass of soil here, the vertical section of the artificial platform presented a curious series of zigzag strata, such as would be formed by throwing a succession of cart-loads of rubble into a hole from opposite directions.

In my despatch of December 10, 1857,† I have already stated to your Lordship that two branches of the galleries converge to a point near the eastern line of the *peribolus*, where I was unable to trace them further by mining. I have since had a large space cleared out here, laying bare the rocky bottom at a depth of 25 feet below the surface.

I could not, however, discover any trace of the galleries beyond this point, and I can only suppose that as, from the great depth of the soil here, these passages could not have been cut out of the rock, but must have been built, their masonry has been gradually undermined and destroyed by torrents from the hills.

About 130 feet to the east of the place where the galleries disappear is a large ancient reservoir cut out of the solid rock. It is possible that the galleries communicated with this reservoir. This point, however, cannot be ascertained, as I have not possession of the ground in which the reservoir is placed, and which lies outside of the precinct of the Mausoleum.

* See Papers presented March 1858, p. 44.

† Ibid., p. 49.

The branch of the upper gallery, which ascends from the Mausoleum platform in the direction of the Theatre, has now been cleared out for a length of 193 feet from the road upwards.

As the excavation of this gallery caused a great outlay, and nothing had been discovered in it for a long time, I have not thought it desirable to continue it further.

I could have wished to have been able to arrive at some satisfactory conclusion as to the origin and purpose of these galleries; but I confess myself quite unable to offer any theory about them, except that, as I have already stated to your Lordship, no part of the upper gallery appears to have any certain connection with the plan of the Mausoleum. As these passages have now been completely explored through their ramifications within the precinct of the Mausoleum, and, in one case, to a considerable distance beyond it, I think that their further pursuit, though it might possibly lead to interesting discoveries, would not contribute to our knowledge of the design of the Mausoleum, or to the recovery of its sculptures.

I regret to state that I have been unable to discover, by mining, the southern wall of the *peribolus*.

After driving a gallery to the south, as reported in my despatch of December 10, I carried another at right angles for 76 feet, in a western direction, out of which I am throwing branches alternately to the north and south. In this manner, we can hardly fail to find the wall if it exists; but I fear that it was entirely removed by the Knights of St. John, when they built the Castle out of the ruins of the Mausoleum.

With reference to the houses on the platform, I have the satisfaction of reporting to your Lordship that I have purchased and removed one nearly at the north-east corner of the *peribolus*, and marked in the Progress Plan as Mehemet Ali's house. This house was situated to the north of the *peribolus* wall, and in the same line as the houses where the stones from the Pyramid, colossal horse, &c., were discovered.

I have always, therefore, entertained hopes that some fragments may have been sent in this direction when the Pyramid fell.

The result of our excavations here has not altogether disappointed me. Under the house itself I found two necks from statues in the round, in bad condition, a lion's leg, and several very interesting fragments from reliefs in panels.

I had previously, from time to time, discovered very small fragments of such reliefs, and I sent home in the "Gorgon" more than one specimen.

But the pieces now discovered enable us to judge better of the character of these decorations.

The subjects of the reliefs contained in these panels were, like those of the external frieze, combats.

On one of the fragments now discovered, are the legs of a figure thrown down on a rock, and the legs of the antagonist, who is following up his blow. On another fragment is part of a buckler. These figures appear to be about the same size as those on the frieze. The ground of the relief has been painted blue.

The traces of this ground, on the first discovery of these fragments, were most distinct. The flesh of the figures appears to have been painted red.

The reliefs are set in a frame, presenting a rectangular section, thus—



The depth of projection of this frame is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The width of the margin above the figures is 10 inches, below them $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The fragments are not sufficiently large to show the marginal width at the sides, nor can the dimensions of the entire panels be ascertained. Their thickness is 9 inches, but it is not certain whether part of the original thickness of the slabs has not been cut away.

There is no trace of a fine joint either at the top or the bottom.

It will be an interesting question for architects to decide to what part of the building these panels belonged.

As they were not, like the frieze, protected from the rain by projecting mouldings, they would seem rather suitable for internal than for external decoration.

In the curious old French narrative of the discovery of the Mausoleum, by Guichard, printed in my memoir in the Classical Museum, it is stated that when the Knights broke into the sepulchral chamber, they found its walls decorated with combats in relief in many coloured marbles.

It is possible that these panels may have formed part of the sculptures described by Guichard. This narrative is, however, only based on hearsay evidence.

A few feet further to the east we found the left foot of a colossal male figure, and part of a lion's paw, both with a fragment of base attached.

Between this spot and the north-east corner of the *peribolus*, the line of its northern wall has been removed.

At this point I observed that the rubble soil of the artificial platform suddenly ceased, and that it was succeeded by a vein of rich vegetable soil running to a depth of 8 feet.

Observing that this vegetable soil contained fragments of marble, I pursued it, and came upon two stones from the Pyramid, one of which differs from any which has yet been discovered. Its length is 3 feet 7½ inches. Its lower surface is grooved like that of the stones already described in Lieutenant Smith's Report. The upper surface has a line across its length, marking off a tread only 9 inches in width, instead of a width of 1 foot 5 inches or 1 foot 9 inches, as in the stones previously found.

There is a broad flange at the back, and at the sides are indications of flanges, but they do not extend as far as the tread.

Between the flange at the back end of the tread are four holes cut for plugs or cramps.

Such holes do not occur in the other steps, except at the sides; I am, therefore, inclined to think that this stone is from the very apex of the Pyramid, and that the base of the *quadriga* rested immediately on its upper surface.

Close to this stone we found the head of a lion broken off at the neck, and, beside it, a portion of the neck, which can be readjusted.

These fragments and the two Pyramid stones were found at a distance of not less than 100 feet from the centre of the Mausoleum. Whether they were hurled on the fall of the building to the spot where I found them, or dragged thither subsequently, cannot be ascertained.

The whole of the vein of vegetable earth in which these marbles were found has been dug out, but nothing more has been discovered. This ground having been now explored, I consider that the north side of the platform has been thoroughly examined, and I see no reason for digging further in this direction.

I had written thus far in this Report when chance led me to make a very interesting discovery.

Examining the boundary walls of the fields immediately to the north of the road which skirts the *peribolus* on the north, I noticed a large mass of white marble, which, from the fineness of the grain, I knew to belong to the Mausoleum.

It was built into a loose wall. On taking it out, I found it to be the head of a lion, broken off at the neck. The style of this fragment is magnificent. By some singular chance the face has received very little injury, and it is both in composition and condition superior to any of the heads yet discovered, except one of the two from the Imaum's field.

This fragment was probably transported to the wall where I found it from the mass of marble which fell on the north side of the *peribolus*.

With reference to what still remains to be done in order to complete the plan of excavation which I submitted to your Lordship in my despatch of the 12th August, 1857,* I have to state that there are still standing on the platform five houses, and one below the eastern ridge, which ought to be purchased and removed.

Of these the most important are three on the southern side, one of which is situated within a few feet of the south-western angle of the Quadrangle, and in a line with the ground where we found the pieces of chariot-wheel and the hock-joint of the colossal horse. From the nearness of this house to the Mausoleum, it is probable that sculpture will be found under its foundations.

Much as I desire to bring the excavations to a speedy termination, by the

* See Papers presented March 1858, p. 30.

purchase of the remaining houses, I fear that this matter will be very difficult to accomplish. I do not think that the owners will ever make up their minds to sell till they are persuaded that we intend to abandon Budrum.

Having now dug over all the ground in my possession, I have dismissed my Budrum workmen, with the exception of a party of sixteen, who are continuing the mines, and who serve to keep possession of the ground—a point of some importance. As soon as I can conclude the purchase of the remaining houses, the mere work of their demolition, and of the excavation of their sites, will not occupy much time.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. T. NEWTON.

No. 3.

Vice-Consul Newton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received March 26.)

My Lord,

Ruins of Cnidus, February 20, 1858.

SINCE our arrival here, our proceedings have been as follows:—

The first month, from December 10 to January 10, was almost entirely occupied in putting up our tents.

The winter has been one of extraordinary severity, and I was consequently unable to procure Turkish workmen in any numbers till the end of January.

The services of the few whom I could obtain were for some time employed in aid of the small party of marines and carpenters in erecting the huts, and in other operations necessary for our establishment here.

In consequence of these delays, it is only within the last three weeks that I have been able to carry on excavations on an extensive scale.

I commenced operations on the site of a Theatre, close to the larger of the two harbours.

The position of this Theatre will be found in the Square P of the tracing which I have the honour to inclose, and which has been enlarged from the Admiralty Chart of Cnidus.

I selected this spot for the first excavation, on account of its proximity to the sea. Finding that, from the want of a landing-place, the disembarkation of stores was attended with great delay and difficulty, and the shipment of heavy sculptures would be almost impossible, I have caused a pier to be constructed by carting into the harbour the earth and stones removed in the course of excavating the site of the Theatre. The extent to which this ground has been explored is marked in red in the inclosed tracing, which is taken from the plan of the Theatre in the third volume of "*Ionian Antiquities*," published by the Dilettanti Society.

I commenced by an excavation at A, in front of the Scene, of which the foundations are visible above the ground. From this spot the cutting was continued in a westerly direction, so as to lay bare the end wall of the *cavea*, B, which, as was usually the case in Asiatic theatres, runs obliquely to the front of the Scene. The foundations of this wall were found at an average depth of 6 feet. The wall is a good example of Hellenic masonry. It is built of white marble blocks, laid alternately in deep and shallow courses. The face of these blocks is roughly tooled. It makes a return of 5 feet on the west side of the Theatre. At this point it has been replaced by a massive Roman wall, which forms the western boundary of the *cavea*.

In front of the Scene, and parallel to it, we found two rubble walls of late Roman or Byzantine construction, C C. These appear to be part of the basement of some building erected on the site of the Scene at a late period. The ground-floor of the building appears to have been on a level with the present surface of the soil, and was approached from the basement by a flight of steps leading up from the level of the orchestra.

These steps, D D, which are still partially preserved, are composed of squared blocks, evidently borrowed from some previous Hellenic building.

At the side of the rough walls, C C, were found portions of an architrave, and the base of a column, of late Corinthian architecture.

On one portion of this frieze are the letters *ΑΙΕΚΘΕΜΕΑΙ*; on another *ΑΙΟ*.

This inscription is of the Roman period, and is, probably, at least as late as the time of the Antonines.

The words *ΕΚΘΕΜΕΑΙ* may be restored *ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνεγέώσατο*], in which case the inscription would record the rebuilding of the Scene some time in the Roman period. A few fragments of sculpture of a very ordinary description were also dug up here.

At E, opposite to the end of the side wall of the Scene, was a stone with a socket for the insertion of the hinge of a gate, and opposite to it, in the end wall of the *cavea*, a hole cut in the face of one of the stones, into which the bolt of the gate probably passed.

Near this spot was a rough-hewn stone chair, perhaps the seat on which the check-taker of the Theatre sat.

Close to this seat was the base of a statue turned upside down, on which was the following inscription in late Roman characters:—

ΟΔΑΜΟΣ
ΙΟΥΔΙΑΝΘΕΤΦΙΛΟ[Υ]
ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑΕΠΙΑΝΑΣΣΑ[Ν]
ΜΑΤΕΡΑΔΕΔΕΤΚΙΟΥΜΟΣ.
ΧΟΥΑΡΕΤΑΣΕΝΕΚΑΚΑΙΕΤΝΟΙ[ΑΣ]
ΤΑΣΕΣΑΥΤΑΝΘΕΟΙ[Σ]

A number of Roman lamps were found at this spot. The excavation was continued along the western wall of the Scene, above the foundations of which was an accumulation of about 8 feet of earth. At this depth I found fragments of painted Greek pottery. Below the layer of pottery there appeared to be nothing but a gravelly bottom.

Pursuing the end wall of the *cavea* to the return when it meets the west side, I found at the angle a flight of steps marked in the plan, F. This led up from the level of the orchestra to a Corinthian portico, the ruins of which were found lying on the steps exactly in the positions in which they originally fell.

On the upper step were the bases of two columns, and below, the architrave, frieze, cornice, and capitals.

The columns had stood on the upper step between two square pilasters.

The frieze and upper mouldings of the cornice were ornamented with a rich scroll pattern. The portico measures 25 feet by 20 feet.

One side has been laid bare, consisting of a rubble wall, the lower part of which has a moulded base course, consisting of veneers of grey marble fixed on a coating of cement.

The whole area of the portico has not yet been cleared out.

When the excavations are more advanced, drawings of the details of the architecture will be made by Mr. Pullan.

At the side of the return wall of the *cavea* on the west, the earth has been removed to a depth of 8 feet, so as to lay bare the foundations, and a drain-pipe running parallel to them.

This cutting was continued as far as the archway forming the vomitory of the Theatre on this side. This archway was partially filled up with rubble, on removing which a flight of eleven steps appeared, leading up to a square landing-place, from which a passage opened into the lower *diazoma* of the Theatre.

I have the honour to inclose a tracing from a drawing of this archway by Mr. Pullan. The masonry of the arch itself, and of the surrounding courses, is Hellenic, and seems of the same period as the end wall of the *cavea*. It must, therefore, have been retained when the west wall was rebuilt by the Romans. In clearing out the archway, a small circular terracotta mould was found, on which was stamped in intaglio a group of two gladiators fighting. From the position in which this was found, it was probably a mould from which counters, such as were used as checks at the doors of ancient theatres, were stamped.

In the excavation along the side of this wall, I found among a mass of large blocks several cubes and slabs of limestone, bearing inscriptions, of which I inclose a transcript.

All these inscriptions relate to objects dedicated, and Nos. 1, 3, and 4, have certainly been placed on the bases of statues, as is shown by the word *ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ*, following the name of the sculptor.

I therefore hoped that the statues to which these inscriptions relate might be found near them.

A further examination of the Theatre, however, showed that these inscribed stones, together with the other blocks with which they were found, had been thrown down from the summit of the western wall of the *cavea*, which, as it approaches the south-west angle, becomes ruinous.

To the north of the vomitory, this wall is much higher. On examining its inner face in this part, I found a row of limestone slabs laid under a course of blocks. The first of these slabs bore the inscription No. 3.

On comparing this slab with the inscribed stones previously found in the ruins below, such a resemblance appeared among them as would be the case if they had all been taken from the same building. The character of the inscriptions shows that they originally belonged to a temple or some other public edifice which must have fallen into decay at the time when the Roman theatre was built; while, again, the mention of citizens of Alexandria in inscription No. 3 proves that this edifice must have been in existence after the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great.

The names of the two artists of Chios, in inscription No. 3, are probably new. Reference to Sillig's "Dictionary of Artists" would show whether they have been met with in any other ancient inscription.

It is probable that, on examining the part of the Theatre from which this inscription has been taken, others will be found in the same row of slabs.

Such is the result of the partial evacuation of the Theatre.

While engaged in these operations, I have examined the site of the ancient city generally, clearing away the brushwood in places. The plan Inclosure No. 1 will show the great extent of the ruins on the Continent alone.

In examining these ruins I have encountered the same difficulty which frustrated my operations at Budrum till the discovery of the Mausoleum.

The Hellenic remains are so overlaid, and in some cases obliterated, by subsequent Roman structures, that it is most difficult to select a promising site for excavation.

I have already stated to your Lordship in a previous Report, that one principal object which I had in view was the discovery of the site of the Temple of Venus.

In the Admiralty plan this is placed in Square I of the tracing. Here is a platform occupying the most conspicuous position in the whole plan of the ancient city; and in the centre of this elevated area is a small Corinthian temple which has been engraved in the Dilettanti volume.

The extent and commanding position of this platform appear to be the only grounds for supposing that the Temple of Venus stood here. The architecture of the Temple is Roman of a late period, and appears quite unworthy of the matchless work of Praxiteles, which stood within the Temple of Venus.

I made a partial excavation among the ruins of this Temple, but found nothing to encourage me to proceed further.

The foundations lie very near the surface.

As we know from the description in Lucian that the Temple of Venus was surrounded by an extensive *temenos* planted with trees, it is most probable that the area of this *temenos* was a level platform.

Throughout the whole of the ancient city no platform presents itself of sufficient extent to answer to the description of Lucian, except the one in Square I, and a lower platform in Square O, the site of our present encampment.

Here are the ruins of a large Corinthian temple, also of late Roman times.

At the western extremity of this platform I found part of a draped female figure in white marble, lying on the surface of the soil.

This torso, though of the Roman period, has been a work of some merit, and I therefore packed it for shipment.

I dug several pits in the western part of this platform, but without meeting with anything promising.

On the side next the sea the *temenos* has been bounded by a *peribolus* wall of fine Hellenic masonry, of which two courses remain underground.

In the western part of the platform I dug to the depth of 12 feet, and continued to turn up fragments of ancient pottery at this level.

The accumulation of soil here has probably been considerable.

I have already stated to your Lordship in previous despatches that I had hopes of discovering interesting remains in the Greek tombs at Onidus.

In the square marked F in the tracing, is a platform rather more than 70 paces in length, supported on three sides by a massive wall of Cyclopean masonry, and jutting out like a pier from the side of a marble cliff.

To the north the platform terminates in broken rocky ground, bounded by the side of the cliff, which has here an uniform surface, sloping, at an angle of 79°, with such regularity as to suggest the idea that it has been scarped by the hand of man. It is 50 feet high, and about 100 yards in length.

Several niches are cut in the steep face of the rock, which must have contained statues or other votive objects. One of these has on its base a Greek inscription, of which I have only as yet deciphered three or four letters. It is probably a dedication.

Another of these niches has been lined with a fine cement, painted bright blue, so as to form a background for a statue. Much of this lining still remains in the niche. The colour is a pigment which seems to be laid on the cement, not chemically united with it, as in fresco.

In the Admiralty plan, this spot is noted as containing statues, and this indication led me to visit the ground. The first object which caught my eye was a small Greek *stèle*, in the form of a column, on which were the following letters, the remains of a sepulchral inscription:—

. . . . ΙΣΤΙΣΔΑ
 . . [ΙΤ]ΝΑΚΑΙΠΛΑΙΑ[ΕΣ]

The date of these letters is about B.C. 400.

Close to this *stèle* was a statue nearly buried in the ground, which, upon examination, proved to be a draped female figure seated in a chair. The head, hands, and feet, were wanting, and the parts projecting above the soil had suffered much from exposure.

On uncovering the entire figure, however, I found that much of the drapery was in fine condition, and that the composition was very good.

The present height of this statue is about 4 feet. It is of Parian marble; the head has been made of a separate block.

The style is of the best period of Greek art, though I do not consider that the statue has been executed by the hand of a great master; it is probably the work of an inferior sculptor in a good school.

The drapery is richly composed; the edges of the folds are wrought to a sharp edge as in the Elgin sculptures. The body appears too short from the bosom to the hips, a peculiarity which may have been intended to correct some optical deception, if the statue was placed much above the eye. The back of the statue is left flat, and must have been concealed from view. It probably stood in one of the niches already described, as has been supposed by the authors of the *Dilettanti* volume, who notice the fine workmanship and material of this figure in their description of the locality where it stood.

I lost no time in transporting this statue to the encampment, where it is now packed ready for shipment. Sculpture of the best period of Greek art is so rare that, even in so mutilated a condition, this statue may be regarded as an acquisition of very great value.

Taking into consideration all the phenomena which presented themselves in this spot, the sepulchral *stèle*, the scarp, the niches, and the Cyclopean wall bounding the platform, and marking it off as a *temenos*, I came to the conclusion that Hellenic tombs would be found here, and that, as at the Mausoleum, a quarry and cemetery must have been originally combined in one locality.

I commenced digging round the spot where the *stèle* was still standing, and, a few feet nearer the scarp, came upon a small figure in Parian marble lying only a few inches below the surface.

I inclose a tracing from a drawing of this statuette, made by Mr. Pullan. The scale of the drawing is that of the original.

It represents a female figure clad in a *chiton* and *peplos*. On her head is a *polos*; in her right hand she holds a pomegranate flower, with her left she is gathering up the folds of her *peplos*. A smile plays over the features. The general type of the countenance is that of Aphrodite.

In the second part of K. O. Müller's "Denkmäler der A. Kunst," a figure is engraved among the representations of Aphrodite, corresponding in type with the one discovered by me, though of a much later epoch.

This figure also has the *polos* on the head, and the pomegranate flower in the hand, while the left hand holds up the drapery.

This figure is called by Müller, Aphrodite Urania, and by Gerhard, Aphrodite Persephone. The pomegranate flower seems to connect the type with Persephone, while the cast of features is that of Aphrodite.

This statuette is an interesting specimen of Greek sculpture of the best period.

I do not remember to have seen in any European Museum any figure of equal merit on so small a scale.

The drapery is modelled with that freedom and breadth of treatment which characterize the terracotta figures of the best age of Greek Art. The body was in one piece when found, but a blow from a pick unluckily broke it at the knees. The head was found at a short distance from the body. These fractures can be easily repaired, and the surface of the sculpture is otherwise in the finest condition.

With the body were found a number of black lamps, and the head was wedged in among a mass of them. I proceeded to extract these from the earth, and clearing away more ground, ascertained that I had opened a very shallow grave about 12 feet long, and 4 feet wide. The sides and bottom were lined with a fine cement. The grave itself was bounded by four rough walls.

I took out of this grave more than a basket full of lamps, which must have been deposited there with the statuette.

Continuing to dig round this grave, I discovered several others, all bounded by rough walls, and forming a group, as if one family had been buried here. Several of these graves were of a square form, and not large enough to have contained the body of an adult. I continued to find in them lamps; in two of the graves were small terracotta figures, all representing a young girl bearing a pitcher of water on her head. I found seven or eight of these figures, all exactly the same in type. Traces of colour are visible on two of them.

They were very elegant in composition, but carelessly modelled, as is often the case with figures of this kind.

I have the honour to inclose a drawing by Mr. Pullan, in which the chief varieties of type in the lamps are represented.

In two of the graves I found among the lamps a large shell. I was disappointed in finding no painted vases; a few small saucers and dishes of coarse unvarnished ware were found in some of the graves.

In none was there any trace of bones, or of the fine black earth which would have remained after their decomposition, and which is generally found at the bottom of Greek graves. The depth from the surface to the bottom of the graves varied from 2 to 4 feet.

Traces of a plaster lining were visible on the walls and bottom of several. They had been covered with tiles, the greater part of which had been broken. Several of the ridge tiles still remained, but not in their original position. These were of an unusual length.

This mode of burial in walled graves, covered with tiles, is not uncommon in Hellenic cemeteries.

These graves having been placed on sloping ground, between the platform and the vertical face of the rock, the tile roofs have been ripped up by the action of water, and the contents of the graves partially disturbed and broken. Hence the lamps and small terracotta figures were found lying intermixed with broken fragments of pottery.

The terracotta figures, bearing pitchers, may possibly have reference to the myth of the Danaids, a subject which occurs in the sepulchral vases of a late period found in the Basilicata.

On the surface of the ground, a little nearer the scarp, were three large square blocks, which may have formed the base of a statue, and several small building stones regularly squared. These, probably, belong to some tomb more regularly built than those opened by me, and which must have stood higher up the hill.

Among these squared blocks was one of freestone, which had been lined on one side with fine stucco painted red. On the edge was a moulding.

At the distance of about 30 yards from this spot westward, I noticed a squared limestone block, which had evidently formed the base of a statue. On digging round this, I found that it rested on another rather larger limestone block, set in a small oblong inclosure, bounded by four rough walls, about 5 feet by 4 feet in dimensions.

The limestone base was set in a corner of this inclosure, at the distance of a few inches from one of the walls.

Between the lower block and the wall, I found an arm in Parian marble, wedged in, as if it had fallen there at the time when the statue was removed from its pedestal. On the other side of the base, in the loose stones which formed the uppermost course of the wall, I found a hand. This hand fits on to the arm at the wrist. The arm, which is under life-size, is that of a young girl. It is slightly bent; the upper arm terminates in a joint, half-way between the elbow and the shoulder.

An armlet, in the form of a snake, encircles the arm just below the joint, and must have served to conceal it from the eye.

This arm is a beautiful specimen of sculpture. I should consider it a work of the school of Praxiteles.

Having made this discovery, I dug down within the square inclosure which contained the base, and which I supposed to be a tomb.

A little below the surface was a large spiral shell, and a small lamp and cup of ordinary fabric, and of a later period than the other.

Below these remains there was no trace of a tomb, though we dug a foot deeper than the foundations of the walls.

The absence of any vestige of sepulture in the lower part of this inclosure, leads me to think that it must have served as the vestibule of an architectural tomb which has been destroyed.

I dug for several feet all round it, in the hope of finding the statue to which the arm belonged, but, as yet, I have not been successful, though several small fragments of sculpture, in the same style, have been dug up.

The whole of the platform inclosed in the Cyclopean walls is worthy of examination. It is probable that it contains other groups of graves.

After this first experiment in the ancient cemeteries of Cnidus, I am in hopes that they will prove, as I anticipated, well worthy of examination.

On the western side of the peninsula I discovered among the ruins of an architectural tomb buried in brushwood, part of a draped female figure, in white marble, which appears to be in a good style; but I have not yet cleared out these ruins, as the statue could only be removed by bringing a boat close in to the rocks near which the tomb is situated, an operation for which settled fine weather will be necessary.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. T. NEWTON.

No. 4.

Vice-Consul Newton to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received June 4.)

My Lord,

Budrum, April 7, 1858.

SINCE the date of my last Report to the Earl of Clarendon, viz., the 20th of February last,* the progress of the excavations at Cnidus has been as follows:—

At the commencement of March last, I proceeded to this place in the "Supply," leaving Lieutenant Smith in charge of the excavations at Cnidus during my absence.

I requested him to explore the remains of the large Temple within the *temenos* of which our encampment is situated, and which will be found in the compartment marked O in the Index Plan which I had the honour to inclose in my above despatch.

Nothing remains of this Temple above ground except a mass of ruins, marking the outline of the foundations.

The proximity of this site to the Lower Theatre led the authors of the

* See *ante*, page 10.

Dilettanti volume to suppose that the edifice which stood here was the Temple of Bacchus mentioned by ancient authors.

From the extent of the *temenos*, which, as I stated in a previous despatch, has been bounded on the south by a fine wall of Hellenic masonry, it may be inferred that the edifice which stood here was one of the most considerable in the ancient city.

During my absence, Lieutenant Smith made an excavation along the south side of the ruins, laying bare the southern wall of the *cella*, throughout its entire length to its foundations.

The courses of this wall still remain to the height of 7 feet.

Its length, from the south-eastern to the south-western angle of the building, is 100 feet. Near its eastern extremity the courses are irregular, and among them are architectural marbles from some previous edifice.

Nothing was found in the course of this excavation except some fragments of capitals of the Ionic order, and two pieces of a frieze in high relief, of which I have the honour to inclose drawings by Mr. Pullan.

One of the subjects represents a seated female figure, her lower limbs enveloped in a *peplos*. She looks towards a Satyr, who stands before her, brandishing in his right hand what appears to be a thyrsus; his left is extended towards the female figure, and has probably been enveloped in a mantle. On the left of this group is another Satyr, moving away from the scene, but looking back.

In the other relief a female figure is seated on rocks before an altar. The lower half of her body is clad in a *peplos*; in her left hand she holds some uncertain object. She is looking back. Behind her stands a female figure, having a *peplos* wound round the lower half of her body.

The seated figure in this group may, perhaps, represent Ariadne.

The sculpture in these two reliefs is exceedingly coarse, and evidently executed in a very late period of Roman art. Their subjects would indicate that the building near which they were found was sacred to Bacchus, and the opinion of the authors of the Dilettanti volume in reference to this Temple, is thus confirmed.

These reliefs bear a remarkable resemblance, both in style and subject, to some portions of frieze built into the walls of the Castle at Cos.

This Castle was built by the Knights of St. John at the same period as the fortress at Budrum, and it is not unlikely that, on this occasion, they transported much building material from Cnidus, the distance from which place to Cos, with a fair wind, is not more than three hours' sail.

After the southern side of the *cella* had been laid bare, a cutting was made at right angles to it through the western part of the Temple.

A pavement of large slabs, irregularly fitted and evidently of a late period, was here uncovered; and further examination of the interior of the *cella* showed that it had been converted into a Christian church in the Byzantine period.

The ruins within the *cella* promised even less than the ground first explored, I therefore determined on my return to Cnidus, not to continue this excavation at present.

I next proceeded to examine the Tomb on the Peninsula, mentioned in my despatch of the 20th of February last.

This Tomb is situated on rocky ground, sloping down to the southern shore of the North harbour. The site is marked in the Admiralty Chart a little to the west of the ancient wall by which the east portion of the Peninsula was fortified.

After clearing away the brushwood, I proceeded to remove the soil and rubble, which had accumulated to the depth of several feet.

The form of the Tomb then became apparent, and may be best explained by reference to the tracing from a plan by Mr. Pullan, which I have the honour to inclose.

It will be seen by this plan that the form of the Tomb resembles that of some of the early Christian churches.

It consists of a chamber, with a vestibule on the north, and an apse or alcove on the south. In each side wall is a smaller apse or alcove. The walls are built of grouted rubble, which has probably been faced externally with ashlar work. They are of considerable thickness, and must have supported a vault of grouted rubble, of which I found the remains lying on the floor of the Tomb.

In front of each of these three alcoves was a marble sarcophagus, 9 feet long. The alcove marked *a* in the plan had contained the draped female figure, the discovery of which in the mass of brushwood had originally drawn my attention to this Tomb, as I have already had the honour to report in my despatch of the 20th of February last.

The body of this statue, from the waist downwards, I found in its original position, standing within the alcove on a marble pavement. The lower part of the statue was in good condition.

The upper portion of the figure appears to have been broken by the fall of the roof of the alcove.

I found the breast and shoulders in one piece, the head in two pieces, part of the right arm and hand, and the left hand.

The fragments which make up the upper part of the figure are in very bad condition. The original surface of the sculpture is nearly destroyed, and enough only remains to indicate the motive of the figure. The tracing, from a drawing by Mr. Pullan, which I have the honour to inclose, exhibits the statue as it may be restored by a combination of the torso with the various fragments. It should be noted that, in this drawing, the features, and position of the right arm, have been almost entirely supplied by inference or imagination, and that the torch held in the right hand is an addition for which the fragments afford no direct evidence. As far as I can judge, however, the restoration has been correctly conceived.

In the left hand the figure holds a poppy-head and ears of corn. These are the well-known attributes of Ceres. On the other hand, the head-dress is that in use among Roman ladies in the time of Domitian, when the hair was arranged over the forehead in a double row of formal curls.

The statue is unquestionably of the Roman period; and, judging from the character of the head-dress, I should imagine that the figure represents some lady of the time in the character of Ceres, rather than the goddess herself.

Such adaptations were very common in Roman art. The drapery of this figure is well composed, but the form is rather heavy, and the execution wanting in refinement.

Great numbers of small lamps of the Roman period were found at the foot of this statue; they were all of coarse red unglazed ware.

Of the three sarcophagi, two were richly ornamented, as will be seen by the tracing from a drawing by Mr. Pullan, which I have the honour to inclose. This drawing exhibits a restoration of two sarcophagi, *A* and *C*, from the existing remains. The originals have been much injured by violence and time. The massive lids must have been broken to pieces when the tomb was plundered, and only small fragments of these remain.

The sides of the sarcophagi have been split in many places by the expansive force of the roots of the brushwood, and many large fragments have been broken away. Two of the sarcophagi are ornamented with festoons, suspended at the angles from Satyrs' head, and sustained in the intervening space by naked boys standing on pilasters.

From these festoons depend bunches of grapes. Above these ornaments are two Gorgons' heads in relief, between which and Sarcophagus *A* is the bust of a draped male figure, doubtless a portrait of the person interred in the sarcophagus.

At the sides of the sarcophagi the festoons and bunches of grapes are continued; the backs are left plain.

They are further ornamented with a cornice and a base, the mouldings of which have been very happily adapted from the Ionic order.

The bases are in a much better condition than the rest of the sarcophagi, being made of separate pieces of marble.

The third sarcophagus, *C*, is much plainer than the rest.

These sepulchral monuments are unquestionably of the Roman period. I should consider them to have been erected at the same date as the statue. The execution of the ornaments is coarse, and the design rather remarkable for a lavish display of decoration than for refinement of taste. But it must be admitted that the general effect of the ornament is very rich, and these sumptuous examples of Roman art would, I think, be well worthy of a place in the national collection if they were in finer condition. The marble, however,

generally is in so unsound a state that the removal of the sarcophagi could only be accomplished by dividing them into many fragments, and packing all these separately, to be rejoined and repaired on their arrival at the British Museum.

I do not feel sure that the merit of these sculptures would repay the cost and trouble which their restoration would involve.

This Tomb having been long since rifled, the sarcophagi were found quite empty. A few fragments of very coarse unglazed red pottery, and of Roman glass, were met with in the rubbish of the Tomb. One small fragment of painted ware with red ornaments on a black ground, occurred. This was very coarse, the varnish much corroded, like the latest specimens of Greek ceramography, such as are found in Italy.

In the earth near the base of the statue I discovered several fragments of Greek inscriptions on thin slabs; and, in the alcove behind the Sarcophagus A, some larger and thicker pieces.

All these appear to be copies of Decrees. I have the honour to inclose transcripts and fac-similes of the whole of them.

The four fragments, No. 1, A to D, all form parts of the same inscription. This is headed *Σύνγραμμα*, and it is said in the preamble that it contains a précis of a number of Decrees made by the Senate and people of Cnidus in honour of a certain Lykæthios, the son of Aristokleides.

The substance of these Decrees, so far as the inscription in its present fragmentary state can be interpreted, is as follows:—

A solemn proclamation, *ἀναγόρευσις*, was to be made at the great Dionysiac festival. A Commissioner was to be appointed, who was to receive from the *αφεστήρ* a sum of money for superintending the erection of a statue in honour of Lykæthios. This statue was to be set up with as little delay as possible. The Decree was ratified by open vote, *χειροτονία*, both in the Senate and the Assembly of the people, and carried in both bodies unanimously. The inscription has recorded the number of votes given on this occasion, but the word representing this number has unfortunately been broken away from the edge of the stone. The person charged with the erection of the statue was Nikephoros, the son of Sophron.

The sum of money voted for the statue is represented by the letters *ΛΤΦ*. I have not at hand works of reference which would enable me to interpret the value of these symbols. The first of them, probably, represents the denomination of coin in which the grant was paid—probably drachmæ; the two following letters must be numerals.

The other fragments, Nos. 2 to 6, appear to form part of honorary Decrees of like import, but too small a portion of these inscriptions has been preserved to enable me to offer a detailed explanation of their purport.

The age of these Decrees, so far as I can judge from the form of the letters, corresponds with that which I have assigned to the statue. The slabs of marble on which they are inscribed vary in thickness from half an inch to two inches. They have evidently been fixed against the walls of the Tomb, which, in the alcoves, has a wainscoting of marble veneers.

Above this wainscoting the large alcove has been lined with stucco, ornamented with vertical crimson stripes, and, perhaps, other patterns.

The walls were probably ornamented with veneers of coloured marbles, of which a number of pieces were found in the rubble, some of them cut into triangles and other geometrical forms.

The sarcophagi rested on a step elevated above the floor of the chamber. This step and the floors of the alcoves were veneered with marble.

The remainder of the chamber had a floor made of cement, composed of pounded brick. The vestibule was paved with coarse tessellæ. Between the Sarcophagus A, and the great alcove, was a grave, and, between the end of this sarcophagus and the side wall, another. Between the Sarcophagus C and the side wall was a third grave (see the Plan). These graves were made of thick Roman tiles strongly cemented together. They have evidently been inserted in the marble pavement, at a period subsequent to the construction of the Tomb, and form no part of the original design.

In the grave at the back of the Sarcophagus A were found a number of human skulls and bones, which must have been thrown into it when the sarcophagi and the other graves were plundered. The skulls appear to be those of young persons; the teeth in fine condition.

In the earth which had accumulated over this grave, I found part of a small terminal figure, coarsely executed in marble.

Having completely cleared out the interior of this tomb, I dug all round it externally as low as the foundations of the walls, but without finding anything to encourage me to explore this ground further. I, therefore, resumed the excavations on the platform marked F in the Progress Plan, in which I had previously discovered the seated female figure and the statuette, as I had the honour to report in my despatch of the 20th of February last.

I recommenced excavation in the eastern part of this platform, immediately to the west of a group of graves which I had already examined.

These graves are bounded on the west by a wall of rough masonry which runs north and south through the platform. Immediately to the west of this wall I found a limestone base, 2 feet 10 inches by 2 feet 2 inches, by 1 foot 2½ inches.

On the top was an elliptical hollow for the reception of the feet of a statue. On the front face was the following inscription (No. 7):—

ΚΟΥΡΑΚΑΙ ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΟΙΚΟΝΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΛΜΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝΧΡΤΣΟΓΟΝΗ
ΜΗΤΗΡΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΟΣΔΕΑΛΟΧΟΣΧΡΤΣΙΝΑΕΝΝΤΧΙΑΝΟΨΙΝ
ΙΔΟΥΣΑΙΕΡΑΝΕΡΜΗΣΓΑΡΝΙΝΕΦΗΣΕΘΕΑΙΣΤΑΘΝΗΠΡΟΠΟΛΕΥΕΙΝ

Κούρα καὶ Δάματρι οἶκον καὶ ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθηκεν
Χρυσογόνη(ς) μήτηρ, Ἴπποκρατοῦς δ' ἄλοχος,
Χρύσινα, ἐννυχίαν ὄψιν ἰδοῦσα ἱερὰν
Ἑρμῆς γὰρ νῦν ἔφησε θεαῖς Ταθνή προπολεύειν.

In this inscription the pentameter verses, instead of being arranged alternately with the hexameters, are placed between them. Such metrical irregularities are not uncommon in Greek sepulchral inscriptions.

The word *Ταθνή* does not occur in any Greek lexicon, but from the context it may be inferred that it is the name of the place where the οἶκος was built, i.e., the *temenos*.

Close to this base was another, also of limestone, 2 feet by 2 feet 3 inches, by 1 foot 8 inches, with an oblong aperture at the top 9½ inches by 8 inches, by 4 inches deep.

This base was inscribed (No. 8):—

ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΚΑΙ ΚΟΥΡΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ
ΘΕΟΙΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΚΑΙ
ΚΟΥΡΑΙ ΧΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΤΙΜΑ
ΤΡΑ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΠΛΑΘΑΙΝΙΣ ΠΛΑ
ΤΩΝΟΣ ΓΥΝΑ

Δάματρι καὶ Κούρα καὶ τοῖς
θεοῖς τοῖς παρὰ Δάματρι καὶ
Κούρα Χαριστεία καὶ Ἐκτιμᾶ-
τρα ἀνέθηκε Πλαθαινὶς Πλά-
τωνος γυνὴ.

I have the honour to inclose fac-similes of these inscriptions.

The word *Χαριστεία*, "thank offerings," occurs on another Cnidian inscription.* I do not know the word *Ἐκτιμᾶτρα*, but it probably means "expiatory" or "sin offerings."

Immediately to the west of these inscriptions, I found a female head rather under life-size, of which I have the honour to inclose three photographs, and a drawing by Mr. Pullan. This head belongs to the best period of Greek art, and is in excellent condition. The head dress is of the kind called *Opisthosphendone*, which appears on the silver coins of Syracuse from B.C. 430 to B.C. 350.

From the circumstance that very few heads in marble of this period have been preserved to us, this head dress is most rare in sculpture.

Close to this head I found a hand and arm, which must have belonged to

* See *infra*, page 29.

the statue of a young girl, and several other fragments of extremities, some of which belonged to statues above life size; others to smaller figures. Among these was a term, from which the head has been broken away at the neck.

The present length of this term is 4 feet 3 inches; the width at the top is 9 inches by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, whence it tapers to $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $7\frac{2}{10}$ inches. The foot has been broken away. The head is wanting.

From its dimensions and the position in which it was found, I have no doubt that it stood in the socket on the top of the base, inscribed with the dedication by Plathainis.

The sketch which I have the honour to inclose, shows a restoration of this term, from a drawing by Mr. Pullan (Inclosure No. 8 a). The head is supplied by the artist.

Among the emblems stamped on the handles of ancient *amphoræ* found at Rhodes and Budrum, is a term on a square base precisely similar in form to this one.

The base was probably in its original position when I discovered it; the term must have fallen forward when dislocated from its socket.

Close to this spot I found a small ram's head in marble, and, immediately to the east of the two bases, a mass of sculpture lying on the top of one of the walls of the tombs.

This consisted of the half of a female hand, rather larger than life, part of a very small term, or *stêlé*, $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, by 3 inches deep, and a veiled female head rather larger than life, of which I have the honour to inclose a drawing by Mr. Pullan, and a photograph.

This head belongs to a statue, into which it has been fitted by a round socket.

It is in excellent condition, and may be ascribed to the best period of Greek art.

Writing from recollection, I should say that it belongs to the same school of sculpture as the Venus of Milo.

When compared with the heads found in the Mausoleum, it exhibits such a difference of style as might be expected in a work of a contemporary, but distinct, school.

It probably belongs to the *ἄγαλμα* mentioned in the inscription No. 7.

The scale of this head corresponds with that of the seated female figure which, as I have already had the honour to report in my despatch of the 20th of February, was the first discovery made by me on this platform, and which had a socket on the base of the neck for the reception of the head.

As that statue is, however, now packed, I am unable to determine this point.* As far as I can judge, without juxtaposition, the head is very superior in style to the body; but this may be accounted for by supposing that this, the most essential part of the statue, was furnished by the hand of a master, the body being left to an inferior sculptor.

Close to these remains of statues, I found in several places portions of thin sheets of lead, broken and doubled up. These sheets must have been laid under the bases of the statues, so as to ensure a perfect level.

These discoveries were all made in the upper soil of the field, about 3 feet below the surface.

I, therefore, determined to remove the whole of this upper stratum of earth from the platform, before digging deeper. A little further to the west, I came to two small marble footstools, of one of which I have the honour to inclose a drawing by Mr. Pullan (Inclosure No. 8, β).

It is inscribed—

ΦΙΛΙΣΙΕΡΕΙΑ
ΚΟΤΡΑΙ

Near this spot was a limestone base, with an elliptical hollow at the top for the reception of a statue.

A few yards further to the west, in the same line, was another similar base, in a square inclosure.

Close to this base I found the beautiful arm and hand reported in my despatch of the 20th of February.

* Subsequent examination at the British Museum has shown that this head does belong to the seated figure.

The result of my examination of the platform up to this date leads me to note the following facts :—

1. All the sculpture and inscriptions have been found in a line running east and west through the length of the platform, about half-way between the scarped rock on the north, and the terrace wall on the south. It would seem, therefore, that they had stood here in a row.

2. The form of the letters in all the inscriptions confirms my opinion as to the date of the sculpture. I should assign to both a range of time from B.C. 350 to B.C. 300.

3. The occurrence of the dedication to Persephone, *Κούρα*, in three separate inscriptions, leads me to suppose that this platform was not an ordinary cemetery, but rather a *temenos*, sacred to Demeter and Persephone, and used as a place of interment, probably by the families by whom it was dedicated. The connection of these Deities with the dead and with funeral rites is well known, and constant allusion to them is to be found in Greek epitaphs.

The *οἶκος* dedicated to Demeter and Persephone I should imagine to have been some kind of small sepulchral chapel.

In the course of excavation I have met with a number of freestone slabs, which have been regularly dressed by the chisel, and faced with stucco. In two instances I noticed a moulding in stucco, on the edge of a slab of this freestone. I also discovered on the platform the capital of a column, rough hewn out of a very coarse conglomerate. This may have belonged to an elevation covered with stucco. The wall running north and south, at the foot of which I found the inscribed bases and sculpture, may belong to the *οἶκος*. It is, however, put together with less care and skill than might be expected in the case of a Greek sacred edifice.

In confirmation of the opinion that the whole platform was dedicated to Demeter and Persephone, I should observe that, on searching on the steep hill-side descending from the foot of the platform to the harbour, I discovered a *cippus* inscribed with a dedication to Demeter. From the present position of this *cippus*, I think that it must have rolled down from the platform.

It is of a somewhat later period than the other inscriptions.

If we suppose that the *temenos* was dedicated to Demeter and Persephone, I have little doubt that the veiled head represents Demeter, and the smaller and more youthful head her daughter Persephone.

In my despatch of the 20th February, I stated, in reference to the small statuette there described, that, though the type of the features was that of Aphrodite, the pomegranate flower held in the hand was a symbol of Persephone.

I am now inclined to think that this figure represents the latter Goddess, and, if this attribution be correct, it greatly enhances the value of this beautiful little figure, as representations of Persephone are of rare occurrence, and, like those of Hades or Pluto, seem to have been avoided by the ancient artists.

The quantity of fragments of sculpture which this platform has already yielded, encourages me to hope that more statues will be found here.

An old Turk from a neighbouring village informed me that about forty-five years ago a party of Franks, landing in a caique, carried off a small headless statue representing a young girl crouching down.

This figure they found on the side of the hill a few yards to the east of the eastern boundary of the *temenos*.

The statue described by the old Turk may have been rolled from the spot where I discovered the inscribed bases, and lodged in its downward course against some projection in the sloping side of the hill. The seated figure reported in my despatch of the 20th February, was lying in the same oblique track, but higher up the slope, and within the eastern boundary.

I have, &c.
(Signed C. T. NEWTON.

No. 5.

Vice-Consul Newton to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received June 4.)

My Lord,

Budrum, April 10, 1858.

HAVING had occasion in the month of August last to send a caique to the Gulf of Djova for a cargo of timber, I requested Lieutenant Smith to take

advantage of this opportunity of exploring the part of the coast of the Dorian Peninsula to which the caique was bound, and afterwards to visit the site of the ancient city of Keramos, now Keramo, on the opposite shore of the Gulf. I have the honour to inclose the Report drawn up by Lieutenant Smith after this excursion.

The inscription on a piece of architrave noticed in this Report, must have belonged to some public edifice either consecrated to Antoninus Pius, or built by that Emperor. More probably it would have been a temple in his honour.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. T. NEWTON.

Inclosure in No. 5.

Lieutenant Smith, R.E., to Vice-Consul Newton.

Sir,

Budrum, November 20, 1857.

ON the 28th of August I left Budrum in a caique, for the purpose of visiting Keramo (Keramus), on the northern shore of the Gulf of Djova.

Having occasion to go to the other side of the Gulf to get some planks on board, I went there before going to Keramo. The weather, however, was such that we could not embark the planks, so that I was obliged to remain till it moderated.

This being the case, I went to the village of Ellaköi, and lived with the Aga, Mehemet Ali. Through his kindness in furnishing me with a horse and guide, I was enabled to explore the neighbouring country during my stay with him.

About twenty miles from Cnidus, on the northern shore of the Dorian Peninsula, is a prominent point marked in the maps as Cape Shouyoun, and west of this is an open bay. The part of the peninsula I traversed is that lying between this bay and the larger one on the south side, opposite the Island of Symi.

From the first-mentioned bay, which may be called the Bay of Karaköi, westward to Cape Krio, the mountains are high and precipitous. From the Bay of Karaköi, however, as far east as Cape Emeji, the land is comparatively low, rising gradually from the shore on both sides to a range of low hills in the centre.

Cape Shouyoun itself is a bluff headland, and Cape Emeji is formed by a remarkably fine mountain, rising abruptly from the sea on the north and south, and from the low land to the east, between it and Cape Shouyoun.

From Cape Emeji, eastward to the Dorian Isthmus, the mountains, though not so high, are similar in character to those between the Bay of Karaköi and Cape Krio.

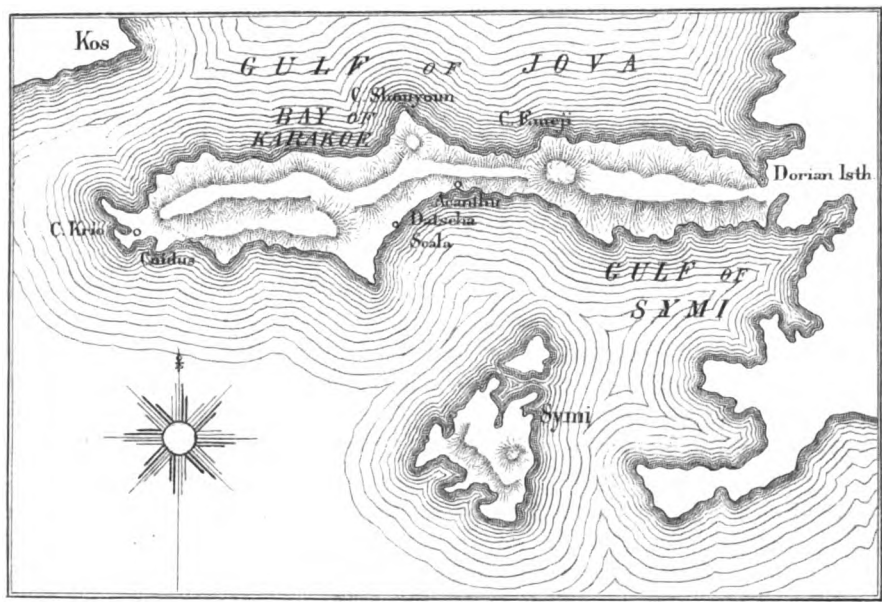
On the low hills between the Bay of Karaköi and the Gulf of Symi are several villages, of which the principal are Ellaköi, Datscha, Baturköi, and Karaköi. The first three are on the southern side of the hills, and Karaköi is on the northern. The valleys on both sides, between the hills and the shore, are very fertile, and well cultivated, producing large crops of figs, olives, and valonia.

There is a very good harbour for caiques on the western side of the large bay on the south, called Datscha Scala.

The only ancient remains I saw were those of a wall on the sea-shore, two or three miles east of Datscha Scala. This wall has its foundation at the water's edge, and is still 12 or 14 feet high. It is built of large isodomous blocks without mortar. Near this, and also on the shore of the Gulf of Karaköi, are remains of much later date, probably Byzantine. The position of the sea-wall corresponds with that of Acanthus, as laid down in Kiepert's map.

After about ten days we got the planks on board the caique, and I crossed the Gulf to Keramo.

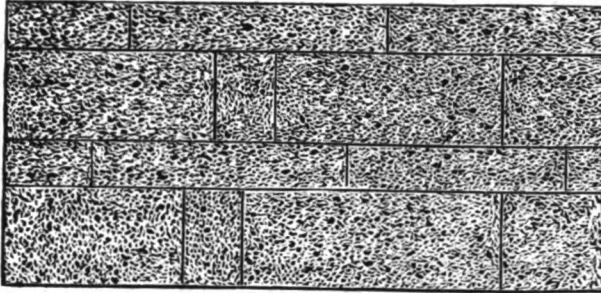
By reference to the Admiralty Chart, it will be seen that the ruins of Keramus are situated in a plain which projects considerably into the sea. This plain is bounded on the north by a ridge of high and steep mountains, and in other directions by the waters of the Gulf. These mountains, marked in Kiepert



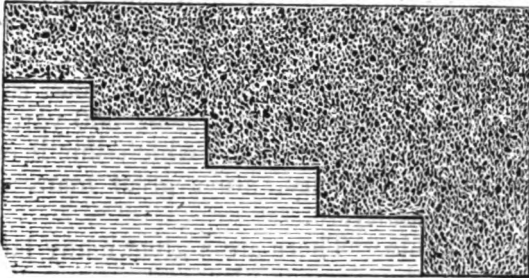
Harrison & Sons St Martin's Lane

as Mount Lida, run east and west along the shore, increasing in height and grandeur as they approach the head of the Gulf.

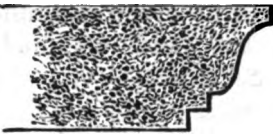
We anchored on the east side of the plain. Walking westward from this point, the first object is the basement of a large building of the Corinthian order. It stands on the north side of the plain, being built on the slope at the foot of the mountains. On this account the south side of the basement, that is, the one next the plain, is the highest; and the two adjacent sides, the east and west, decrease in height according to the upward slope of the hill, while the



northern side cannot be seen at all. The whole is built of very large blocks of pudding-stone, beautifully squared and jointed. The courses are alternately of blocks laid flat and on edge. In the courses in which the blocks are on edge, the stones are alternately *headers* and *stretchers*, like Flemish bond brick-work.



The foundations are of hard blue limestone, built in a Cyclopean manner into steps.



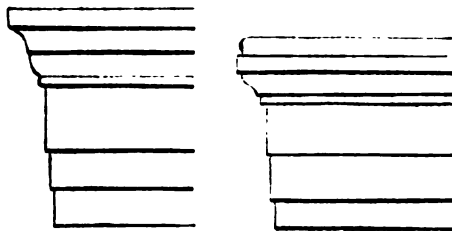
This basement has a cornice moulding of the same kind of stone. The annexed is a section.

The blocks of pudding-stone are very large, one which I measured being $15' 3'' \times 3' 4'' \times 1' 7\frac{1}{2}''$. The length of the south side is $104' 3''$. From not finding the north side, I could not get the length of the east and west sides, but traced one of them for a length of 96 feet. The whole place is encumbered by the ruins of a monastery.

Inside the walls of the basement are fragments of the superstructure of the ancient building. They are of white marble, and seem to have belonged to a temple.

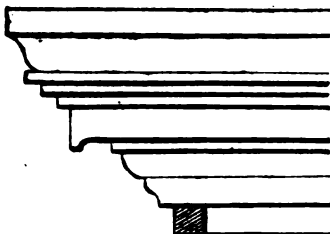
The columns are unfluted. The diameter of some is $2' 7''$, and of others $2' 1''$. I saw no bases.

The capitals are Corinthian, of rather coarse workmanship. The height is $2' 10''$, and the diameter where it joins the shaft $1' 9''$.



Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

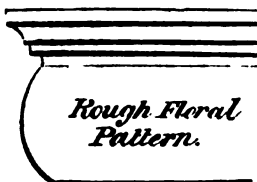
The annexed are sections of two blocks of the architrave or frieze. The depth of the larger is $1' 11''$, and thickness, at narrowest part, $2' 5\frac{1}{2}''$. The same dimensions of the smaller one are $1' 8\frac{1}{2}''$ and $2' 2\frac{1}{4}''$ respectively.



Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

The depth of the cornice is $1' 11\frac{1}{2}''$. (See section.)

In the wall of the monastery, forming the spring of an arch, I saw a stone $1' 3''$ in depth, with a rough honey-suckle pattern. From its appearance, however, I think it did not belong to the Temple. In its centre it had a cross surrounded by a wreath.



I saw several blocks $1' 6''$ in depth, of which the annexed is a section.

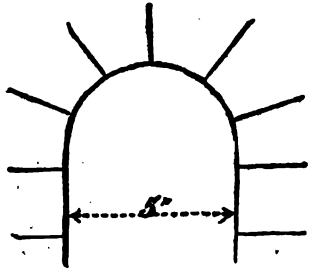
Behind this basement are a number of tombs cut in the perpendicular face of the rock; they are now filled with bee-hives.

Still walking westward, I found the foundations of a

E

small building, 40 feet by 28 feet, probably a tomb. It was of the same conglomerate as the basement already described.

Half-a-mile more to the westward, I came to the wall of the city. This wall incloses the city on the east, south, and west sides. On the north side, the mountains are so steep and rugged that they form a natural defence. On this account there is no wall, except at one or two places, where the line of rock is broke by a ravine. The wall is built of large blocks of blue limestone, and is a good specimen of Cyclopean masonry. Here and there throughout its course are square towers of the same material and construction, with the exception of the corners, which are of isodomous blocks of the conglomerate mentioned above. The average thickness of the wall is about 5 feet.



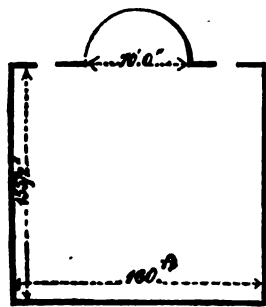
I counted, altogether, eight small gateways, most of which are still standing. The upper part forms a radiating arch, about 5 feet in width. These gateways are protected by small flanking towers.

On the southern side, facing the valley, are the remains of the principal entrance to the city. Here the wall takes a bend inwards, having the gateway in the centre of the curve. By this means the entrance is flanked by a wall on each side. From this gateway a road can be easily traced in a south-eastern direction for a distance of at least 500 yards. It is about 36 feet in breadth between the rows of sarcophagi which line it on each side. Outside the walls, on every side of the city, are a great many of these plain sarcophagi, nearly all made of conglomerate.

Within the walls there is nothing remarkable. There are a great many late buildings, the principal features of which are the semicircular arches over the doors and windows. In one of these buildings I saw pieces of architrave and cornice of white marble. The cornice was very florid in style, and not finely executed. One piece of architrave had the inscription ΣΩΤΩΝΜΕΤΑ. and another, ΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΩΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΕΤΣ. [*A*] *ντωελνφ Σεβαστφ Εύσ[εβει]*.

Near this was a small spirally-fluted column of white marble, 9 inches in diameter, used as a Turkish tombstone.

Throughout the interior of the city were a great many blocks of conglomerate, which seems to have been the common stone used for building. I saw a number of rough columns of this stone, 2 feet in diameter.



The annexed is the plan of a building in the eastern part of the city. The wall is altogether of conglomerate, and is only 4 feet high, except the circular part which is 8 feet in height. This part is finished by a plain coping, and the rest of the wall also seems still of its original height, as there are no ruins lying about as if it had fallen.

The valley is covered in many places with impenetrable thickets, and is very unhealthy. The ground where it is cultivated, is very fertile; but I saw large crops of ripe grain standing uncut from want of labourers. In different places in the valley are the ruins of monasteries, none of which, however, are in any way remarkable.

After remaining two days here, I returned to Budrum.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

R. M. SMITH.

No. 6.

Vice-Consul Newton to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received June 25.)

My Lord,

Ruins of Cnidus, May 21, 1858.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship a most interesting discovery which has been made here since my return.

More than a year ago I was informed, by an intelligent Greek from Calymnos, that he had seen, on a promontory a little to the east of Cnidus, a colossal marble lion, similar to those found at Budrum, but on a larger scale,

Ever since our establishment here, I have made inquiries in reference to this lion, among the Turkish inhabitants of the district. None of them could give me any information about it. The weather during the winter having been unfavourable for distant excursions, I contented myself with making search for the lion on the promontory nearest to our encampment. During the last month a more distant district, east of Cnidus, has been explored by Mr. Pullan, who at length had the satisfaction of discovering the lion.

It proved to be a magnificent example of colossal Greek sculpture, worthy to be compared with the finest remains from Halicarnassus.

The lion measures 10 feet in length, and 6 in height from the base to the crown of the head—dimensions which much exceed those of the lions from the Mausoleum.

The body is couching; the head turned round to the right, in the same manner as the lion is frequently represented on ancient Greek coins.

The sculpture is in fine condition. The lion lies on the right side, on the surface of a rocky slope.

The left side, being uppermost, has suffered, as might be expected, from weather; but, though some of the finer details of the sculpture have been thus obliterated, the main anatomical markings retain their original boldness. Much of the right side, lying undermost, is as fresh as when it left the hand of the artist. The entire lion has been sculptured out of one block of Parian marble, with the exception of the fore-paws, which have been united to the body by a joint. From the crouching position of the animal, the legs and tail form a part of the base: thus the whole lion has fallen in one solid mass, and, considering its great weight, has sustained but little injury.

The fore-paws have been broken off at the joint, and part of the lower jaw, and of one hind-leg, are wanting. But these injuries detract but little from the general effect; and the original design of the artist is presented to the eye with a completeness seldom to be met with in those examples of colossal Greek sculpture which have been preserved to us.

No attempt is made to imitate the natural form of the eye, in the place of which is a deeply-recessed cavity.

It is a question whether eyes of metal, or of vitreous paste, were inserted in these cavities, or whether the deep shadows thus created under the overhanging brows were not designed, when viewed at a distance, to convey to the spectator an impression equivalent to that produced by the living eye.

Such a mode of representation *by equivalents* was adopted by the ancient artists whenever mere mechanical imitation failed to reproduce in art the effect of an object in nature, and this is particularly the case in the treatment of the eye, in the representation of which much variety may be remarked in different branches of ancient art.

As soon as the "Supply" returns from Malta, I hope to accomplish the packing and shipment of the lion.

Its weight I should guess to be about 8 tons, considerably more than that of the largest portion of the colossal horse sent home in the "Gorgon;" but I believe that our tackle will suffice for the raising of this great mass.

It remains that I shall give your Lordship a description of the locality where the lion was found.

Immediately to the east of Cnidus the coast bends round, forming a bay. The curve, after being interrupted by two small promontories, is continued till it terminates in a bold headland lying opposite to Cape Crio, and about three miles distant from it.

On the summit of a cliff forming part of this headland are the ruins of an ancient tomb, overlooking the sea, with Cnidus in the distance.

To the east of this tomb the ground slopes gradually. The upper part of this declivity is strewn with architectural ruins from the tomb; a little below lies the lion. The soil being rocky, but little of the mass of marble has been imbedded in it.

The inclosed tracing, from a drawing by Mr. Pullan, will give your Lordship an idea of the scale of the lion and of the site.

The tomb has been a square basement, surrounded by a Doric peristyle and surmounted by a circular pyramid. The basement and lower portion of the pyramid still remain, and are built of travertine. The peristyle, all of which

has fallen, is of yellow marble veined with limestone, quarried, probably, in the neighbourhood. The basement and pyramid were probably faced with slabs of the same marble.

There can, I think, be little doubt that the lion stood originally on the top of the pyramid.

The tomb may have been, in the first instance, thrown down by an earthquake, but much of the demolition has probably been the work of those by whom it has been plundered.

In one place, a hole large enough to admit a man's body has been made in the travertine wall of the basement. On entering at this aperture there appears to be a chamber within the basement; but, as the upper part of the pyramid has fallen in, it will be necessary to clear away the ruins before the real form of the interior of the tomb can be ascertained.

It was probably a chamber, in form like a bee-hive, and resembling in structure the well-known Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ, the roof of which is formed by a dome of concentric horizontal courses overhanging each other so as gradually to converge to an *apex*.

The columns of the peristyle are partially engaged: their diameter is about 2 feet 6 inches.

As they are composed of detached drums, none of which are in position, their height has not yet been ascertained.

Many of the drums are only rough hewn, their flutings having been, doubtless, left to be finished after their erection.

The details of the architecture, where they are finished, are executed with great simplicity, as if massiveness and severity, rather than beauty, had been the object of the architect.

Such an architectural treatment would be in character in a design such as I conceive this tomb to have been, in which the structure was only a subordinate feature, intended as a mere pedestal for the work of the sculptor. It would also harmonize with the stern and rugged character of the scenery round the tomb.

Mr. Pullan hopes to be able to make a complete restoration of the structure of this monument from its ruins.

The basement is a square of 30 feet each way: the dimensions of the peristyle have not been ascertained, as I have not yet found any of the stylobate *in situ*.

I am now engaged in clearing out the ruins, and though I have no hope of finding the contents of the tomb intact, many remains of interest, such as inscriptions or works of art, may have been left by the spoiler, and may still be buried under the masses of rubble.

The interest of this discovery would, of course, greatly be enhanced, could we ascertain in whose honour so stately a monument was erected.

The Cnidian lion, if sculptured by any of the school of Scopas, would be nearly contemporary in date with a very similar monument erected by the Thebans at Chæronea, to commemorate those of their countrymen who fell in battle at that place.

The colossal lion of Chæronea was broken to pieces during the Greek Revolution, but the fragments still exist *in situ*.

It is not improbable that the Cnidus tomb is also a public monument, but I am not aware of any event recorded in ancient history with which it can be connected.

It may be doubted whether, in the period to which from the style of the sculpture I would assign this monument, viz., B.C. 400 to 350, the burial-place of any private citizen would have been distinguished by so sumptuous and conspicuous a tomb, unless decreed by the State; and, according to what we know of the scale of fortunes in the Greek Republics, such an outlay would be excessive, if defrayed from private means.

As the lion is the most general and most ancient type on the coins of Cnidus, this animal may have been employed by the sculptor as a symbol of the city itself.

On the other hand, representations of the lion may be found on a number of sepulchral monuments in different parts of the Hellenic world. In such a symbol the ancients probably sought to express the idea of a watchful sentinel ever present at the tomb.

I have already noticed that the site of the Lion Tomb is one well suited for such a monument.

It stands on the edge of an abrupt precipice, cut sheer down to the sea, to the depth of 300 feet.

The summit of the pyramid commands an extensive view of the neighbouring coast and islands.

On the west appears Cnidus, with Cos beyond. Below, to the south, are the Islands of Nisyros, Telos, and the more distant Rhodes.

This tomb must have been to the mariners on the Eastern side of the Archipelago as familiar a sea-mark as the Colossus of Rhodes, the Mausoleum, or the Temple of Apollo at Branchidæ.

On the land side the view from the pyramid presents a wild and barren tract of mountain scenery. I hope soon to be able to send your Lordship some photographs of this most picturesque landscape.

At the distance of about half an hour inland from the tomb, I noticed on an elevated spot another tomb, which, on examination, I found to consist of a square basement of polygonal masonry (commonly called Cyclopean), which had been surmounted by a circular pyramid now thrown down. The whole of this tomb was built of massive blocks of limestone.

Looking inland from the summit of this second tomb, I discovered on the next considerable eminence a third tomb, composed of a square basement, surmounted by a circular pyramid. The basement was of limestone, the pyramid of travertine. On the right were two other tombs which I have not yet examined. All these monuments present the same general type.

I have little doubt that they all contain circular chambers vaulted with horizontal courses, in the mode which I have already described. It is probable that all the chambers have been broken open and rifled, but interesting remains may yet be found in them.

The manner in which the several tombs are grouped, seems hardly the result of chance. I am inclined to think that advantage has been taken of the principal eminences, so as to make each tomb command a view of the one nearest to it.

Thus they may have served as a chain of watch-towers, and for the communication of signals.

The sites of the ancient tumuli in many parts of England seem to have been chosen with a similar view.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. T. NEWTON.

No. 7.

Vice-Consul Newton to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received August 6.)

My Lord,

Ruins of Cnidus, June 30, 1853.

HAVING been detained at Budrum during the month of April, I requested Lieutenant Smith to make excavations in five different sites in the ruins of Cnidus, all of which appeared to me to be worthy of examination.

The position of these several spots may be easily found by reference to the Index Plan of Cnidus, of which I had the honour to forward a copy in my despatch of the 20th of February last.*

The result of these excavations was as follows:—

1. In the centre of the Square K, the upper course of a very beautiful Hellenic wall appears above the surface, running nearly east and west. The external face of this wall was laid bare to its foundations, but nothing was discovered to encourage further excavation.

Within this wall has been a building, probably vaulted with travertine, as great quantities of small blocks of that material lie on the surface of the ground.

Among these ruins Byzantine or late Roman remains lie interspersed.

* See *ante*, page 10.

2. In Square H, are the ruins of a considerable edifice, which has been built of very large slabs of salmon-coloured marble.

The manner in which the joints of these slabs are dressed, indicates that the masonry is of a good period. No columns, or traces of architectural decoration, appear among these ruins.

From the great size of the blocks, the building must have been of a very massive character.

The absence of architectural ornament makes it probable that it was an edifice intended as a place of deposit for municipal archives or other public property.

On excavation, it appeared that some late Roman or Byzantine structure had been erected here after the original edifice fell into decay.

Lieutenant Smith excavated here in several places but found no remains of sculpture or inscriptions.

3. In Square I, a few yards to the north-east of the small Corinthian temple, supposed by some to be the Temple of Venus, and within its *temenos*, is a mass of ruins, among which is a large block of marble bearing an inscription, published in Hamilton's "Asia Minor," ii, p. 260, No. 494.

As this inscription makes mention of a statue which had been placed by public decree in the Gymnasium at Cnidus, I thought it possible that the inscribed pedestal was lying near its original position, and that the statue might be found by digging round it.

An excavation was consequently made here, but nothing was found except part of the leg of a figure, in high relief, of Roman times.

4. In Square C are the ruins of a large building, surrounded by a fine ashlar wall. The masonry appears to be Roman.

When the Dilettanti Mission visited Cnidus they discovered, at the south end of this building, the remains of a very elegant Ionic portico, a restoration of which is given in the third volume of the "Ionian Antiquities."

Since the visit of the Mission the greater part of the portico has been destroyed; enough, however, remains to show the character of the architecture.

The ornaments are nearly identical with those used in the Mausoleum, but the execution is far inferior, and wants the depth of shadow, precision of outline, and delicacy of finish which are the characteristics of Ionic architecture in its best period.

This degeneracy in the style of the Ionic leads me to consider that the portico is, probably, of the same period as the building to which it forms the vestibule.

Its date in that case would hardly be earlier than the time of Augustus.

When this building was examined by the Dilettanti Mission, the interior was so overgrown with brushwood that they were prevented from exploring it properly.

The greater part of this brushwood having been recently cleared away, I requested Lieutenant Smith to make an excavation in the interior of the building so as to lay bare the foundations of a wall which crossed it from east to west, and to ascertain whether, on either side of this line, the original pavement had been preserved.

On digging down in several places here it was found that this foundation did not present the appearance of an Hellenic work.

The masonry was irregular, as if the wall had been rebuilt out of earlier materials in Byzantine times.

No traces of the original pavement could be found on either side of the foundation.

The excavation was continued in the interior of the building to the south of this line, but nothing of interest was discovered, except the body of a statuette in white marble, representing a draped female figure, probably Demeter.

The sculpture of this figure appeared to be of the Roman period.

The depth of soil and rubble which had accumulated in this building averaged 5 feet in the part excavated.

5. In Square R is a singular alcove, marked in the Admiralty Chart. It is built of large blocks of travertine; the masonry is isodomous.

It faces the sea, being built against the side of the hill, like a theatre.

A little below this alcove a natural terrace runs along the shore of the

harbour. Near the edge of this terrace is a pedestal of fine white marble, inscribed,

ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΘΕΙΣ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΑΣ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΤΣ
ΧΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΑ

in characters of the Macedonian period.

This is lying on its side, and appears to have been dug up near the spot.* About 80 feet east of the alcove, and on the same level as the inscription, I noticed on the surface a line of foundation, apparently, of some large building, running east and west.

I therefore selected this spot for an excavation, in order to ascertain what the alcove was, and whether it was connected with the line of foundation to the east of it.

On excavating on both sides of this latter line, Lieutenant Smith came to a small theatre facing the sea, and placed rather lower down the hill than the alcove.

I have the honour to inclose a tracing from a plan of this theatre by Mr. Pullan, and a photograph, which shows its position relatively to the alcove.

This theatre, as will be seen by the plan, is on a very small scale, the chord of its arc measuring only 23 feet 3 inches.

In place of the *scena* is a platform formed of a single row of large blocks. In front of the centre of this platform are the remains of a pedestal, A, of which the present dimensions are 6 feet by 3 feet, and 1 foot 8 inches high. †

On the western side a step has led up to this pedestal.

Between the centre of the platform and the boundary-wall of the theatre on the west, is the drum of a plain circular column in position. In the side of this drum is a vertical groove, B, doubtless, intended to receive a metallic grating, which must have traversed the length of the platform from west to east, and formed a screen.

Sockets for the attachment of this grating occur at irregular intervals in the pavement, marked on the plan, D, D, D.

On the west of the column has been a gateway.

To the east of the centre a socket, marked E in the Plan, occurs in the pavement, showing the position of a gate. The area between the seats and the paved platform, corresponding with the orchestra in the usual arrangement of a Greek theatre, is not paved.

From the outside or front of the theatre, the platform is approached by a flight of two steps.

Outside the gateway on the west, these steps bend round so as to describe the segment of a circle.

Another small theatre exists at Cnidus, in the Square I of the Plan. It is considerably larger than the one discovered by Lieutenant Smith, and probably of a much later period.

The position of the pedestal, and the unusual smallness of scale in the theatre described in this Report, lead me to suppose that it was an *Odeum*, or theatre for musical contests.

The performer, doubtless, stood on the pedestal in the manner represented in several Greek vase pictures, of which musical contests are the subjects.

On digging within the alcove, it was found that the soil had accumulated above the foundations, to an average depth of 10 feet. The present height of the wall is 22 feet; there is no proof that it was ever carried any higher. No pavement was found within the area of the alcove; it was traversed by an irregular foundation wall marked C in the Plan inclosed herewith.

The digging was continued in front of the alcove as far as the line D, which marks the position of a rough wall running parallel to the arc of the alcove.

It will be seen by reference to the section that, from the line D, the ground falls towards the sea by a gradual slope, interrupted at E by a terrace wall.

* From the words *Θεραπευθεῖς* and *Χαριστεία*, it may be inferred that this inscription records a votive offering in gratitude for the cure of some disease. The pedestal may, therefore, have originally stood in a temple of *Æsculapius*.

On removing the upper soil from this slope, a series of steps and platforms were laid bare, leading up to a semi-circular foundation F, the centre of which, as will be seen by reference to the Plan, is in a line with the centre of the alcove.

The relative heights of the series of steps and platforms, descending from the semi-circular foundation to the lower level next the sea, are shown in the section.

Between the points G G and H H, the width of these steps and platforms is determined by two parallel walls.

Below H H the width has not been ascertained by excavation.

At G G are projections, apparently the foundations of two opposite piers.

In the ground below H H were found two pedestals, both of which, probably, supported statues. It would not be possible, without more extensive excavations, to decide what the purpose of these steps and platforms has been, and what was their relation to the alcove and semi-circular foundation below it.

The steps are of good masonry, and have been veneered with marble, which appears to have also lined the side walls, G H, already mentioned. No pavement was discovered on the platforms. The masonry seemed of the Roman period.

As the ground in front of the alcove could not have been completely explored without a considerable outlay, and, as the discoveries which have been made here are chiefly interesting in so far as they throw light on the topography of Cnidus, I did not consider myself justified in incurring further expense on this ground. It is, however, possible that more extended researches might bring to light the plan of some large building, of which the alcove and the steps leading up to it may have formed a part.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. T. NEWTON.

No. 8.

Vice-Consul Newton to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received September .)

My Lord,

Ruins of Cnidus, August 20, 1858.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship the progress and results of the excavations in the *temenos* of Demeter and Persephone during the last month. In my despatch of the 7th of April,* I reported the discovery of two female heads, several inscribed bases, and many fragments of sculpture in the eastern part of the *temenos*. At the distance of about 45 feet to the west of this spot, we found part of a colossal left foot in a sandal, sculptured in white marble. On the sandal were traces of red colour.

Close to this foot was a mass of stones and rubble, on removing which the walls of a small chamber became visible, nearly on a level with the surface of the field.

The present form of this chamber is oval, but it may have been originally circular, and thrown out of its shape by an earthquake.

It is built of travertine blocks, without mortar; the joints of the masonry are all more or less shaken and opened, as if their structure had been dislocated by the shock of an earthquake.

The highest courses of this wall were on a level with the present surface of the field; the dimensions of the interior of the chamber were 9 feet for the length of the oval, and 6 feet 3 inches for its diameter.

The mass of stones and rubble with which it was filled up appears to be the ruins of the vault by which it was covered, and which was probably built in horizontal courses. On removing this mass, a number of small slabs and cubes of marble and limestone were extracted; some entire, some in fragments. These I found to be mostly inscribed.

Intermixed with them were sculptures and various miscellaneous antiquities, filling up the chamber to the depth of 7 feet.

The whole mass of objects discovered may be thus classified:—

* See *ante*, page 15.

1. Limestone base, 14 inches by $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches, by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, inscribed—

... ΔΕΙΑ
ΙΕΡΕΙΑ
ΚΟΤΡΑ[Ι]

On this base stood a *stèle*, which was found detached in three fragments. The entire height of the base and *stèle* together is 3 feet 8 inches. The *stèle* is surmounted by a head very much worn and defaced, and executed in a coarse conventional style.

This head probably represents Persephone, the goddess to whom the dedication was made. It is surmounted by the *polos*, the symbol distinctive of Persephone.

2. Base, $26\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches, by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. Inscribed on the edge :

ΔΔΙΝΝΑΣΩΠΟΛΙΟΣΘΥΓΓΑΤΗΡΠΟΛΤΧΑΡΕΤΣΥΤΝΑ]
ΚΑΙΤΟΙΠΑΙΔΕΣΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΚΑΙΚΟΤΡΑΙ]

On either end of the upper surface is a hollow, cut apparently for the reception of the feet of some quadruped, or for other sculpture.

One of these hollows is square ; the other, an irregular oblong.

3. Limestone base. Length, $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 9 inches, by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth ; inscribed on one of the narrow ends :—

ΑΑΚ[ΙΜ]ΑΧΑ
ΑΝΑΕΙ

The *ἄνακτες* or *ἄνακες* in the dedication are probably the Dioscuri, whose Temples were called Anakeia. On the upper surface a hollow is chiselled out, 14 inches by $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches, by $\frac{3}{8}$ inch.

4. Base, $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 13 inches, by 11 inches, inscribed,—

ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΔΙΟΚΑΕΙΑΝΙ
ΚΑΓΟΡΑΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΤ
ΥΤΝΑ

The letters are beautifully cut. A cornice projects $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches over this base in front and at the side.

5. Limestone base, $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in depth, inscribed,—

ΞΕΝΩ
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΚΑΙ
ΚΟΤΡΑΙΕΤΧΗΝ

From the form of the letters, and the disuse of the Doric dialect in this inscription, it is probably the latest of all those discovered in the chamber.

On the upper surface is a round socket 6 inches in diameter, by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep.

6. Limestone base, $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 12 inches, by 8 inches, inscribed,—

ΠΛΑΘΑΙΝΙΣΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣΥΤΝΑ
ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΚΑΙΚΟΤΡΑΙ

7. Base of which the present length is 18 inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, by $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches, inscribed,—

[ΚΟ]ΤΡΑΙΠΛΑΘΑΙΝΙΣΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣΥΤΝΑ

This base originally supported a small boar $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, which was found detached.

8. Pig. Length $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; broken off from a base $20\frac{1}{2}$ inches long : the legs in separate fragments.

9, 10. Two pigs, or boars ; length $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

11, $12\frac{1}{2}$. Two calves, one 18 inches, the other 17 inches long. The hind legs are detached fragments ; the bases are wanting.

13. *Calathus*, $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width at the mouth. The foot terminates in a projection intended to be inserted in a socket. This *calathus* may have been dedicated to Demeter.

14. Female head broken off at the neck, 7 inches high, inclusive of the

neck. The hair is drawn back from the forehead, after the fashion of Diana Venatrix.

15. Base of coarse freestone 13 inches by $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches, by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. On the upper surface is a triangular socket, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches each way by 1 inch in depth.

This was probably the base of a small figure of Hekate Triformis, a fragment of which, in the same material, I discovered in a previous excavation in the *temenos*.

16. A portion of drapery from the shoulder of a colossal figure.

17. A female hand, under life size.

18. The back of a head in very bad condition.

All the sculpture and bases in the foregoing list are executed in fine white marble, except in the cases in which I have specified another material.

The style of the sculpture is not inferior to that of the statues and busts from the same locality, of which I have previously reported the discovery, except in the case of the two calves, which are treated in a conventional manner.

Judging from the form of the letters in the inscriptions, and from the style of the sculptures, I should assign to these marbles a date ranging from B.C. 370 to B.C. 320, a period extending from the reign of Mausolus to the death of Alexander the Great.

The interest of these works of art is greatly increased by the inscriptions found with them, which, in two cases, No. 1 and No. 7 of the foregoing list, may be re-adjusted to the objects of which they record the dedication.

19. Fourteen objects, which are, perhaps, votive offerings.

Each consists of a pair of female breasts placed on a plinth, and connected by a handle.

The plinths vary in length from $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches to $1\frac{1}{8}$. The depth of the longest is nearly 3 inches.

These objects are sculptured in white marble; on the surface of nearly all are traces of a thick pigment with which they have been coloured. The breasts vary in form; some appear to be those of young girls; others of women who have suckled children.

The custom of dedicating models of any part of the body which had been affected by disease, has been retained from Pagan antiquity both by the Greek and Roman Churches.

Votive breasts, sculptured in marble, may be seen in the Elgin Collection, and are not uncommon in Museums; I do not, however, remember to have seen any of the form here described. On the handles are incised marks resembling Roman numerals. These marks, and the general form of the plinth and handle, rather suggest the idea that these objects are weights.

20. With these breasts was found a similar plinth, on which two heads of Cupids were substituted for the pair of breasts. These heads were placed back to back, being connected, like the breasts, by a handle rising between them.

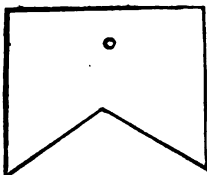
As the sculpture which had fallen into the chamber was removed, we came to a stratum of smaller and more fragile objects below.

Several lamps of the Roman period, an *amphoriskos*, and several small saucers, and bases of plain unvarnished red ware, and a saucer of red Samian ware, were found, intermixed with hair-pins and bodkins of ivory and bone, and with a number of fragments of small rods of transparent glass, twisted and inlaid with spiral threads of opaque glass.

The transparent glass was principally white and blue.

In the same stratum were a number of fragments of small marble tablets or labels, from 2 to 4 inches in length, from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep.

Some of these tablets were rectangular in form; others were shaped thus—



Each of these latter was pierced in the upper part for attachment to a wall or some other object. The surfaces of all these tablets were polished, and bore traces of colour. They had, probably, been used as labels, on which were inscribed the forms of dedication in the case of the smaller votive objects.

The lowest stratum in the chamber consisted of small glass bottles, intermixed with bones.

These bottles or phials ranged in length from 7 inches to 3 inches.

Nearly all had long narrow necks, the bodies being mostly shaped like the half of an hour-glass; the whole bottle might thus be likened in form to a

stethoscope. The bodies of some few were globular or bulbous in form. The glass was green, and of a very ordinary quality.

It appeared to be of the Roman period.

These bottles were lying in a stratum of sand packed in rows.

Fragments of several hundreds were extracted. I succeeded in obtaining forty-four unbroken specimens.

The discovery of so many of these bottles uninjured, and the position in which they were lying, leads me to conclude that they could not have fallen from above, but that they must have been deposited in the bottom of the chamber in regular layers previously to the fall of the vault and marbles.

The pottery, glass rods, and hair-pins, appear to have been also placed on the ground in the position in which I found them.

The chamber may have been a kind of treasury or place of deposit for small votive offerings, and the sculpture and inscriptions may have stood round the outside of the walls, or have surmounted the roof. They may thus have been thrown into the position in which I found them when the vault fell in.

If they had originally been placed inside the chamber, they must have rested on brackets, or on some kind of platform or floor higher than the level of the basement where the glass was lying.

No traces, however, of such supports appear inside the chamber. Though the relation of these marbles to the structure in which they were discovered cannot be satisfactorily determined at present, it would appear that, when found, they were still lying on the spot where they had been broken, and near which it may be presumed they originally stood.

In the case of many of the broken objects all the fragments were recovered, and the edges of the fractures were so fresh that they could never have been disturbed since their fall.

The bones found in the lower stratum of the soil proved, upon examination, to be those of fowls and young pigs. These animals must have been here sacrificed to Demeter and Persephone. The pig, as is well known, was sacred to Demeter, and consequently appears as a constant type on the coins of Eleusis.

The manner in which the glasses and more fragile objects were packed in layers at the bottom of the chamber reminded me of the discoveries in the field of Chiaoux at Budrum, described in my despatch to the Earl of Clarendon, of December 14, 1856.*

In that locality layers of small terra-cotta figures and of lamps were found lying in a clay bed between lines of foundations. Above these layers of fragile objects were masses of grouted masonry, which appeared to be portions of Roman vaulting fallen in, and several fragments of white marble sculpture and other antiquities.

Near these remains at Budrum a large limestone base, dedicated to Demeter, was found.

The combined evidence of these two discoveries would lead me to suppose that in the ancient sacred inclosures were vaulted chambers, built for the reception of votive objects, which were there arranged in classes and stored up.

The *oikos* in the *temenos* of Demeter and Persephone, of which mention is made in an inscription previously discovered, and reported in my despatch of the 7th of April last,† may have been such a treasury.

I would reserve, however, my judgment on this question till the whole ground has been explored, when further evidence may explain much that is unusual and anomalous in these remains.

I have already stated that the foundations of the walls of this chamber are about 7 feet below the surface of the field.

We cleared out the soil to a depth of about 2 feet lower, at which depth we ceased to find antiquities, and I therefore desisted from digging any deeper at present.

I have since taken off much of the upper surface of the platform west of this chamber, digging everywhere to the depth of about 3 feet.

The soil, in most parts of the excavation, is full of ancient lamps, occurring very near the surface.

* See Papers presented March 1858, page 1.

† See *ante*, page 15.

Many of these lamps are of the Roman period, but some are unquestionably Greek, and, probably, of the same age as the sculptures.

In some parts of the platform they occurred in clusters, packed closely together.

Small terra-cotta figures, many of them very grotesque in character, have also been found, but not in such numbers as the lamps.

In the western part of the cemetery the ground is full of foundation walls, built of blocks, without mortar, but not with the neatness usual in Hellenic works.

If these foundations are Greek, their joints must have been shaken and displaced by earthquakes.

Digging on towards the north, I have ascertained that these foundations run on towards the steep scarp of native rock which I have described in previous despatches.

As the platform of the *temenos* approaches this scarp, its level changes to a steep incline.

Cutting through this slope, I found it to consist of loose débris and masses of rock which had been detached from the face of the mountain to the north, and that the foundation walls and ancient remains continued under these débris towards the scarp.

I discovered in this excavation a fine female head, life size, much defaced ; a very beautiful female hand, smaller than life ; part of a sandaled foot from a draped female figure, life size ; the neck from a female figure, life size ; and much pottery.

In the more level part of the platform, and on the extreme west, I found a small female head and three fingers, all from different hands, and one from a colossal figure.

These discoveries show that the whole *temenos* was once adorned with statuary of fine Greek workmanship, much of which has probably been overwhelmed by the fall of masses of rock detached from the scarp by earthquakes.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. T. NEWTON.

No. 9.

Vice-Consul Newton to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received October 14.)

My Lord,

Ruins of Cnidus, September 25, 1858.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that I returned in Her Majesty's ship "Supply," to this place on the 23rd instant, having packed and shipped at Geronta the statues from the Sacred Way, and several interesting inscriptions.

I have received a despatch under date September 7, 1858, from Admiral Fanshawe, which leads me to expect that he will send the "Supply" home with her present cargo on her arrival at Malta, sending a ship periodically to visit the party here, in the manner which I had the honour to suggest in a previous despatch.

I, therefore, send your Lordship herewith inclosed copy of the invoice of the cases shipped on board the "Supply" up to this date. They are numbered consecutively 219 to 329, from the last number of the previous invoice sent home in Her Majesty's ship "Gorgon," and are 111 in number.

The "Supply" will leave this place for Malta on the 28th instant.

I take this opportunity of reporting to your Lordship how greatly I am indebted to Mr. Balliston, and the officers and men under his command, for the zealous and efficient manner in which they have rendered assistance to the expedition.

Considering how small the force at the disposal of Mr. Balliston has been in proportion to the amount of work performed, I think that the greatest credit is due to that gentleman, his officers, and men, for their services in this expedition ; services which could only have been accomplished by a ship's company in a high state of discipline and efficiency.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. T. NEWTON.

Inclosure in No. 9.

Invoice of Antiquities shipped on board Her Majesty's steam-ship "Supply," from June 24, 1857, to September 26, 1858.

[The numbers in this invoice are continued from the last number in the previous invoice sent home with Her Majesty's ship "Gorgon."]

- (219.) Piece of Architrave, north side of Mausoleum.
 (220.) Idem.
 (221.) Idem.
 (222.) Step from Mausoleum Pyramid, north side of Mausoleum.
 (223.) Drum of Mausoleum Column, Imaum's Field, north side of Mausoleum.
 (224.) Idem.
 (225.) Inscription on Limestone Slab, road at foot of Theatre Hill, north-east of Mausoleum.
 (226.) Part of Pedestal of a Colossal Figure, elliptical marble, both from Imaum's Field, piece of panel which has contained a relief, Mausoleum.
 (227.) Marble, with a hollow square cut in it, perhaps from apex of Pyramid, Imaum's field, Mausoleum.
 (228.) Step from Pyramid, indidem.
 (229.) Square marble, with step cut in it, perhaps from apex of Pyramid; marble in form of tile, indid.
 (230.) Square marble, with fine joint, perhaps from apex of Pyramid, indid.
 (231.) Piece of Architrave, indid.
 (232.) Marble step, indid. eastern side.
 (233.) Idem.
 (234.) Idem.
 (235.) Part of a draped Female Figure, Imaum's field, Mausoleum.
 (236.) Inscription from Turkish House, west side of Budrum, near the Lazaretto.
 (237.) Colossal Female Head, found in chimney of Imaum's house, north side of Mausoleum.
 N.B.—As this head is veiled, it may belong to the female figure found under the Pyramid stones at the side of the male figure, supposed to be Mausolus.
 (238.) Head in Phrygian cap; Lion's Paw; Hadji Nalban's field, south side of Mausoleum.
 (239.) Inscription from Koja Mahomet's field, Eastern Cemetery, Budrum.
 (240.) Sepulchral Inscription from a Turkish house, west side of Budrum.
 (241.) Inscription relating to Stoa of Ptolemy, and Apollo, from house below Eastern Peribolus wall, Mausoleum.
 (242.) Fragment of Inscription, No. 241, *supra*.
 (243.) Angle Pyramid Step, Imaum's field.
 (244.) Leopard, Mahomet's field, north side of Mausoleum.
 (245.) Lion's head, indid.
 (246.) Marble beam, north side of Mausoleum.
 (247.) Idem.
 (248.) Inscription, Epitaph of the Physician Melanthios, from field near north wall of ancient city, Budrum.
 (249.) Part of Draped Female Figure, Hadji Nalban's field, north side of Mausoleum.
 (250.) Piece of Capital, Mahomet's field, north side, indid.
 (251.) Part of Capital, indid.
 (252.) Upper piece of Architrave, indid.
 (253.) Contains the following :—
 1. Male Torso, Parian marble, found in a garden wall, Cos.
 2. Marble Casket, Mahomet's field, north side of Mausoleum.
 3. Piece of marble, with mitre joint, Mausoleum.
 4. Piece of Capital, north side, indid.
 5. Part of Stêlê, with relief representing Apollo Musegetes, Ishmael's house, south-west angle of Mausoleum.
 6. Angle of sunk panel, with Foot in relief, Mausoleum.
 7. Part of Horse's Hoof, indid.
 8. Piece of Base Moulding, unfinished, Mahomet's field, Mausoleum.
 9. Various fragments of Lion's tails, indid.
 10. Various fragments, Frieze and Lions.
 11. Torso of naked male figure in Parian marble, found in a wall, Cos.
 12. Five pieces of Draped Statue, from same wall.
 13. Three fragments of Sculpture, indid.
 14. Piece of Lion's Shoulder, Mausoleum.
 15. Piece of Body of same, indid.
 16. Part of Base of Female Figure, indid.
 17. Part of Draped Female Figure, indid.
 18. Part of Lion's Back, indid.
 19. Piece of Lion's Shoulder, with mane, indid.
 20. Fragment of Frieze, indid.
 21. Piece of Drapery, indid.
 22. Part of Head, indid.
 (254.) Contains the following :—
 1. Nave of Chariot Wheel, Mausoleum Quadriga.
 2. Several pieces of Spoke of same Wheel.
 3. Hough joint of Colossal Horse, from Quadriga. (All the above fragments were found in Hadji Nalban's field, on the south side of the Mausoleum.)
 4-7. Three Mouldings, Mausoleum.
 8. Several Lion's Heads, from cornice, indid.
 9. Several Lion's Legs, indid.
 10. Two fragments from Frieze.
 11. Sheep's Head, south side of Mausoleum.
 12. Part of Face, with Eye, indid.
 (255.) Youthful Male Head, indid.
 (255.) Contains the following :—
 1. Piece of Capital, Mahomet's field.
 2. Youthful Female Head in Phrygian cap, indid.
 3. Neck of Statue, Hadji Nalban's field, south side.
 4. Angle fragment of Cornice, Mahomet's field.
 5. Neck, Mausoleum.
 6. Piece of Draped Shoulder.
 7. End of Leopard's Tail on base.
 8. Piece of Felloe of Wheel from Mausoleum Quadriga, from north-east angle of Peribolus.
 (257.) Cask, Inscribed Handles of Diotæ, coarse Terra-cotta Heads; Mausoleum, Peribolus.
 (258.) Female Statue, purchased at Smyrna for the British Museum, found near Clazomenæ.
 (259.) Inscribed Base, found with the above statue.
 (260.) Part of the same.
 (261.) Cask containing various fragments of the Mausoleum, chiefly from the north side, including two Necks found under Mehemet Ali's house, north-east angle of Peribolus.
 (262.) Contains various fragments, including

pieces of Marble Phialæ, and of a Bowl, found in Mahomet's field, north side; and part of the Cheek of a Statue, life size, Hadji Nalban's field, south side Mausoleum.

(263.) Cask, Handles of Diotæ, inscribed with magistrates' names, from Mausoleum, Peribolus.

(264.) Various fragments of Sculpture and Architecture from the Mausoleum, including fragment of an Inscription from Salik Bey's garden, No. 184, *supra*; Head of Hercules, purchased at Budrum; two small Statues from Cos.

(265.) Various Terra-cottas, from Mausoleum and Budrum diggings; metallic objects; two Bronze Dishes, found with Marble Phialæ in Mahomet's field, north side of Mausoleum; fragments of Inscription relating to Stoa of Ptolemy, No. 241; fragments of Statues.

(266.) Cask, Handles of Diotæ.

(267.) Cask, Lamps from Tombs, Cnidus.

(268.) Idem.

(269.) Upper part of Statue of Demeter, found in Tomb of Lykæthios, Cnidus; small terminal figure, indid.

(270.) Term, found in Temenos of Persephone, Cnidus, with Nos. 271, 278, 280, 282.

(271.) Seated Female Figure, indid.

(272.) Fragment of Draped Statue, from Temple supposed to be of Bacchus, Cnidus.

(273.) Inscribed Base, back of Lower Theatre, Cnidus.

(274.) Inscribed Base, found at entrance to Lower Theatre, indid.

(275.) Inscription, with names of two artists, back of Lower Theatre, indid.

(276.) Head of Statue, from Tomb of Lykæthios; fragments of Inscriptions, indid; fragments of Sculpture from Temenos of Persephone, viz.: one Arm, two pieces of Drapery, a small Term, a Ram's Head, Base of Neck, three fragments.

(277.) Group of Eros and Psyche, embossed on bronze handle of vase; two Bronze Vases, said to have been found with the handle in a tomb in the Island of Telos.

(278.) Base inscribed with metrical dedication to Persephone, from Temenos of Persephone, Cnidus.

(279.) Body of Figure from Tomb of Lykæthios.

(280.) Base inscribed with dedication to Persephone, Temenos of Persephone, Cnidus.

(281.) Lion's Head from Mausoleum, found in garden wall, north of north side of Peribolus.

(282.) Female Head; small figure of Persephone, and fragments as follows: Female Arm and Hand, two pieces; Female Hand in two pieces; Female Arm and Hand, in three pieces; part of Female Foot; part of several Female Hands; various fragments; all from Temenos of Persephone, Cnidus.

(283.) Lion's Head; fragments of Lion; fragments of Frieze in panels, from Mehemet Ali's field, north-east angle of Mausoleum, Peribolus; Box containing specimens of Building Materials used in Mausoleum; Inscribed Handles of Vases.

(284.) Pyramid Step, Mehemet Ali's field, north-east angle of Mausoleum, Peribolus.

(285.) Fragment of Draped Colossal Figure, east side of Mausoleum; various fragments from idem; inscribed Handles of Vases.

(286.) Head of Demeter, from Temenos of Demeter and Persephone, Cnidus.

(287.) Legs of Draped Female Figure, found in the town of Cos.

(288.) Two Marble Footstools, inscribed with dedication to Persephone, Temenos of Persephone.

(289.) Inscription from Temenos of Temple of Apollo, Calymnos.

(290.) Cask, Inscribed Handles of Diotæ, Cnidus and Budrum.

(291.) Various antiquities:—

First Division.—Antiquities of the Roman period, found in a tomb at Carpathus, purchased at Rhodes for the British Museum:

1. Large Hydria of coarse drab-coloured ware.
2. Two Oinochoæ, same kind of ware.
3. One small two-handled Glass Cup, broken.
4. One Glass Alabastron.
5. One Saucer, red varnished ware.

Second Division.—Carpathos Antiquities:

6. Small Marble Figure of Venus.
7. One Bronze Mirror.
8. Two broken ditto.
9. One broken ditto.
10. One Bronze Handle.
11. One Bronze Ring.

Third Division.—Antiquities from Temenos of Demeter and Persaphone, Cnidus.

Ten small Terra-cotta Figures of Hydrophori.

Eleven Lamps, one broken.

Shell, found in a tomb.

Fragments of a Glass Vase.

Two specimens of Cement, coloured blue, from niche in rock.

(292.) Ridge Tile, from grave, Temenos of Persephone, Cnidus.

Fragments of Leaden Plates, found near Statue, idem.

Six Terra-cotta Bulls, found at Datcha, near Cnidus.

Fifteen Lamps, from tomb of Lykæthios, idem.

(293.) Contains—

1. Angle from Chair of seated Female Figure. Temenos of Persephone.

2. Figure of Demeter (?), in two portions, found in a Roman building supposed to be baths, Cnidus.

3. Marble sculptured, in form of a vase, with inscription and wreath in relief, from Rhodes.

4. Breast of Male Figure, Budrum.

5. Part of Head in relief, indid.

6. Two Fragments, perhaps of Terms, Temenos of Persephone.

7. Fragment of Leg, in high relief, basalt (?), found in excavation, Cnidus. (K of Index Chart.)

8. Fragment of Hand, Temenos of Persephone.

9. Two Fragments of Inscription, No. 295.

10. Fragment of Archaic seated Figure (?), Cnidus.

11. Base of Figure of Hekate Triformis, Temenos of Persephone.

12. Breast of small Statue of Archaic seated Figure, indid.

13. Fragment of Head, Elliptical Chamber, indid.

14. Fragment of Inscription, No. 295.

15. Five Pieces of Bases, Elliptical Chamber, Temenos.

16. Sandalled Foot, indid.

17. Pieces of Veneered Marble, from Tomb of Lykæthios.

(294.) Eight Skulls, indid.

(295.) Inscription, found near supposed Temple of Venus, Cnidus.

(296.) Miscellaneous Antiquities, as follows:—

1. Terra-cottas; six Heads, two Feet, one Arm, one Fragment of Lyre, all found in deep diggings, Mausoleum, Peribolus.

2. Terra-cotta Head, found in mine under Hadji Nalban's house, south side of Mausoleum.

3. Small Ivory Pendant, in the form of an Elephant, found on the top of the eastern wall of the Peribolus, Mausoleum; four Ornaments, found in a tomb at Carpathos, with the objects specified *supra*, No. 291, Second Division. They consist of the following:—One plain

Gold Earring; two Hooks of Gold Earrings; one Gold Ring, with intaglio representing a Raven; one plain Gold Ring, with carbuncle (?), uncut; one Carnelian Intaglio, representing warrior seated to left; one Intaglio, representing a Lion galloping to the right; three Roman third Brass Coins, one of which is struck by Septimus Severus. The above objects, with those in No. 291, from Carpathos, were purchased for the British Museum.

4. Four Terra-cotta Heads, found in deep diggings, within Mausoleum Peribolus; circular Onyx for brooch, found in north-west gallery, Mausoleum; small Leaden Ornament, representing a mounted figure, found in chamber, south side, Mausoleum.

5. Part of small Ivory Box, found within Peribolus of Mausoleum.

6. Part of Jade(?) Handle, found in north-west gallery, Mausoleum; part of Byzantine Fibula, with Winged Monster in relief, purchased at Cnidus; Ivory Ring, Bronze Key, two Bronze Ornaments, Fragments of Inlaid Glass; all found in excavations.

7. Part of Dionysiac Mask, in copper; part of Circular Bronze Fibula, Leaden Face in relief, found in Peribolus of Mausoleum; Ivory Counter, from Theatre, Cnidus; small piece of Gold, Bronze Ring, Glass Bead, Crystal Pendant; two Bronze Studs, or Bullæ.

8. Eight Bronze objects.

9. Bronze Armlet, found in excavations, Cnidus.

10. Small Figure of Dionysos, cast in bronze, purchased at Budrum.

11. Iron Key, excavations, Cnidus.

12. Head of Bronze Nail, indid.

13. Packet of Coins, 1 to 93, as follows:—

1. Alexander III, Æ, purchased at Lagina.

2. Philip III, Æ, purchased at Eski Hissar.

3. Idem.

4. Cassander, Æ, indid.

5. Philip III, Æ, indid.

6. Antigonus, Æ, indid.

7. Bœotian, Æ, purchased at Calymnos, said to have been brought from Thoriko, near Oropo.

8. Mytilene, Æ.

9. Erythræ, Æ.

10-17. Miletus, Æ, purchased at Geronta.

18. Miletus, Tiberius (?) indid.

19. Chios, Æ.

20. Alabanda, Æ.

21. Aphrodisias, Æ.

22. Cnidus, Æ.

22-33. Cnidus, Æ.

34. Cnidus, Æ, found in Temenos of Persephone.

35-47. Halicarnassus, Æ.

48. Halicarnassus, Æ, found in Mausoleum.

49-54. Mylasa, Æ.

55. Myndus, Æ, not in Mionnet.

56-8. Myndus, Æ.

59. Myndus, Nero (?) Æ.

60. Idem, Sept. Severus and Julia Domna, Æ.

61-79. Stratoniceæ, Æ.

80. Idem, Antoninus, Æ.

81. Idem, Sept. Severus and Julia Domna.

82. Mausolus, plated.

83. Cos, Æ.

84. Idem.

85. Cos, Augustus, Æ.

86. Calymna, Æ, purchased at Calymnos.

87. Electrum, unascertained, purchased at Budrum.

88. Unascertained Lycian or Carian.

89. Unascertained, Æ, purchased at Budrum, from Kerowa.

90. Patara (?) Æ.

91. Unascertained Ptolemy.

92. Impression in lead, Byzantine die.

93. Leaden coin or token.

94. Eleven unascertained coins, Æ, purchased in Caria.

95. Fifteen ditto.

96. Four unascertained Coins, purchased at Eski Hissar.

97. One Turkish coin; one Venetian ditto, Æ.

14. Small Glass Pendant, Mausoleum; piece of inlaid Glass from excavation; Colour from flute of column, Mausoleum.

15. Bottle containing blue colour, from moulding, Mausoleum.

16. Head of Mule, Terra-cotta, Vomitory of Lower Theatre, Cnidus.

17. Fragment from Mane of colossal Lion, Cnidus.

18. Mould in Vomitory of Lower Theatre, Cnidus, perhaps for striking tickets.

19. Comic Mask, Terra-cotta, Lower Theatre, Cnidus.

20. Grotesque Terra-cotta Head, Lower Theatre, Cnidus.

21. Fragment of Roman Phiala in red glazed ware, on which has been a group in relief, probably Hercules taking the golden apples of Hesperus, Cnidus.

22. Honeysuckle ornament, Handle of Terra-cotta Lamp, Cnidus.

23. Grotesque head of Ape, Lower Theatre, Cnidus.

24. Terra-cotta Hand.

25. Fragment of marble Phiala, Temenos of Persephone, Cnidus.

26. Forty-four fragments of Pottery from Vomitory of Lower Theatre, Cnidus.

(297.) Inscription from Lower Theatre, Cnidus.

(298.) Idem.

(299.) Fragment of an Inscription in elegiac verse, indid.

(300.) Colossal Lion; Tomb on Promontory; Cnidus.

(301.) Sepulchral Cippus, with Snake in relief, Cemetery outside Eastern wall, Cnidus.

(302.) Inscribed base of same.

(303.) Byzantine inscribed base, indid.

(304.) Two marble Pigs; fragments of their Legs and Snouts; a fold of Drapery and several other fragments; Elliptical Chamber, Temenos of Persephone.

(305.) Two Calves; several fragments of base from Elliptical Chamber; fragment of Drapery from north of Tomb in western part of Temenos, Cnidus.

(306.) Inscription - Dedication by Diokleia; three fragments of the same; base of term; three fragments of the same—Elliptical Chamber, Temenos.

(307.) Two small Pigs; one base, probably of figure of Hekate Triformis; base of term, with dedication by a priestess; lower part of same term, limestone base, with dedication by Xeno to Demeter and Persephone—Elliptical Chamber, Temenos.

(308.) Head of Aphrodite (?) found in Western part of Temenos of Persephone, at the side of the square foundation; marble Calathus; long piece of term; hind legs of Calf; small female Head; piece of base—all from Elliptical Chamber, Temenos.

(309.) Three fragments of Inscription No. 295; fragments of a neck and face—west side of Temenos. Base of Pig; piece of Drapery; three fragments of bases; head of term; fourteen pairs of breasts; one pair of Cupid's heads—Elliptical Chamber, Temenos.

(310.) Forty-four Glass Bottles, bottom of Elliptical Chamber, Temenos.

- (311.) Seated Male Statue, inscribed "Chares," from Sacred Way, Branchidæ (Geronta).
 (312.) Lion, inscribed, indid.
 (313.) Female Figure, indid.
 (314.) Small Female Figure, in a later style of sculpture, indid.
 (315.) Seated Female Figure, inscribed at back of chair ΝΙΚΗ ΠΑΥΚΟΥ, indid.
 (316.) Sphinx, indid.
 (317.) Seated Male Figure, inscribed with the name of an artist, partly effaced, indid.
 (318.) Small seated Female Figure, with traces of an inscription on the back, indid.
 (319.) Seated Male Figure, differing from the rest in the arrangement of the drapery, indid.
 (320.) Seated Male Figure, the chair anciently mended with lead.
 (321.) Inscription, in very Archaic characters, recording the dedication, by the sons of Anaximander, of some work of art made by Terpsikles. From south-east extremity of Sacred Way at Geronta, near the last seated figure in his direction.
 (322.) Cube of Marble, with Agonistic inscription, from field a little to south-east of Sacred Way, Geronta.
 (323.) Door-jamb, or Parastas, inscribed, from ruins at Kara Kōi, near Geronta.
 (324.) Similar Door-jamb.
 (325.) Marble, with inscription, recording the bringing of an ivory door from Alexandria as an offering in the Temple of Apollo at Branchidæ; from ruined Church of Panagia, on road from Geronta to Kara Kōi.
 (326.) Agonistic Inscription, recently discovered in Byzantine foundations outside the village of Geronta, to [the south-east of the Temple.
 (327.) Head from Statue of Demeter, Temenos, Cnidus.
 (328.) Statue of Demeter, Temenos, Cnidus, discovered with Head No. 327.
 (329.) Base of Statue of Demeter, No. 328, with votive inscription, recording dedication by Nikokleia, the daughter of Nikokoros.

(Signed) C. T. NEWTON.

Also, 160 Marble Blocks, from north wall of Mausoleum, Peribolus.

C. T. N.

Ruins of Cnidus, September 26, 1858.

No. 10.

Vice-Consul Newton to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received November 13.)

My Lord,

Ruins of Cnidus, October 1, 1858.

AFTER the removal of the colossal lion in the month of June last, as reported in my despatch of the 1st of July, we proceeded to clear out the tomb near which the lion was discovered, and from the summit of which it had evidently fallen.

As an immense mass of ruins had to be removed, this operation occupied a large force from July 1 to August 15.

I have already, in previous despatches, described this tomb generally. As it has been now completely explored, I am enabled to present a more exact report on its design, and the details of its architecture.

The tomb, as I have previously stated, originally consisted of a basement surmounted by a pyramid, the inner structure of both of which is built of blocks of travertine resting on a foundation of travertine and marble intermixed.

Externally this core of travertine masonry has been faced with marble.

Within the basement is a circular chamber, 17 feet 7 inches in diameter, which had been originally covered over with a vault laid in horizontal courses. The greater part of this roof had fallen in, and, at the commencement of our operations, choked up the chamber with its ruins.

The apex of this vault had been bridged over by an immense circular stone, an outline and section of which are given, Fig. 3 of the tracings and drawings of Mr. Pullan, which I have the honour to inclose.

This stone measures 6 feet 3½ inches in its greatest diameter, and 2 feet 2 inches in thickness; its smaller diameter being 5 feet 4 inches.

In its original position on the crown of the arch its greatest diameter must have been lowermost, so that its form would be that of a bung inverted. In the account by Pausanius, of the Treasury of Minyas, at Orchomenos, he seems to describe such a structure of roof—

“*Λίθου μὲν εἴργασται, σχῆμα δὲ περίφερές ἐστιν αὐτῷ, κορυφή δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἄγαν ὀξὺ ἀνηγμένη, τὸν δὲ ἀνωτάτω τῶν λίθων φασὶν ἁρμονίαν παντὶ εἶναι τῷ οἰκοδομήματι.*—(ix, 38, 2.)

The present height of the walls of the chamber is 17 feet; the height of the horizontal vault which rested on these courses cannot now be ascertained.

Up to the height of 4 feet from the ground, the wall is composed of large

masses of marble, above which are 11 courses of travertine. The external structure was, as I have already stated, of marble.

Although the peristyle has been thrown down, ample materials exist for its restoration. Portions of the lower step of the stylobate still remain in position on all the four sides of the tomb, being most perfect on the west side.

The basement, measured from angle to angle of this step, forms a square of 39 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches each way.

Under the stylobate is a foundation course laid on the native rock, which has been levelled for its reception. On the upper surface of the step a fine line marks off a tread of 13 inches in width; the depth of the face of the step is $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The columns and their capitals are formed of drums engaged in the marble wall behind them in such a manner that each drum, instead of being circular, has a projection at the back, by which it was toothed into the masonry. This mode of construction must have given great strength to the wall.

The drums of the columns are, for the most part, only blocked out; some few, however, are fluted.

As, from the destruction of the upper course of the stylobate, none of the bases of the columns were found in position, their height and the width of the intercolumniation must be calculated from the general proportions of the order.

Fig. 2 of the tracing represents the capital and flutings of the column; Fig. 6 the front view and section of the architrave and frieze, which has no other ornament but the triglyphs.

Fig. 5 gives a section of the cornice. Much of the architectural detail is only roughly blocked out; but the execution, wherever it has been completed, is marked by that simplicity and decision of line which characterizes the best period of Doric architecture.

Fig. 4 represents a bold moulding, the place of which in the order had not been ascertained by Mr. Pullan when he left Cnidus.

Since the departure of that gentleman, part of a large slab has been discovered, on which is sculptured in relief a circular shield. The marble on which this is represented is broken on two sides, so that its original sides cannot be ascertained. Its greatest length is 3 feet 6 inches, its thickness 1 foot 3 inches. Rather more than half the shield has been broken away. The surface of the relief has never been finished, but the sides of the slab are finally tooled. The projection of the shield is 2 inches.

This fragment was found on the western side of the tomb. It is evidently too large to have formed part of the architrave, but may possibly have been inserted over the doorway. At the height of 7 feet above the surface of the upper step of the stylobate, a course of marble slabs still remains, toothed into the travertine walls behind them. This course shows the manner in which the two materials were bonded together.

A great number of the steps forming the external pyramid were discovered in the ruins. Most of these had an average width of $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches for the tread.

On an angle step, however, one tread measured $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the other $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches; and this smaller dimension occurred in several other steps not belonging to the angles.

The depth of the face of the step averaged 13 inches.

The difference in the width of the tread would lead me to suppose that the area of the Pyramid, like that of the Mausoleum, was oblong.

This form would certainly be most suitable, if the apex of the Pyramid served as the pedestal for the lion.

On the north side, at some distance from the tomb, was lying part of a large base, a view of which is given in Fig. 7 of the drawing.

Its shape is irregular. Its length is 5 feet 4 inches. It measures 5 feet in width, and 2 feet 4 inches in depth. On three sides of the stone the margin of the upper surface is bevelled off, and a bold moulding overhangs the side. The fourth side terminates in a fine joint. The base is hollowed out within, so that, when turned over, it appears like a fragment of a large trough or *soros*.

Another smaller portion of the same base was found on the Eastern side. This is 2 feet 7 inches long, and about 2 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. It has been fitted on to another piece, perhaps to the larger one here described.

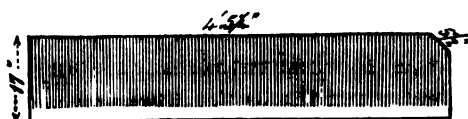
Mr. Pullan was of opinion that these pieces formed part of a base on which the lion stood. If this were the case, the blocks must have been hollowed out

to diminish their weight: the moulding projecting over the sides, and the bevelled margin of the upper surface, would thus serve as a cornice to carry off rain.

Since Mr. Pullan left Cnidus, two marbles have been found, which may both have formed part of the base of the lion.

One of these is a large moulding, of which I have the honour to inclose a profile, traced from the original. This moulding very closely resembles that which crowns the supposed base of the lion.

The other marble is a slab 17 inches thick. Its upper surface is 4 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and 2 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, with a chamfered edge on two sides, thus:—



Longitudinal Section.



Transverse Section.

This marble may have formed part of a plinth placed between the lion and the hollow pedestal.

That pedestal being, as I have already stated, 5 feet in width, the dimension 2 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the width of the portion of chamfered slab would, if doubled, give a plinth of 4 feet 9 inches. Such a plinth would be in proportion to a lower pedestal 5 feet in width, and would leave a margin of bevelled edge on each side.

The chamber is entered by a doorway in the centre of the north side. The jambs and lintel of this doorway have been shattered, and their appearance shows that the tomb has been forcibly entered.

The pavement of the chamber is laid on the native rock, the surface of which has been cut away in places to receive it. The joints of the stones are polygonal, as in Cyclopean masonry. A large portion of them has been taken up, doubtless, for the purpose of ascertaining whether any treasure was concealed below.

This pavement is continued at the same level under the basement, and its margin on each side forms the foundation course under the stylobate already noticed.

The lower part of the chamber is, as I have already stated, built of marble blocks. On reference to the plan (Fig. 1 of the tracing), it will be seen that this marble wall is pierced with openings, which radiate like embrasures from the centre of the chamber to the outside of the basement.

The height of these passages is 3 feet 4 inches. Their floor is continuous with that of the chamber, and of the foundation course of the stylobate. They extend to the outer face of the travertine wall, expanding as they advance outwards.

They terminate flush with the external marble facing, by which they were originally closed; their length varies from 6 feet to 7 feet 7 inches.

There can be no doubt that they were intended as receptacles for bodies. Such an arrangement of cells or *θήκαι*, branching out from a principal chamber, may be seen in Hellenic tombs at Budrum, and at Pylæ in the Island of Cos. I have never, however, before met with the circular arrangement adopted here.

There are eleven of these cells, three on each side of the tomb, except to the north, where the doorway occupies the middle place. All of these were choked with rubbish, but no trace of sepulchral remains were obtained from them, except some human bones.

No bones, pottery, or other antiquities were found in the chamber itself, but, on one side of the doorway outside, was a *lekythos* $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, which had originally been covered with black varnish; near it were found some fragments of painted vases.

This pottery was all much corroded, and its fabric and condition lead me to consider it as of the later period of Greek Fictile Art, when a less durable varnish was employed.

The masonry in the walls of the tomb is generally isodomous; the marble employed is dove-coloured, with veins of purple and yellow.

The travertine courses in the upper part of the chamber do not appear to have been faced with marble, or any ornamental material.

The blocks are roughly dressed, with a finally tooled border.

A *peribolus* wall, built of rubble, and 2 feet 5 inches thick, may be traced round the tomb on the west and north sides. It runs parallel to the sides of the basement. On the north side it may be traced for 40 feet from the north-west angle eastward, and on the west side it extends from the same angle 85 feet to the south; its distance from the basement is 36 feet on the north, and 33 feet on the west side. On the south and east sides no certain trace of this wall can be met with. An angle of rubble wall near the spot where the lion was lying may perhaps be the south-east corner of the *peribolus*, but its line, if prolonged to the west in a direction parallel to the basement, would pass beyond the edge of the cliff, which, on this side, overhangs the sea, instead of meeting the south-west angle.

In the course of the excavation, the most minute and careful search was made for the portions of the lion which are wanting; namely, the forepaws and the lower jaw.

The whole of the ruins, which, except on the side facing the sea, extended to a distance of 40 feet all round the basement, were examined, stone by stone, and the ground underneath them dug down to the native rock, but no fragment of sculpture rewarded our search.

I examined the surface of all the architectural marbles as they were uncovered, in the hope of finding an inscription, but no trace of letters was observed.

We are, therefore, left without any evidence as to the date of this tomb, except such as is afforded by the style of the sculpture and architecture.

On the first discovery of this lion, it appeared to me a work of the same school as the sculptures of the Mausoleum.

Having since had the opportunity of making a more exact comparison by means of photographs, I am inclined to think that the lion, when placed in juxtaposition with the Mausoleum sculptures, will exhibit a style rather more severe, and perhaps less rich and flowing.

If this impression be correct, a somewhat earlier date may be assigned to the lion; we may take the half century between B.C. 350 and B.C. 400, as the range of time within which such a date would fall.

The architecture, so far as I can judge from the few books of reference which I have here, presents nothing inconsistent with such a date.

During the period to which I have assigned this monument, Cnidus was certainly a Republic, and, as I have observed in a previous despatch, the erection of so sumptuous and conspicuous a tomb to the memory of a private individual seems inconsistent with the jealous spirit of the ancient Commonwealths before the age of Alexander the Great.

It is more likely that the tomb is a *Polyandrion* or public monument, erected to commemorate a number of citizens slain in battle.

Such an edifice may not have been originally designed for the reception of bodies, but as a cenotaph; indeed, the paucity of sepulchral remains, and the unfinished state of the architecture, lead me to doubt whether any interment ever took place in this tomb at the period of its erection.

The *lekkythos* and fragments of pottery seem of a much later period than the building, and, from the place in which they were found at the side of the door, there can be hardly a doubt that they were laid there as an offering on the celebration of periodical rites. The few bones found in one of the cells may have been deposited there at a date long subsequent to that of the tomb.

If we suppose this to have been a public monument, the unfinished shield was probably intended to receive an inscription recording the names and services of the persons commemorated.

The completion of the work may have been arrested by political events, and, most probably, by one of those revolutions so common in the Republics of antiquity, by which a dominant party was suddenly expelled from power, and all their acts annulled.

During the period to which I would assign this tomb, the history of Cnidus records, as far as I am aware, only two events sufficiently important to have given occasion for such a public work.

The earliest of these events is the repulse of the Athenians, when they attacked and nearly took Cnidus, B.C. 412; the second is the defeat of the Lacedæmonians by Conon, in a sea-fight off this place, B.C. 394, but it is not certain that any Cnidians took a part in this latter engagement.

In concluding this Report, I take the opportunity of noticing the remains of two other monuments which I have lately examined, and which present some resemblance to the Cnidian tomb in the motive of their design.

Having in our recent expedition to Geronta been informed that at Palatia, the ancient Miletus, there are two colossal lions, I proceeded to that place for the purpose of examining them.

One of these lions I found lying on a plain, about 400 yards to the west of a ruined marble mosque, which forms a conspicuous object in the modern village of Palatia.

This lion is 8 feet long and 4 feet high. It is in a couching position; the face is badly preserved; the body, especially the hind quarters, in good condition. The forepaws are wanting. The style is conventional, and may, perhaps, exhibit an imitation of archaic sculpture by a Roman artist.

A few yards to the west of this line are the ruins of a tomb which appears to have been a Doric structure on a basement.

The dimensions of the east and west sides of this basement are 22 feet by 25 feet, north and south.

The details of the architecture shows that this edifice was of the Roman period. There is every reason to suppose that the lion, lying so near the basement, originally surmounted the tomb.

The other colossal lion at Miletus is lying a little west of the north-west end of the *cavea* of the great theatre, on the edge of the marshy ground bordering on the Mæander.

This lion is in a style still more conventional than the one I have just described, and is, probably, of a later period. It is broken in the middle, and much weatherworn.

The present length is 6 feet; the forepaws are wanting.

Close to this lion are the remains of a Roman tomb, of the Corinthian order.

The basement of this tomb measures 50 feet by 32 feet. Under it is a chamber with a barrel vault, 21 feet long by 15 feet 6 inches.

The height from the ground to the top of the vault is 11 feet. The sides are composed of large slabs 6 feet long and 4 feet wide, with fine well-fitted joints.

It seems most probable that the lion, lying near this tomb, formed part of its design.

In both of the Miletus tombs the motive of the sculpture may have been suggested by the Cnidian monument.

It is, at least, a singular coincidence that, both at Cnidus and Miletus, the lion was the prevailing and familiar type on the coinage in Hellenic times.

Hence, possibly, the artist gave special prominence to this animal in the design of sepulchral monuments in both cities; the representation, however, of lions in the sculpture of Greek and Asiatic tombs is so constant that it is, perhaps, safer to regard this animal as a symbolic expression of some idea generally prevalent in the Hellenic world than to connect it, in the examples here noticed, with some special local myth.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. T. NEWTON.

No. 11.

Vice-Consul Newton to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 18.)

My Lord,

Ruins of Cnidus, October 28, 1858.

IN my despatch under date of the 26th of August, I reported that I was then engaged in removing the twelve statues from the Sacred Way at Geronta. After accomplishing this, I proceeded to make excavations on this site, with the view of ascertaining the exact line of the Way, and the character of the ground on either side of it.

I have now the honour to report the result of these excavations.

The general direction of the Way is laid down on the Admiralty Chart, No. 1,555, and the details of the ground are given in Gell's map of the country

round Branchidæ, published in the "Ionian Antiquities" of the Dilettanti Society, Part I.

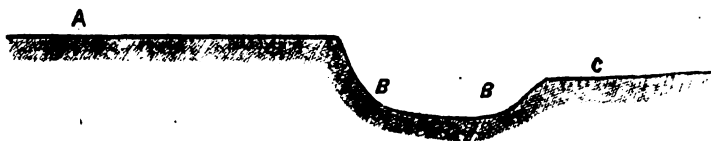
In my despatch of December 31, 1857, to the Earl of Clarendon,* I transmitted a tracing from Gell's map, and also a sketch and plan of the ground by Corporal Spackman, R.E.

On reference to these documents, it will be seen that the Sacred Way, commencing at a short distance from the Temple of Apollo, may be traced for a length of about 580 yards in a north-west direction, towards a small harbour, which must have been the ancient port of Branchidæ. Throughout this length, the line of the Way has been bounded by basements, statues, and stone coffins, or *sori*, many of which objects still remain in position on the south-west side of the Way.

The country which it traverses may be described as a rolling plain, which, on the north-west side, descends by easy slopes and ridges towards the sea.

At the distance of rather more than 300 yards from the Temple, the line of the Way is marked by a ridge running to the north-west, and deepening as it advances.

The ground to the south-west of this ridge is, for some distance, a level platform or terrace. Below the ridge, that is, north-east of it, the ground sinks, forming a hollow, so that its section would be thus—



This feature of the ground is shown in Corporal Spackman's drawing, of which a tracing was inclosed in my despatch already referred to.

As I have stated in that despatch, a continuous line of wall may be traced along the ridge, the statues being placed at intervals in front of this wall.

Commencing from the south-eastern extremity of the Way, I laid bare this wall for a considerable length. Its width in this part was 3 feet 9 inches; its masonry was regular, but did not appear Hellenic.

After tracing the walls for 73 feet to the north-west, I found its line interrupted by a concrete foundation of an oblong form, 8 feet 6 inches from north-east to south-west, and 7 feet 4 inches from south-east to north-west.

Towards the north-east this foundation had been faced with a large slab, of a kind of limestone.

On turning over this slab, I found on one face a most interesting dedicatory inscription in archaic Greek characters, of which I shall presently give a more detailed account.

This slab was in length about 7 feet, being broken at one end; its width was 2 feet 8 inches.

The mortar of the concrete was of an extreme hardness; we broke it up to the depth of 2 feet 6 inches, without finding anything below. There can hardly be a doubt that it was Byzantine. The inscribed stone was evidently taken from some earlier structure, the face of the inscription having been bedded in the concrete.

In the rough plan of the excavations which I have the honour to inclose, this foundation is marked A.

Immediately to the north-west of this basement was a square foundation, 7 feet 5 inches each way, built of marble blocks, evidently taken from some earlier Greek edifice.

The masonry of this basement seemed also to be Byzantine. Its position is marked B in the tracing.

Continuing to advance from the foundations A B to the north-west, I left a space of 53 feet of ridge unexplored. Thence the excavations were resumed, and the wall was exposed for a length of 85 feet.

At this point the wall had been broken away for the space of 5 feet, for the insertion of one of the seated figures.

After this interruption the wall continued for 34 feet to the north-west, where another gap of 5 feet occurred, for the insertion of a statue.

Beyond this, to the north-west, another line of wall took the place of the

* See *ante*, page 1.

previous one, for a length of 16 feet. The masonry of this was very massive, and appeared to be Hellenic.

It may have been the side of a very large basement. One stone in this wall was 11 feet 9 inches long, 3 feet wide, and 1 foot thick; another was 10 feet long, 2 feet 8 inches wide, and 11½ inches thick.

After this, the old wall ran on for 13 feet further to the north-west. In this part it was 2 feet 9 inches thick, and 1 foot 8 inches high. Beyond this point, distant about 300 feet from the place where we commenced on the south-east, I met with no further trace of the wall.

Seventy-four feet to the north-west of basements A B, and a little to the south-west of the line of wall, was an oblong base, C, which appeared to be Hellenic. It was composed externally of four slabs, fitted together like a box; the interior was filled up with solid masonry. The slabs forming the sides were housed into the end slabs.

The exterior dimensions of this basement, from north-west to south-east, was 7 feet 1½ inches.

The width of the base was 4 feet 3 inches. The thickness of the slabs was 1 foot 3 inches.

They stood on a moulded plinth, raised by three steps above the foundation course, of which I inclose a profile.

The entire height of the base was 6 feet. The faces of the slabs externally were well chiselled, except at the back, which was left rough.

Two small fragments of a small draped figure in terra cotta of the best period of Greek art, were found at the side of this tomb.

While tracing the line of wall along this ridge, I explored the ground immediately to the north-east of it, which, as I have previously stated, is on a lower level than the ground at the back of the wall. At the distance of 88 feet to the north-west of basements A B, and 14 feet to the north-west of basement C we found the south-western kerbstones of the way still in position.

They consisted of a single course of rough blocks well jointed together, with headers at intervals.

These blocks were large. One of them measured 4 feet 4 inches, by 14 inches width, by 1 foot thickness. They were laid on the native rock. A depth of 3 feet 6 inches of earth had accumulated over them.

We traced this line of kerbstones for 133 feet to the north-west.

At its south-eastern extremity, the interval between the kerb and the wall was 3 feet 4 inches; from this point onwards the distance of the kerb diminished to 1 foot 1 inch. The ground on the other side of the kerbstones was dug in many places with a view of ascertaining the width of the roadway.

No other part, however, of the original pavement remained in position.

It was probably composed of polygonal blocks, adjusted to one another with nicety, as in the masonry called Cyclopean.

At Tusculum, near Rome, a good example of such polygonal pavement was disclosed by excavation some years ago.

The native rock over which the Sacred Way is laid has been levelled to form its bed.

From the point where our excavation of the wall terminates, the ridge continues to run on to the north-west.

Thirty-three yards beyond this point we laid bare a basement D, of which I have the honour to inclose a plan.

This was placed north-west and south-east. Its dimensions were as follows: Exterior length from south-east to north-west, 11 feet 10 inches; from south-west to north-east, 11 feet.

Interior dimensions, south-east to north-west, 7 feet 6 inches; south-west to north-east, 6 feet 2 inches. Within this inclosure were found two skulls, and bones of the arm and leg.

In the centre was an oblong slab pierced with a round hole, and laid on the earth.

This basement, in form and dimensions, and in the moulding with which it was ornamented, is very similar to the one at the side of the figure of Chares (No. 5), of which a plan is given in my despatch of the 31st of December last. From this point onwards to the north-west the line of the Way could be traced by the seated figures placed at intervals, and by two plain *sori*.

Beyond the furthest of the seated figures (No. 8), the Way is marked by a depression in a natural ridge.

This hollow appears to be the result of artificial cutting. The north-east side of the roadway is bounded by a raised causeway, composed of a single course of large slabs of freestone, 6 inches thick, and with an average width of 3 feet 9 inches. These slabs are laid flush with the present surface of the field.

The causeway continues along the side of the roadway for about 70 feet; the interval between the causeway and the row of figures opposite to it, is about 25 feet. The two figures (Nos. 9 and 10) of Corporal Spackman's plan were found about the same distance from the south-western margin of the Way, and a little to the north-west of the causeway.

The general width of the roadway was, therefore, probably about 20 feet.

To the north-west of the cutting through the ridge, the soil deepens over the native rock. Though the road itself does not appear as a distinct feature in the ground, its onward course may be traced by large foundations at intervals.

At the distance of 140 yards from basement D was a fragment of wall, E, the stones of which were squared and dressed, but the masonry was irregular, and did not appear Hellenic.

The direction of this wall was south-west and north-east. Its length was 6 feet. It was composed of two courses, each 1 foot 2 inches high. These courses rested on a foundation of concrete. At the distance of 10 feet to the south-east of this was a fragment of basement of Hellenic masonry, F, 11 feet 6 inches wide, and 24 feet long.

The largest stone in position in this basement was 6 feet long, 4 feet 6 inches wide, and 9 inches thick.

Adjoining this, on the south-east, were the remains of a stone *soros*, very much broken, measuring in length 8 feet 9 inches, in width 4 feet. The lid was lying close to it, presenting the usual triangular section



Its length was 9 feet 6 inches, its width 4 feet, its thickness 1 foot 5 inches.

In a line with this lid, 1 foot 10 inches to the east of it, was a foundation running to the south-east of it, with a return at right angles to the south-west.

The length of this wall was 4 feet 3 inches, its thickness 1 foot 1 inch, its width 2 feet.

Twenty-two feet to the north-west of these remains was the spot where the lion and sphinx were found.

It is probable that the Way passed immediately over this spot, and to the north-east of basements E F, making a slight bend here to the south.

Continuing to the north-west, at about 80 yards onwards I found the line of the Way marked by a large oblong basement, G, of which I inclose a plan.

Its height is 2 feet 6 inches. It is built of massive blocks, one of the largest of which measures 10 feet by 3 feet 2 inches, by 18 inches thickness.

All round the basement are two courses, including the foundation course, which is laid on earth and small stones.

On the south side, a third course still remains in position. The stones of this upper course are 2 feet 3 inches thick.

The dimensions of the basement are 19 feet 3 inches by 14 feet 9 inches. Beyond this area the foundation course extends so as to form an external margin about 2 feet wide on every side, except the south, where it has been displaced.

The width of the courses was 3 feet 4 inches. They inclosed an oblong area without pavement. In the centre of this area was a slab, 4 feet 3 inches by 3 feet 5 inches, by 8 inches thickness, placed on the earth on a level only a few inches lower than that of the walls of the inclosure, and set in a direction parallel with them. In the centre of the stone was a circular hole 14 inches in diameter.

A similar stone was found in the centre of basement D, as I have already described.

The masonry in this basement is not good, but from the great size of the blocks it may be inferred that they are ancient. Perhaps they originally belonged to some early tomb, and have been re-constructed after being thrown down.

On the second course is a moulding, of which a section is given in the plan, and which does not appear to have been finished.

Within the inclosure the ground was dug to a depth of 2 feet below the foundations, but no remains were found.

On the north side of the basement, at the distance of 8 feet, was a line of rough pavement which may be the edge of the Way, but the stones were not massive or well set, as in the line of kerb to the south-east previously described.

Basement G was the furthest point to the north-west to which our excavations were continued.

Within a few yards to the north-west of G was another smaller basement, which we did not explore.

At the distance of about 100 yards to the north-west the stratum of rock under the soil terminates abruptly, forming a step or brow, through which the Way appears as a cutting shown in Gell's map.

Below this crest to the north-west the ground slopes for some distance. After passing through the cutting, some plain *sori*, of the Roman period, and several basements similar in plan to G, mark the south-western side of the Way for a short distance.

Beyond these tombs to the north-west no trace of the Way appears in Gell's map, nor could I discover any, after repeated examination of the ground. I see, however, no reason for doubting that it was continued to the small harbour which was, probably, the Portus Panormus, by which name it is marked in the Admiralty Chart.

It will be seen by the foregoing account that our excavations were restricted to tracing the line of the Way itself, and to the exploring of some of the foundations which bounded it on the south-west.

I have already stated that on this side the ground in the part of the Way nearest the Temple appears like a platform or terrace.

The surface of this level is hard and compact, as if there were foundations underneath, and it is probable that further excavation in this direction would disclose other basements placed, like the Hellenic foundation C, at a little distance from the margin of the Way.

Had time permitted, I should have made several sections through this platform.

On the opposite side of the Way, that is, to the north-east of it, there was no appearance of remains, nor did any ridge or other feature in the ground mark the margin of the road, except in that portion of it bounded by the causeway already mentioned.

In Gell's map, however, several statues are marked in position on this side, and in my previous visit I discovered two (Nos. 9 and 10 of the plan of the ground) lying just under the surface of the soil. It is, therefore, possible that a complete excavation of the ground to the north-east of the Way would disclose more remains.

A few Greek and Roman copper coins, and lamps of the Roman period, were discovered in the course of these excavations; but no small antiquities of any interest, except the two fragments of a terra-cotta figure already described, and a small intaglio impressed on glass representing a figure on horseback.

This design much resembles the well-known type of the silver coins of Tarentum.

The horse appeared to be modelled in the same school of art.

Glass intaglios of this kind, generally known as pastes, have been found in great abundance in Italy; but I have never before met with one in the Levant.

It remains that I should give an account of the archaic inscription on the stone forming the face of basement A, of which I inclose a tracing.

On one side of this slab are the following two lines:

ΟΙ ΑΝΑΞΙΜΑΝΔΡΟΠΑΙΔΕΣ ΤΟΜΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧ...
 3Β1ΧΙ·ΨΔ3Τ3Δ33ΕΙΟ73ΝΑ33Θ...

Οἱ Ἀναξίμανδρο παῖδες τὸν Ἀνδρομάχ [ον]
 [ἀνέ]θεσαν, ἐποίησε δέ Τερψικλῆς.

On the other side
 of the stone, at one end, . . . ΝΑΞΙΜΑΝΔΡΟΠ . . .

At the other end, . . . 1ΧΙ·ΨΔ3Τ3Δ33 . . .

On this side of the stone part of the surface is roughly tooled; on the opposite side, the whole surface is finally tooled.

This inscription is written in the Ionic dialect.

The lines, like those of the descriptions on the lion, and on the statue of Chares, are arranged *boustrophedon*.

The double letters Θ Ξ and χ , and the long vowel Ε , are used. The most archaic in form of the characters employed, are the Ε for Η , the Ϝ for P , the Σ for Σ .

All these characters, though rare, are met with in Greek Palæography.

From the character of the writing, there can be no doubt that this inscription belongs to the archaic period, and from this *prima facie* evidence it may be assumed that it is at least as early as the battle of Marathon, B.C. 490.

It remains to be seen whether its date cannot be determined more exactly.

This, in the case of archaic monuments, is no easy task, for though we know enough of Greek palæography to affirm generally of an inscription, that it belongs to the archaic period, we cannot define with certainty the limits of that period, either backwards or forwards.

There is no doubt that the most ancient manner of writing among the Greeks gradually fell into disuse after the Persian war, B.C. 478; but we have no sure means of knowing when it commenced, nor whether any of the archaic inscriptions still extant may be assigned to the period when writing was first introduced among the Hellenic people.

In the study of Mediæval Palæography, the dated specimens are so numerous that the successive transformations which written character underwent may be exhibited in historical series.

But the earliest documents of Hellenic Palæography are, as yet, too few in number, and too difficult of interpretation, to furnish complete data for such a chronological arrangement.

An attempt, therefore, to fix the date of any particular inscription must depend, for the most part, on the internal evidence which can be obtained from the matter of the inscription itself. One of the most obvious modes of fixing the date of inscriptions is by the identification of the proper names which occur in their texts with those of real persons of whom ancient history has left us some record.

The persons by whom the dedication of the work of Terpsikles is made in the inscription, are the sons of Anaximander.

In my report on the Branchidæ lion dated the 31st of December last,* already referred to, I stated that, according to my reading of the second line of its inscription, the name "Thales" occurs in the list of dedicators, and that, from the proximity of the Sacred Way to Miletus, it was not improbable that this name is that of the celebrated Ionian philosopher.

It is not a little singular that, on a second dedication from the Sacred Way, which there is reason to believe contemporary, or nearly so, with the lion, we should find the name of Anaximander.

The Ionian philosopher who bore this name was the pupil of Thales, and, like him, a Milesian.

Such men as these were not less distinguished for practical sagacity than for abstract speculation. Thales and Anaximander, like other philosophers, their contemporaries, probably, took an active part in political affairs. Their names would, therefore, be likely to occur on public monuments.

As Anaximander was born B.C. 610, a dedication could hardly have been made by his children before B.C. 560.

A comparison of the character of the writing in the two inscriptions leads me to consider that they are nearly of the same period.

Both are written *boustrophedon*, and in the Ionic dialect; in both the Ε is used in place of Η . The inscription on the lion has the other long vowel Ω .

The characters in this latter inscription are less regular; but this more archaic appearance may have been caused by the difficulty of cutting the letters on an uneven surface.

If the occurrence of the name "Anaximander" on the Terpsikles inscription

* See *ante*, page 1.

is admitted as evidence of its date, the dedication on the lion may be assigned, on palæographical grounds, to the same early period; and, *vice versâ*, the same mode of reasoning may be applied, if the name Thales on the lion be considered as that of the celebrated Ionian philosopher.

Among the names which occur on the lion, after that of Thales, is one which I read *Ἡγῆσανδρος*.

It is not improbable that this is the Hegesander whom Herodotus mentions as the father of Hekataëos of Miletus, the historian.

The age of Hekataëos being 520 B.C., his father must have been a contemporary of Thales.

The anecdote in Herodotus (ii, 143), shows that the family of Hekataëos took pride in its noble descent. Hegesander, therefore, as a citizen distinguished by birth, would be likely to be associated in a dedication with Thales.

If we suppose the lion to have been dedicated by these two citizens of Miletus, it would be a work in marble contemporary with those of Dipœnus and Scyllis, who, according to Pliny (xxxvi, 4), were sculptors in marble, and flourished B.C. 580.

In enumerating the earliest artists who worked in this material, Pliny remarks that all these sculptors used the fine marble of Paros.

All the statues in the Sacred Way appear to be made of this same marble; the surface of the sculpture is remarkable for its preservation and fineness of grain.

In my previous report on the Branchidæ statues already referred to, I have remarked that the seated figures, the sphynx and the lion, were, from their Egyptian character, probably works of that Samian school of which Theodorus and Telekles were the founders. If this opinion be correct, Terpsikles may be considered as one of the artists of this school. He was probably the contemporary, or nearly so, of Telekles. It is to be regretted that the end of the inscription being broken off, we are prevented from knowing what the object dedicated was. The fact that the stone is inscribed on two opposite faces, and that the less perfect of the two inscriptions seems to be either a repetition of the other, or a dedication by the same persons of some other work of Terpsikles, proves that both sides of the base were intended to be seen. This arrangement, and the form of the stone (7' by 2' 8"), make it unlikely that it served as the pedestal of a statue; it may have formed part of a base for more than one work in metal, such as tripods or kraters, which would thus have been ranged in a row.

It is probable that the seated figures are the work of several artists, and one of them, No. 9, from the freedom of the style, may be half a century later than the rest.

On re-examining the statues during my late visit to Geronta, I perceived on the left rail of the chair of No. 6 the following inscription, containing part of the name of an artist,—

Ε . . . Α Μ Ο Ξ Μ Ε Ε Ρ Ο Ι Ε Ν

This name, probably ended in *δημος*, but I can find none at all resembling it in Sillig's "Catalogue of Ancient Artists."

In this inscription the form of the third letter is not quite clear, but I read Ε not Η. The form *ἐπολεν* I have never before met with.

It would appear to be the more ancient form of *ἐπολεε*. In nearly all the earlier inscriptions in which the artist's name occurs, the first aorist, *ἐποίησε*, is used. In inscriptions of a later period the imperfect is more generally employed. This rule, however, is not without an exception. *Ἐπόει* occurs on an archaic inscription from Thera, published by Franzus ("Elementa Epigr. Gr.," p. 55, as cited; "Corpus Inscript.," No. 68,546; together with "Brunn, Mus. Rhen.," Nov. Ser., viii, p. 235 sq.)

On the female figure, No. 8, at the back of the chair, I discovered an inscription consisting of at least five lines.

The writing was very irregular, and nearly effaced. I cannot be sure that the inscription is of the same period as the statue on which it is placed. The writing, as far as I can judge of it in its present condition, is not of a monumental character, and appears as if it had been carelessly scratched on the stone at a later period.

All that I could decypher was the following:—

ΝΙΚΗ,

ΑΤΕΓΕΝΟΥ

ΚΑΙ, ΡΑΡ ΤΕΜ

ΤΩΝ

The third line may be *καὶ ὑπ' Ἀρτέμιδος*.

Artemis was worshipped at Branchidæ, as appears from another inscription which I found in a house at Geronta.

I was unable to meet with any trace of the two inscriptions copied by Sir William Gell and Lord Aberdeen.

One of these ("Corpus Inscriptionum," No. 39) was seen by Gell on the chair of one of the seated figures in the Sacred Way, and reads as follows:—

... ΜΕΞΙΑΝΑΞΕΩ
ΥΑΞΕΘΕΜΑΞΑΞ
... ΟΑΙΙΔΕΩΤΩΡ
ΙΥΛΛΟ

[Ερ]μησιάναξ? ἡμ-
εὺς ἀνέθηκεν

Βρανκιδέω? τῷ π-
όλλωνι.

This inscription, like that on the lion and the Terpsikles base, is a dedication reading from right to left, and written in the Ionic dialect; the long vowels Ε and Λ, and the double letters Θ and Ξ, likewise occur.

The name at the commencement was, probably, Hermesianax, as has been conjectured by Colonel Leake.

A Colophonian of this name occurs in the list of Olympic victors, but at what epoch is uncertain.

The other inscription contains only the words τὸς ἀνδριάντας, retrograde.

It is stated in Walpole's "Memoirs on Turkey," p. 464, that these words were copied by Lord Aberdeen from the thigh of a statue found near the Temple of Apollo; the inscription contained other letters, but these only were copied.

The original forms of the letters are not given by Walpole, but, as the Ionic τὸς for τοὺς is used in this inscription, and as it is written retrograde, it is probably archaic.

In my previous despatch on the Sacred Way, of the 31st of December last,* already referred to, I stated my opinion that the inscription containing the name of Chares, Ruler of Teichioessa (No. 5 of the row of seated figures), was rather later than that on the lion, and that the statue inscribed "Glaukos" was later still.

The following Table exhibits the inscriptions discovered in the Sacred Way, arranged approximately according to their presumed dates:—

	B.C.
Inscription on the lion, containing names of Thales and Hegesander	580
Dedication by sons of Anaximander, of work by Terpsikles	560
Inscription, with name Hermesianax, copied by Gell	580-560
„ containing name of sculptor, Ε . . . δημοσ	550
„ with name Chares	520

* See ante, page 1.

The undeciphered inscription at the back of Figure 8 appears to be of a still later period.

Chares was, probably, one of the petty Princes, *τύραννοι*, of whom there were many on the western coast of Asia Minor in the time of Darius Hystaspes and Xerxes.

It appears from two Athenian inscriptions ("Ephemeris Archaiol.," Nos. 1,192 and 1,286), that Teichioessa was one of the Asiatic cities which paid tribute to Athens after the Persian war.

It was probably situated on the sea-coast, and, perhaps, on the spot where it is conjecturally placed in the Admiralty Chart, as some foundations may be seen there on an eminence, which may be those of an Hellenic fortress.

If we could be sure that the inscription *ΝΙΚΗΤΑΤΚΟΥ* at the back of one of the seated figures is of the same age as the statue itself, then this name might be that of Glaukos, the Carystian, a renowned athlete who gained Olympic and other victories, and whose date was, probably, Olympiad 75. But the use of *ου* for *ο* in the genitive in this inscription leads me to suppose that it was placed on the statue at some period subsequent to the Persian war.

The custom of writing the names of victors on walls and public monuments was not uncommon in antiquity.

If the foregoing arguments in reference to the age of the monuments in the Sacred Way be admitted, it follows that these must be regarded as the most ancient Greek sculptures respecting which any certain evidence can be advanced to prove at what period, and by what artists, they were made.

Next in order of time I should place the relief representing a warrior, found at Brauron in Attica, and now in the Theseion at Athens.

This is inscribed *ΕΡΑΘΝΑΡΙΣ ΤΟΚΛΕΟΣ*. If this work was executed by Aristokles the brother of Kanachos, its date must be about B.C. 508, rather later than the period to which I have assigned the statue of Chares.

It is interesting to observe that this relief, when compared with the figures at Branchidæ, exhibits just such an advance in style as might be expected to have taken place in the interval between Telekles and Kanachos, while the sculpture is still sufficiently archaic to justify the remark of Cicero (*Brut.* 18) on the works of Kanachos, that they were "*duriora quam ut imitentur veritatem.*"

I am only acquainted with two other inscriptions containing an artist's name, which can be ascribed to so early a period.

One of these is the celebrated Sigeian inscription, in which the name *Αίσωνος* is recorded as the maker of the votive object.

This inscription, which is in the Ionic dialect, is considered by Böckh an imitation of the archaic writing, made at a later period.

The grounds for such an opinion will, perhaps, appear less certain when the Sigeian inscription has been compared with those from the Sacred Way.

The other archaic inscription containing an artist's name, is from Thera. (Franzius, "*Elem. Epig. Gr.*" p. 55, as cited "*Corpus Inscriptionum,*" No. 6,854 b.)

Before concluding this account of the statues in the Sacred Way, it may not be out of place to notice a work of art which has been ascribed, not without some colour of probability, to the Samian school of artists.

This is a small bronze, 4 inches high, in style closely resembling an Egyptian statue, and inscribed *ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΕΜ ΑΜΕΘΕΚΕ*. It has, probably, been the support of a lamp, or some other metallic object. The inscription is published by Böckh, "*Corpus Inscriptionum,*" No. 6.

The resemblance in style of this figure to Egyptian statuary, the archaic character of its inscription, and the name "Polykrates," led Böckh to think that it may have been dedicated by the celebrated ruler of Samos, for whom Theodoros, the son of Telekles, executed a ring.

This bronze, now in the Pourtales Collection at Paris, was formerly in the Museo Naniano, at Venice.

Having formed part of this Museum, the figure, probably, came to Venice from Greece, but I am not aware that it can be traced to Asia Minor, nor may the name of its dedication be more than an accidental coincidence.

Such coincidences, however, are always worth noticing; the more so in this

case, because this small bronze is one of the very few extant examples of early Greek art, which exhibits unequivocal signs of Egyptian influence.

During my stay at Geronta, I noticed two small fragments of archaic inscriptions built into the walls of modern houses.

One of these is the termination of an inscription :—

ΘΙΟΤΙΗ

ΔΕΕΠΕΛΔΙΙ

ΞΙΟΠΥΟΙΑ

ΩΠΑΤΕΡΕΙ

The marble being broken away on each side, the purport of the inscription cannot be ascertained. The last words are evidently *ὡς πατέρες*. Below this line was a space, showing that the inscription terminates here.

In the first line the archaic form of Φ occurs, and Θ stands for Ο.

The letter between these two is doubtful, and may be an archaic Ι, though this letter in the inscriptions from the Way is always a simple vertical stroke.

It is remarkable that, in this fragment, the Π is represented as in later monuments, with both vertical strokes of nearly the same length.

I have the honour to inclose a fac-simile of this inscription.

The other fragment consisted of three lines :—

ΙΣΤΙΑ...

ΩΤΙΗ...

.ΡΟΜΩ..

which may be read—

Ἰστια[ῖος]

[ἀνέθ]ηκε τῷ

[Α]πόλλω[νι]

This was on a very small piece of marble built into the wall of a house which stands a little to the south-east of the Sacred Way. The name "Histiaeus" in this fragment may be that of the celebrated ruler of Miletus, who took so active a part in the Ionian revolt. The date of this dedication would thus be, probably, B.C. 520.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. T. NEWTON.

No. 12.

Vice-Consul Newton to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received January 21, 1859.)

My Lord,

Ruins of Cnidus, November 10, 1858.

SINCE the date of my last Report on the *temenos* of Demeter, viz., the 20th of August last,* considerable progress has been made in the excavations there, which were continued by Lieutenant Smith, R.E., during my absence at Geronta.

I have already stated to your Lordship in previous despatches, that the platform of the *temenos* continues at nearly the same level from its boundary

* See *ante*, page 30.

wall, on the south, to within about 50 feet of the scarp which forms its limit to the north.

At this distance from the mountain, the platform is succeeded by broken ground, forming a rugged and irregular ascent up to the foot of the scarp.

This disposition of the ground is shown in the photograph which I had the honour to transmit to your Lordship in my despatch of the 30th of May last.

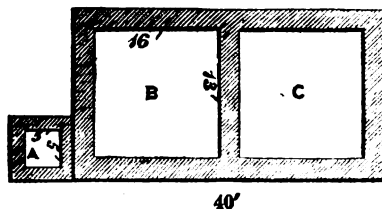
A considerable portion of this slope has now been removed, and in the middle part of the platform the excavation has extended northward to within about 12 feet of the scarp.

The rise in the ground has been caused by the accumulation of masses of wall, which have evidently fallen from the heights above, and which have been partially decomposed into soil.

In the upper part of this stratum were found fragments of sculpture, and immense quantities of ancient lamps, and, in places, small terra-cotta figures like those found in the earlier excavations in the *temenos*, and described in my despatch of the 10th of February last.*

The lamps were lying in clusters, or layers, at depths varying from 8 inches to 2 feet below the surface.

In the western half of the *temenos*, and a few feet to the south of the scarp, was a series of rough foundations, running 40 feet from north to south, and forming three cells, or chambers, thus—



These walls were 2 feet thick, and built in the rudest manner, squared stones from some building being intermixed with rubble. Their average depth was 5 feet.

When I first commenced the excavation in the *temenos*, I was led to dig in Chamber A, because within its inclosure, and, apparently, in its original position, was the base of a small statue placed on a plinth.

On one side of this base was an arm, and on the other side a hand, broken from it. These fragments must have belonged to a small female figure, in Parian marble; no trace, however, of the remainder of the statue was met with. This discovery took place when I first examined the *temenos*, as I have reported in my despatch of the 20th of February last.

On resuming excavations here, I found Chambers B and C full of lamps, mostly lying in the soil at the depth of about 3 feet, but some placed in the crevices of the walls. Great numbers were also dug out of the ground immediately to the east of these foundations.

Terra-cotta figures were also found in and about these chambers, but not in such quantities.

The lamps were chiefly of two classes.

The finest were of clay, black throughout and glazed, resembling in appearance the well-known Wedgwood ware.

The forms of these lamps were well designed, and seem copied from works in bronze.

Some of them had as many as eight or ten mouths; at the sides they were generally ornamented with masks, or ivy leaves.

In my despatch of the 20th of February last, I had the honour to transmit drawings of some lamps of this class, found at the eastern extremity of the *temenos*, but some of those recently discovered were more elaborate in form.

It is seldom that terra-cotta lamps, with such a number of mouths, have been preserved unbroken.

The other class of lamps appear to be of a late Roman period. They are made of coarse red clay, which has been covered with a glaze not fine enough to resist decay.

The shapes are clumsily and carelessly designed. The upper surface of the

* See *ante*, page 6.

lamp is usually ornamented with some figure or pattern in relief, forming a circular medallion between the handle and the mouth.

Although several hundreds of these lamps have been found, the reliefs exhibit little variety of subject.

They consist of the following designs :—

1. Grotesque Group of a Pigmy, fighting with a Crane.
2. Figure, with grotesque mask and costume, apparently copied from some comic drama. He is running, and in either hand brandishes two objects, perhaps the double flute, or a thunderbolt.
3. Group of two Gladiators fighting. This subject is repeated on several lamps, with variations in the grouping or costume.
4. Eros, to the right.
5. Youthful Winged Figure, moving to the right, wearing a *chiton* reaching to the hips, and holding in the left arm a cornucopia (?). Perhaps this figure is the Wind God, Zephyrus.
5. Head of Pallas, helmeted, to the left.
6. A Lion, springing to the left from a den or thicket.
7. A Fox seated, to the right.
8. A Fox, to the left, standing.
9. A Stag running, to the right.
10. A Calf, or similar quadruped, to the left.
11. A Horse galloping, to the left.
12. A Sheep to the left, in front a Branch.
13. A Bull galloping, to the left.
14. A Tiger, to the left.
15. Forepart of a Marine Horse, galloping.
16. Eagle, wings spread.
17. Cock, to the left.
18. A Circular Flower.

Of this last type many varieties occur. The leaves are either pointed or rounded at the ends, and vary in number from four upwards.

Sometimes this flower is encircled with a border of foliage, egg and tongue moulding, or other ornament.

19. Vase containing Flowers.

20. Cockle Shell.

21. Wreath composed of Olive, Laurel, or Vine-leaves, and Grapes.

22. An Ornamental Circular Border, the centre left plain.

Great numbers of lamps were found without any pattern in relief.

Some few of this class have more than one mouth. They average $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

The majority are without handles. Some few have a potter's name stamped at the bottom, but most of them have only a zigzag line, in imitation of letters, or a human foot incuse.

Fragments of some lamps, ornamented with horses' heads, were found in the same ground. These, probably, had several mouths, and must have been much larger than those described above.

Among the terra-cotta figures are several modelled with much freedom and vigour.

They generally represent draped female figures, probably, in most cases Demeter or Persephone.

In one figure the drapery is beautifully composed, showing the form underneath with great skill. This terra-cotta probably represents Persephone, as the figure is too youthful for Demeter. The head and neck are broken away; the figure has been about 10 inches high.

Other terra-cottas worthy of mention are the following :—

Two grotesque masks, modelled with great vigour; respective height 3 and 4 inches.

The body of a *neurospaston*, or doll; height $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

A pair of Terminal Hermæ, placed side by side; one ithyphallic, the other female; height $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. I discovered a similar terra-cotta in excavations on the site of the Temple of Apollo, in the Island of Calymnos.

The handle of a lamp, in the form of an ivy-leaf, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. On this, in relief, a naked boy, his hair gathered into the top-knot characteristic of Eros

The forefinger of his right hand is placed on his lips, in his left a torch (?). This figure probably represents Hypnos. The design is very elegant.

A pig, $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches long.

At the distance of about 20 feet to the south of the centre of the scarp, and nearly under the three niches shown in the photograph, a very interesting female statue, rather more than 6 feet high, was discovered by Lieutenant Smith during my absence at Geronta.

The body was draped to the feet. The head of this figure had been originally fitted into a socket at the base of the neck, and was lying close to it.

The arms were broken off, but portions of these, and of the hands, were found. In other respects the statue was in fair condition.

In the same spot was a base with the following votive inscription:—

ΝΙΚΟΚΛΕΙΑΝΙΚΟΧΟΡΟΥ
ΓΥΝΑΔΕΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΕΥΣ
ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΚΑΙ ΚΟΤΡΑΙΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΤΟΙΣ
ΠΑΡΑ ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙ ΕΥΧΑΝ

Νικόκλεια Νικοχόρου
γυνὰ δὲ Ἀπολλοφάνεως
Δάματρι καὶ κούρῃ καὶ θεοῖς τοῖς
παρὰ Δάματρι εὐχὰν.

This base appears to belong to the statue, which would thus represent Demeter. The type is peculiar.

The features and form are those of an elderly woman wasted with sorrow, and do not exhibit that matronly comeliness and maturity of form which usually characterize Demeter in ancient art.

I can only explain this deviation from the usual treatment of the subject by supposing that the Deity here represented is the Demeter Achæa.

In the Homeric hymn to Demeter, it is stated that the Goddess, while wandering in search of the lost Persephone, assumed the form and garb of an old woman, and traversed the earth for many days without tasting food.

Her appearance is likened to that of an aged nurse or housekeeper in a regal house.

Οἱ αἱ τε τροφοὶ εἰσι θεμιστοπόλων βασιλῆων
Παιδων, καὶ ταμίαι κατὰ δώματα ἡχήμεντα.

This description accords very well with the statue discovered in the *temenos*. The epithet *Ἀχαία* is first associated with the name of Demeter in Herodotus (v, 61).

This word is derived by the old grammarians from *ἄχος* grief, as appears from the authorities quoted by Baehr on Herodotus (*loc. cit.*), and by Hermann ("Lehrbuch d. Gottesd. Alterthümer," sec. 63, p. 25).

As far as I am aware, no representation of the Demeter Achæa has been as yet recognized in any extant monument of ancient art.

The interest of this statue is, therefore, greatly enhanced if, as I suppose, it presents an entirely new type of a Deity of whom but few representations in sculpture have been preserved.

In my despatch of the 7th of April last,* I had the honour to inclose a tracing of a head of Demeter, discovered in the *temenos* some months ago. This head represented the Goddess in the perfection of matronly beauty, and thus exhibits an interesting contrast to the type of Demeter here described.

In the inscription on the base of this statue, the dedication is made to Demeter, conjointly with certain other divinities, who are described as *θεοὶ παρὰ Δάματρι*.

This expression occurs in one of the inscriptions previously discovered. It was usual among the Greeks to associate in worship such Deities as expressed cognate religious ideas, and who, by reason of such association, were called *θεοὶ σύμβωμοι*.

The Deities who are described as *οἱ παρὰ Δάματρι*, would naturally be those of the infernal regions, and in my despatch of the 20th of August last,† I have

* See *ante*, page 15.

† *Ibid.*, page 30.

noted a dedication to the Dioscuri under the name of *δῶκτες*, and a base and part of a figure of Hekate.

Since this despatch has been commenced a very interesting terra-cotta lamp has been discovered, representing a type of Hekate which I have not seen elsewhere.

The original height of this terra-cotta has been about 8 inches.

It represents Hekate attired like Artemis, in a *chiton* reaching to the knees, and buskins.

On her right is a hound seated at her feet, looking up at the Goddess. On her left is a small cylindrical plinth, on which stands a small female figure, draped to the feet, too indistinct to be clearly made out.

In either hand Hekate holds up the spout of a lamp, here substituted for the two torches which are her usual symbol.

Her left arm rests on the small figure standing at her side.

At the back of the figure is a hole, through which the oil required for the lamp was poured.

The head has been broken away. The figure stands on a square plinth.

The style of the modelling seems rather Roman than Greek.

The small terra-cotta figures bearing water-pitchers on their heads, which in my despatch of the 20th of February last I have supposed to represent the Danaides, and the figure on the lamp described in this report as Hypnos, exhibit subjects drawn from the nether world, and such as in ancient art would naturally be associated with Demeter and Persephone.

At a short distance from the statue of Demeter Achæa part of a small statue was dug up, representing a youthful female figure, draped to the feet. The upper part of this statue has been shattered as far as the hips. It probably represents Persephone. Its height has been about 4 feet.

A great number of fragments of sculpture have also been discovered among the rubble in this part of the *temenos*.

Among these is part of a colossal left hand, which, if not a votive offering, must have belonged to a figure 12 feet high.

The other fragments consist chiefly of extremities and pieces of drapery.

All exhibit the same style as the sculptures described in my previous despatches.

We are now engaged in removing the surface from the southern and western parts of the *temenos*, and in digging the ground outside the platform at the foot of its southern boundary wall, with the view of ascertaining whether any sculpture has fallen over here.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. T. NEWTON.

No. 13.

Vice-Consul Newton to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received February 26.)

My Lord,

Ruins of Cnidus, January 1, 1859.

SINCE writing my despatch dated the 10th of November last,* I have continued to explore the site of the *temenos*.

The result of our recent operations is laid down in the rough plan of the ground which I have the honour to inclose.

Throughout the southern half of the platform the earth has been removed to a depth varying from 3 to 4 feet.

In this part of the *temenos* scarcely any remains of sculpture or pottery were found; but, at the distance of 21 feet to the north of the southern boundary wall, was a line of foundations, the greater part of which appeared to be constructed out of Hellenic materials.

* See *ante*, page 51.

This wall runs nearly parallel to the southern boundary line of the *temenos*.

The ground between these two lines is rather lower than the level of the northern part of the platform.

The inner wall consists of a single course of travertine blocks, the largest of which measures 4 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 4 inches, by 10 inches.

The masonry is isodomous; the blocks have evidently been toothed into another course, which has formed the outer or southern face of the wall.

The course is laid on rubble, without mortar, at a depth of about 3 feet below the surface of the soil.

The want of care and regularity in the laying of this foundation leads me to think that it is not genuine Hellenic work. It may, however, have been dislocated by an earthquake.

At the distance of 57 feet from the western boundary this wall ceases to be isodomous, and is replaced by a single course of rough-hewn polygonal blocks of limestone. At the distance of 24 feet from the eastern boundary, it dies away into a rubble foundation.

At the distance of 30 feet to the north of this line of foundations were two large blocks, which must have served to receive a gate. The door in an ancient building swung on a pivot, revolving in an upper and lower socket; such a kind of hinge is still used in Turkish houses at Budrum.

The two blocks discovered in the *temenos* were evidently fitted to receive a metallic socket in which a pivot played.

The largest of these blocks was of limestone. Its dimensions were 3 feet 7 inches by 3 feet 1 inch, by 16 inches. The inclosed sketch exhibits its plan and section.

The other block is of travertine, and measures 2 feet 4 inches by 2 feet 3 inches, by 1 foot 4 inches.

With these blocks were found a limestone slab, probably a door-jamb, or lintel, and measuring 6 feet 10 inches by 1 foot 8 inches, by 11 inches; and a square block which appeared to be connected with the gate. Both of these were rough-hewn.

Nearly on the same line with these stones are the remains of a second wall running through the *temenos*, longitudinally, from east to west.

This foundation is built of polygonal limestone blocks, roughly jointed. From the position of the two blocks and jamb it seems probable that the gateway to which they belonged stood somewhere about the centre of this wall.

Thinking it possible that portions of sculpture had rolled over the southern boundary wall, I dug the ground along its foot for a length of about 77 feet in the centre of the *temenos*, and 40 feet at the south-western angle.

Nothing was found in this excavation except a large stone spout, which had evidently served to conduct water from the summit of the terrace wall.

The form and dimensions of this spout are represented in the inclosed rough sketch.

It would seem from its position, when found, that this stone had fallen from the summit of the southern boundary wall, as on the platform immediately above, a surface drain, 12 inches wide, was discovered running between this wall and the inner isodomous wall.

This drain was 1 foot below the surface. At the south-east angle of the southern boundary wall is an opening for another surface drain.

After having thoroughly explored the southern half of the platform, I resumed the examination of the northern part, which, as I have already stated, lies immediately below the scarped face of the mountain.

To the west of the spot where the statue of Demeter Achæa was discovered, I found the same kind of rough walls as in the two groups of foundations described in my Reports of the 20th February and of the 10th November last.*

These walls inclosed square and oblong compartments or cells, within and about which were great quantities of lamps of the same kind as those previously found, portions of terra-cotta figures, two glass phials about 2 inches high, and a number of fragments of sculpture in Parian marble.

All these objects were found strangely intermixed with masses of broken rock which had fallen from the heights to the north. In one place I found a

* See *ante*, pages 10 and 51.

piece of drapery embedded like a fossil in a mass of rock, lying about 12 feet in front of the scarp.

The other fragments were principally hands and feet of female figures; some colossal, some life-size, and some from statuettes.

All the sculpture appeared to be of the same period, and of the same Parian marble. Some of the fragments were remarkable for the beauty of the style, and appear to be worthy of the school of Praxiteles.

Marks of red colour appear on several of the fragments. On one of the feet the thick sole of the sandal has two red bands, and has been painted red under the foot.

From the freshness of the fractures, and the generally good condition of the surface, it would seem that all these fragments are lying where they originally fell.

They appear to have been split off from the statues of which they originally formed a part, by some violent shock, like that of an earthquake, or by the fall of large masses of rock from the heights above.

With these fragments of sculpture were found part of a Doric capital in limestone, $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and a fragment of Doric cornice in travertine, covered with a fine stucco, on which red colour still remains.

This cornice is about 5 inches in depth.

These architectural members may, from their correspondence of proportions, belong to the same entablature; from the smallness of the scale, they, probably, formed part of an *heroon*.

In the same part of the *temenos* were discovered three drums of a plain cylindrical column, the respective diameters of which were 1 foot 9 inches, 1 foot 7 inches, and 1 foot 5 inches.

This column was of travertine, and has been covered with stucco. A portion of a fluted column 23 inches long and 9 inches in diameter, also of travertine, was entirely covered with stucco.

Among the terra-cottas, the most remarkable is the foot of a *calathus*, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by the same diameter at the base, modelled in red clay; also part of a small draped female figure, which, though lying in the rubble on the surface, retained both colour and gilding on the drapery.

The discovery of these remains induced me to explore further the ground where they were lying.

This, however, was no easy matter; for, immediately to the north of this particular spot, the scarp is completely broken away, terminating abruptly at the distance of 50 feet from the western boundary of the *temenos*, and immense masses of rock have, consequently, been projected forward into the platform, overwhelming the rough walls of the inclosures, and throwing them out of the perpendicular. After removing the lower part of this mass of rock and detritus, the work was impeded by the necessity of constantly dislodging detached fragments, which, being undermined as we advanced, overhung the excavations in a most dangerous manner.

By the application of a steady continuous strain of tackles, we succeeded in bringing down the largest of these masses, weighing, probably, about 50 tons.

This obstacle we have since disposed of by blasting, and the ground below it being now cleared for ordinary excavation, we shall be able, in a few days, to clear away the accumulation of fallen rock, and lay bare the ancient level of the platform.

I am in hopes that further examination of this ground may lead to the discovery of the statues from which the arms and feet have been broken away.

It appears from the progress of the excavation up to this time, that all the sculpture and other antiquities have been found in a line running east and west through the northern part of the *temenos*, at a distance seldom exceeding 70 feet south of the scarp, and at an average depth of 3 feet below the surface, though sometimes only covered by a few inches of soil.

Wherever these antiquities have been found, they have been lying within or very near inclosures or chambers of the rudest masonry.

The plan of the *temenos* already referred to exhibits the position of these foundations relatively to the antiquities found near them.

By reference to this plan it will be seen that the inclosures form three principal groups, situated respectively at the eastern and western extremity of the *temenos*, and a little east of the centre.

While, from the general roughness of these foundations, it is most improbable that they are Hellenic, on the other hand the fact that in their courses occur here and there blocks of travertine lined with stucco, and also the discovery of scattered fragments of architecture in the soil, renders it probable that some Hellenic edifice once stood on this site, and that after its destruction some of the building materials were employed in the ruder inclosures still existing.

This previous edifice would naturally be the *οἶκος* mentioned in a dedicatory inscription, as I have reported in my despatch of the 7th of April last.

From a review of the whole evidence afforded by the excavations up to this date, I am inclined to think that an Hellenic edifice or edifices, together with a number of statues and other votive monuments, were at some period in antiquity thrown down and scattered about, either by an earthquake or the hand of man, and that the rough inclosures were built long subsequently, but still within the Pagan period.

The statues, as it would seem, were not set up again after their fall, but their fragments left lying on the surface; some of them, perhaps, were collected and placed in the inclosures.

The ground continued to be accounted sacred, but the objects dedicated were no longer of a monumental character.

This supposition would account for the immense quantity of Roman lamps, of a very late period, which have been found throughout the *temenos*, intermixed with the sculpture and inscriptions of the earlier Hellenic period.

If the original *οἶκος* was a treasury for the reception of votive objects, the subsequent rough inclosures were probably built for the same purpose.

We may thus explain why some of the chambers were lined with cement, and completely filled with one class of terra-cottas, such as lamps or small figures.

This was particularly the case in the easternmost group of inclosures described in my despatch of the 20th of February last.

On first discovering these, the character of their contents, and the shape and dimensions of the cells themselves, led me to consider them as walled graves.

No human bones, however, have been found in any of the inclosures, and, after a careful examination of nearly the whole area of the *temenos*, and of the three groups of inclosures, I am inclined to think that there is no positive evidence to prove that any of the chambers are tombs; though, from the occasional strata of bones of animals and cinerary remains, it is probable that sacrifices took place near and within these inclosures.

It is worthy of note that in all the three groups, the walls nearest the scarp have been overwhelmed by great masses of rock, which have forced them out of the perpendicular, so that each group leans forward to the south.

This inclination can hardly have been caused by any force less than that of an earthquake.

It would, of course, be a point of much interest, could we ascertain what was the original level of the platform on which the Hellenic edifice and the bases of the statues stood; but this is a question which I am as yet unable to decide. With a view of ascertaining the character of the lower soil of the platform, I dug a pit 24 feet deep, nearly in the centre of the northern half; but, on descending below the level at which antiquities have been commonly found, namely, about 4 feet, I did not obtain the smallest fragment of sculpture or pottery.

The soil consisted almost entirely of small loose fragments of broken rock, the *detritus* from the mountain, lying in layers sloping towards the south.

The ground at the foot of the scarp, and forming its base-line, consists of detached masses of partially decomposed rock.

These masses had one plane surface, lying over against the scarp in a direction nearly parallel to its plane.

Sometimes the plane of the masses had been forced into such close contact with the plane of the scarp, as to adhere to it; but more generally the two planes were separated by a space of two or more inches, which, to any one unacquainted with the real formation of the ground, appeared like a deep groove cut in the native rock.

On removing a portion of the overlying masses by blasting, I found the scarp behind them descending at the same angle and presenting the same regular slope.

Further blasts laid bare its surface for a depth of 31 feet, and a width of 10 feet.

At this depth it exhibits no sign of termination.

The inclosed diagram exhibits a section of the scarp and platform, showing the form of the ground before the overlying masses were removed by blasting.

The place where I have laid bare the scarp is immediately below the three niches represented in the photographic view of the *temenos* which I had the honour to transmit in my despatch of the 30th of last May.

On the base of the easternmost of these niches are traces of an inscription nearly effaced by weather.

Long study of this in different lights has enabled me to decipher the following letters :—

ΔΑΜΑ[ΤΡΙΚΑΙΚΟΤΡΑΙ]
Α ΠΙΑΘ ΑΕ [Κ? Ο?] Ι ΤΟΤΥΝΑ

By which it appears that the statue placed in the niche was dedicated to Demeter.

The writing, as far as I can judge from such faint traces, does not appear to be of a later period than the other inscriptions discovered in the *temenos*.

The entire height of the scarp, from the lowest point reached by blasting to the line where the artificial surface terminates on the mountain side, cannot be less than 80 feet.

Beyond the eastern boundary of the *temenos*, the scarp extends about 50 feet. To the west it has been broken away about 50 feet to the east of the western boundary line.

A portion of similar scarp appears along the side of the mountain, about 50 feet to the west of the platform.

This portion is not in the same line as the scarp of the *temenos*.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. T. NEWTON.

No. 14.

Vice-Consul Newton to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received February 26.)

My Lord,

Ruins of Cnidus, January 20, 1859.

WHILE the recent excavations at the *temenos* have been carried on with the main body of my workmen, I have employed a small force in exploring various localities which seemed likely to yield antiquities.

In the course of these researches the following discoveries have been made.

In the Eastern cemetery, at the distance of about half an hour's walk from the encampment, I discovered among the brushwood an ancient road bordered by tombs on either side, and extending about half a mile along the side of a mountain in an eastern direction.

This seems to have been one of the principal public roads leading from the interior of the peninsula to Cnidus. It terminates to the east at the edge of a deep ravine, which has probably been bridged over.

A little to the north of this road I discovered under a bush a limestone block, 2 feet 3½ inches by 1 foot by 10 inches in dimensions, on which was an inscription in elegiac verse (No. 1 of the Inclosure).

In this inscription, the traveller, before entering the ancient city, is invited to turn a little out of his road to visit the *temenos* of the hero Antigonos, whom we may suppose to have been some distinguished mythical or historical personage who was honoured with a sacred precinct round his tomb.

Within this precinct or *temenos*, the inscription proceeds to tell the traveller, was a temple and altar where poets might sacrifice to the Muses, a *stadium* and *palæstra*, baths, and a statue of Pan playing on the *syrix*, for thus, I think, must here be interpreted the word *ταρσφ*, which bears many analogous senses in Greek literature.

From a comparison of the opening of the inscription with the two last lines,

I infer that the statue of Hermes, as *temenouros*, or guardian of the *temenos*, stood at the entrance, and that the God himself is supposed to address the traveller.

Statues of Hermes frequently stood in streets, roads, and doorways in ancient cities.

It is remarkable that this Deity is here described as the Hermes from Pheneos in Arcadia. We learn from Pausanias (viii, 10, 6, and v, 27, 5), that the inhabitants of Pheneos worshipped Hermes more than any other Deity, erecting a temple to him in their own city, and also dedicating, at Olympia, a statue of Hermes Kriophoros.

The association of the worship of the Muses and of Pan with that of the hero Antigonos in this *temenos*, is illustrated by a remarkable inscription (No. 2448 of the "Corpus Inscriptionum"), which is commonly known as the Will of Epicteta.

This document declares that certain land has been set apart as a *temenos* sacred to the husband of the testatrix, Epicteta, her two sons, and herself, after her decease, as heroes, and to the Muses, whose Temples, styled, respectively, Heroon and Mouseion, are within the *temenos*; that sacrifices shall be here periodically offered by the descendants of Epicteta, and that the Priesthoods of the Temples thus endowed are to be hereditary in her family.

The *temenos* of Antigonos was in like manner shared by his wife, for the *ὁμεινέτις* mentioned in line 8 can hardly refer to any other person.

From the address to the stranger, *ξένος* (line 3 of this inscription), it is clear that the *temenos* stood near the public road, and at a short distance from the city, as may be inferred from the expression *Βαῖον ὁδοιπορίας ἐτι λείπεται* (line 1).

The natural features of the locality where I found the inscription correspond very well with those indicated in the text, for between this spot and the city are several *ἀγκη* or ravines, alternating with *αἶπη* or heights, and there is more than one natural fountain which would have afforded water for the baths.

It is probable, therefore, that the *temenos* was situated close to the very road which I discovered among the brushwood; but up to this time I have not been able to meet with any trace of it.

The stone being of small dimensions may easily have been transported to some distance from the place where I found it; but from the general condition of its surfaces, I should infer that it had not been used a second time in some later building, as was frequently the case.

From the character of the writing, and general style of the inscription, I should consider that it was not later than the Macedonian period. Its date may be about B.C. 330.

A few yards to the north-east of the spot where I found this stone, I noticed a row of short thick columns in a dense mass of brushwood; on clearing away which, I laid bare the foundations of an early Christian church, of which the east end terminates in an apse.

Commencing at this point, I found, about 2 feet below the surface, the pavement of the church still in position. This was in a great measure composed of slabs bearing Greek sepulchral inscriptions which had evidently been taken from the numerous plundered tombs in the midst of which the church is situated.

These slabs were of various dimensions. The largest were sides of sepulchral *sori*, on which the name of the person interred was inscribed. The smaller slabs were generally *stelæ*, in which the inscription is commonly surmounted by a pediment raised in very slight relief.

This pediment stands as the symbol of the *heroon*, which was usually a small distyle temple.

These slabs are from 2 to 4 feet long.

Other inscriptions were on square bases on which short sepulchral columns, *κλῶες*, had stood. In these the words *ὁ Δάμος* usually commence the inscription, and the deceased person is usually styled "*Ἡρως*."

This form, probably, distinguishes the graves of persons who had rendered some service to the community, in consideration for which they were thought worthy of a funeral or a monument at the public expense.

The title of "*Ἡρως*" in later Greek was very generally bestowed on the dead, and seems to have been the equivalent of the expression *ὁ μακαρίτης*.

With, perhaps, one exception, all the inscriptions which I found in this church are of the Roman period.

Most of them probably belong to the second and third centuries A.D.

They are chiefly interesting as specimens of palæography, and as affording a clue to the age of the tombs in the Eastern Cemetery. Many of the *stelæ* are in very fine condition.

The following may be particularly noticed:—

(1.) A sepulchral inscription in elegiac verse (No. 2 of the Inclosure), to the memory of a female called Athis; her husband is the dedicator.

It is graven on a slab $25\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 25 inches, by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches thickness. On the edge of the slab is the following inscription in two lines,—

ΜΕΛΙΤΩΝΟΣ[Τ]ΟΥΔΕΙΚΡΑ
ΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΙΟΧΕ ΩΣ ΜΕΤΟΙΚΟΥ

the person commemorated was a citizen of Antioch, and resided as a *μέτοικος* at Cnidus.

This inscription is placed in a direction contrary to that of the metrical epitaph, and appears to be of an earlier date. The slab has probably been used in two successive tombs, as often happened in ancient cemeteries.

(2.) A sepulchral inscription in Latin, in memory of Octavia Secunda, 12 inches long by $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide.

Inscriptions in the Latin character are rarely met with in this part of Asia Minor.

(3.) A slab inscribed,—

[Γ]ΑΙΟΥΙΟΥΑΙΟΥ
Μ ΕΑ ΑΝΑ

Above is sculptured, in relief, the farewell scene so frequently represented on ancient sepulchral monuments.

On the left is the deceased person, a female figure, in a *chiton* and *peplos*; she is seated in a chair, her feet on a footstool. Before her stands a male figure, probably her husband, clad in a *chiton* and *peplos*, whom she is clasping by the hand. At her feet stands a young girl, who places some offering on the knees of the seated figure; she is similarly attired. Behind the male figure is a youth, clad in a *chiton* reaching to the knees; he holds in both hands a small casket or other offering.

This slab is broken at the top; its present length is 2 feet 8 inches by 1 foot 8 inches width.

The relief is as well executed as sculptures of this class usually are in monuments of the Roman epoch.

(4.) Part of a Decree (No. 3 of the Inclosure), declaring the rate of contribution due from the members of a *thiasos*. These *thiasi* were religious societies or clubs, which assembled periodically to perform sacrifices in honour of some particular Deity. They were endowed with lands for this purpose, and each member was bound by the regulations of the society to the observance of certain rites, and to the payment of certain dues.

The columns of the church were short thick *κίονες*, taken from tombs. The capitals have a rude volute like that of Norman capitals.

On one of them I found the following inscription, recording the dedication of a column,—

+ ΕΥΧΗΡΟΔΟΕΙΟΥ+
Ευχὴ Ῥοδοίου.

From the form of the letters in this inscription, and in another on a fragment of cornice it may be inferred that the church is a specimen of Christian architecture, as early as the fourth century A.D.

At the east end, I found a portion of a Doric cornice in travertine, covered with stucco and painted, and part of a terra-cotta relief, representing Herakles. These fragments probably belong to some neighbouring tomb which had been opened by the early Christians.

In the pavement occasional intervals between the larger slabs were filled

with a kind of marquetry composed of thin slices of marble, cut into lozenges and other geometrical forms.

This mode of inlaying marbles was used in tombs of the Roman period, as I have remarked in the description of the Tomb of Lykæthios, in my despatch of the 7th of last April.

On the shore of the north harbour, in the Compartment N of the Index Chart, I discovered Inscription 4 of the Inclosure.

This makes mention of the βουλῇ of Cnidus, with its γραμματεὺς, and the two Deities, Athene Nikaphoros and Hestia Boulæa, who were probably associated in one place of worship.

From the mention of Hestia Boulæa in this inscription, it is probable that it was originally placed in the *Prytaneum* or Town Hall of Cnidus.

In every Greek city this public building contained an altar, on which a perpetual fire was kept burning, the *Prytaneum* itself being specially consecrated to the Goddess Hestia or Vesta. Further research in the part of the ancient city where this inscription was found may possibly lead to the discovery of the *Prytaneum*. It is probable that the *Agora*, and other public buildings, were situated on the continental shore of the north harbour.

This inscription is also interesting from the occurrence in it of the name of an ancient artist, Menodotos, son of Menippus, a citizen of Cnidus.

In my despatch of the 20th of February last, I reported the discovery of an inscription, on which occurred the names of two artists, [Μη]νόδοτος and Μένιππος, of Chios.

The Menodotos, son of Menippus, in the Inscription No. 4, was, probably, of the same family. He is here described as a Cnidian, not a Chian, but he may have acquired the right of citizenship in a foreign city.

A sculptor named Menippos is mentioned by Diogenes Laertius (vi, 8, 101), as quoted in Sillig's "Catalogue of Ancient Artists," *Menippus*.

The βουλῇ, of which the author of this inscription was the γραμματεὺς, must be that Senate of sixty ἀμνήμονες, elected for life, mentioned by Aristotle, and which he compares to the Spartan γερούσια ("Polit.," v, 6, as cited in the memoir on Cnidus in the "Ionian Antiquities)."

I take this opportunity of noting the meaning of the word ἀφροστήρ, which occurs in the inscriptions found in the Tomb of Lykæthios, and which I omitted to explain in my Report on that tomb, dated the 7th of April last.*

This officer was the President of the Cnidian Senate, and it was his office to collect the opinions of its members.

The form of the marble on which the inscription relating to Hestia is graven does not give any clue by which we might guess what was the nature of the object dedicated.

The lines are inscribed on the narrow face of a long slab, 3 feet 5 inches by 1 foot 5½ inches, by 11 inches. The letters are much worn.

Inscription No. 5 is on a small altar, 1 foot 6 inches square, by 12½ inches deep.

It was found near the ruins of a Doric building, the foundations of which are shown in the north-east angle of Compartment K of the Index Chart.

The δαμιουργός mentioned in this inscription was the Chief Civil Magistrate of Cnidus. The same title occurs on another Cnidian inscription (No. 2653 of the "Corpus Inscriptionum"), and on the handles of Cnidian *diotæ*. The name δαμιουργός was borne by the Magistrate in several Dorian States.

At the south-west angle of Compartment J of the Index Chart, and overlooking our encampment, are the ruins of a small building of the Roman period, possibly a temple.

Among these ruins I found, lying on the surface, an angle piece of cornice, 13 inches deep, in grey marble, on one face of which was the inscription (No. 6 of the Inclosure) containing the name of the Emperor Hadrian, the first line of which is written in majuscule letters.

A few feet to the west of this spot is a street forming the boundary between Compartments I and J of the Index Chart, and communicating with the platform below by a flight of steps.

On cutting away the brushwood from this street, I found an inscription

* See *ante*, page 15.

(No. 7 of the Inclosure) on a block of marble, 2 feet 1 inch by 1 foot 11½ inches, by 1 foot 11½ inches deep.

This was dedicated by the people of the Syrian city, Julia Laodicæa, in honour of Caius Julius Artemidoros, son of Theopompos. A Cnidian inscription, published by Mr. Hamilton, "Travels in Asia Minor" (ii, Appendix V, No. 287), contains the same name.

It is probable that the person mentioned in these two inscriptions was son of that Artemidoros of Cnidus who was the friend of Julius Cæsar, and who, by a written memorial, warned him of the conspiracy of Brutus immediately before his assassination. His father, Theopompos, was also a friend of Julius Cæsar, and is mentioned by Strabo as among the most distinguished citizens of Cnidus in his time.

The name Theopompos would naturally recur in the alternate generations, according to the well-known Greek usage.

A few yards to the west of the street already mentioned is a piece of white marble architrave, on which are the words, —

ΟΔΑΜ[ΟΣ]
[Θ]ΕΥΠΟΜΠΟΥ

in majuscule letters.

This, probably, relates to the elder Theopompos, father of Artemidoros.

The piece of architrave belongs to some sumptuous public edifice, perhaps, the Doric colonnade (Compartment I of the Index Chart).

These discoveries induced me to make a small excavation here. About 3 feet below the surface I came to an area paved with large slabs, and bounded on two sides by a peristyle of travertine Doric columns. This area measured 30 feet 9 inches from east to west by 23 feet from north to south.

The diameter of these columns is 2 feet 2 inches. On the east side the bases of two were in position on a stylobate; the intercolumniation was 6 feet.

On the pavement stood a plain cylindrical column, 2 feet 2 inches high by 21 inches diameter, on which is an inscription (No. 8 of the Inclosure), commemorating a certain Servius Sulpicius Hekataeus, who is described as a physician and a friend to one of the Emperors, probably Hadrian, as his name appears on the cornice.

I also found here part of a small slab 14½ inches deep, on which was a group in low relief representing a male figure, wearing a *petasus* and a *chiton* reaching to the hips: at his right side is a draped female figure.

Both these figures hold out *patera*, as if offering libations.

On the left hand the slab is broken away.

In the same area were some fragments of two colossal statues, one draped, the other, probably, that of a Roman Emperor.

Between this building and the street on the west was a drain, running east and west, large enough to admit a man's body. Over this drain a flight of steps led down into the street.

On the south of the paved area the foundations run on towards the edge of the terrace; but the walls are roughly put together, as if they were of a later period. Between the paved area and the edge of the terrace I uncovered part of a Mosaic pavement of very ordinary character.

The sculpture discovered in these ruins being Roman and deficient in style, I did not examine the ground further.

(9.) This inscription is on a slab of white marble, 12½ inches by 5½ inches, by 4 inches deep, which must have been placed under a small votive figure.

The name of the artist Epikrates does not occur in Sillig's "Catalogue of Ancient Artists."

This slab was found a little below the surface, within an Hellenic building in the centre of Compartment K of the Index Chart.

I have already had the honour to report to your Lordship, in my despatch of the 30th of June last,* that, having some months ago noticed this site on account

* See *ante*, page 27.

of the beauty of the masonry in a wall bounding it on the south, I caused an excavation to be made, so as to lay bare the outer face of the wall.

This experiment not having led to any immediate discovery, the excavation was for the time abandoned.

The singular perfection of the masonry, however, in the part of the wall uncovered, convinced me that an Hellenic building of the best period once occupied this site.

I therefore recommenced excavations here about three weeks ago.

On digging to the north of the first excavations I came upon Byzantine foundations, and, at the depth of about 3 feet, discovered the inscription, No. 9 of the Inclosure, which had been built into a Byzantine wall; also, the lower half of a draped female figure, which has been about 2 feet high.

The drapery is well composed, and the style of the sculpture appears to be of the Macedonian period, to which date I would also assign the inscription.

On the left hand side of the figure is a square pillar; the left foot is advanced and slightly raised.

On making these discoveries, I continued the excavation, the results of which, up to the present date, are as follows:—

The wall which originally attracted my attention is the southern wall of an oblong Hellenic building, which measures 91 feet from east to west, by 96 feet from north to south.

This edifice stood on a platform, cut like a step out of the side of the hill, being bounded on the north and east sides by a deep cutting in the native rock.

In the north-east angle of the building is a chamber 23 feet from east to west by 18 feet 4 inches from north to south. To the height of 4 feet 4 inches from the foundations the walls of this chamber are built of grey marble slabs resting on a plinth, and surmounted by a string course.

The surface of the slabs is finely polished, and the joints are adjusted with a nicety hardly to be surpassed in the finest cabinet-maker's work.

Above this marble wall is, on three sides, a travertine wall which has, doubtless, been covered with stucco, and painted.

To the south, the marble wall has, I think, been surmounted by a bronze grating.

The plinth of this wall runs on further to the west, and as the whole building measures 91 feet between the inner faces of the eastern and western walls, it may be presumed that this whole length is divided into four chambers of the same size, namely, 23 feet by 18 feet.

In the north-east angle of the building, the height from the top of the cutting in the rock to the foundations is 18 feet, nearly the whole of which space was filled with Byzantine rubble, the ruins, apparently, of houses which had overlooked this site. Throughout the whole southern half of the building are Byzantine walls, which I have, as yet, only partially explored.

I find no pavement in any part of the building.

Up to this date we have met with the following remains of sculpture:—

1. A head of the bearded Dionysos surmounted by a *polos*, 8 inches in height. This is in white marble, and appears to be a modification of an archaic type of Dionysos, made in a good period of sculpture.

2. Two portions of a female head, about 8 inches high. The lower part of the face is unfortunately broken away, but enough remains to show the beautiful and simple style of the sculpture. The head-dress is the kind called *Opisthosphendone*.

3. A female head, 5½ inches high, perhaps representing a Muse. The head-dress appears to have been the net called *kekryphalos*.

4. A female head, 2¾ inches high, bound with a *sphendone* over the forehead.

This and the former head are much defaced, but in a good style.

5. Part of a relief representing two draped female figures. The arrangement of the drapery in one of these figures is unusual, and seems copied from some more archaic type. The subject is perhaps Dionysiac.

One of the figures is in high relief: the other, which is in rapid action, is very slightly raised from the background. Between them is some object like a torch.

The group, of which this fragment forms a part, was probably about 10 inches high.

6. A lion's paw, which has formed the foot of a table or other object. This is 7 inches high by $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches long.

All the above fragments belong to a good period of art.

7. A torso of a naked female figure, from the waist to the neck, found in an old well near the south wall of the building. This fragment measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. It is of Parian marble, and is a most beautiful example of sculpture, probably of the school of Praxiteles.

The attitude is, as nearly as I can remember, that of the statue in the Louvre, commonly known as the "Venus of Milo," of which it may be a reduced copy.

This torso is the more valuable, because it affords an example of the treatment of undraped form in that school of art which had the advantage of studying the Venus of Praxiteles, esteemed by the ancients the master-piece of this class of sculpture.

8. The capital of a Corinthian column, of which the base has been broken away: its diameter has probably been about 9 inches.

The acanthus foliage of this capital is wrought with extreme delicacy and refinement of undercutting, which shows it to be a Greek work. It probably belongs to the same period and school as the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates at Athens.

The ornaments differ from those of the Choragic capital, but the general design has the same luxuriant character.

9. The lower part of another Corinthian capital, ornamented with acanthus leaves: this is a variety of the Corinthian, approaching in design one engraved in Ferguson's "Handbook of Architecture," page 273, which was found at Branchidæ.

In this example the foliage is most delicately carved and deeply undercut.

We know so little from extant monuments how the Corinthian Order was treated by the Greeks on its first introduction, that these two new examples of the capital are interesting acquisitions.

Mr. Ferguson remarks (page 273 of his "History of Architecture") that the Corinthian Order was only adopted by the Greeks in the decline of their architecture, that it never rose during the purely Hellenic period to the dignity of a temple Order, and that it was, probably, first employed in smaller works of art.

In illustration of this remark, I would observe that the occurrence of the Hellenic-Corinthian, either in Greece or Asia Minor, is, as far as I am aware, of extreme rarity, and that in the few extant examples it is on a small scale, and exhibits an elaborate and florid character which, when compared with the severer beauty of the Doric and Ionic Orders, seem to belong to a later period.

In the capital of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, and in the two Cnidian varieties, there is a tendency to lose sight of the purpose of the capital, and to regard the ornament as an end rather than a means, as an independent work of art rather than as a subordinate part of an architectural whole.

The decoration is so profuse, and the undercutting carried so far, that the eye finds no solid surface to dwell on, and the real solidity of the material being thus masked and suppressed, an appearance of frailty and slowness is presented in that member of the Order in which we seem instinctively to require some demonstration of strength and stability.

Such a sacrifice of mass to decoration is hardly atoned for by the fantastic grace of the design, or the dexterity of the execution.

In criticizing this Order, however, it must not be forgotten that it seems to have been originally applied in cases in which the weight to be sustained was small, and where decoration rather than strength of structure may be conceived to have been the main object of the architect.

Such edifices would bear the same relation to a Greek temple that the tabernacle work employed in Gothic shrines does to a cathedral.

Since I commenced this despatch, we have found a plain circular altar 2 feet 5 inches high, on which is inscribed a dedication to Apollo Pythius, No. 10 of the Inclosure.

This dedication is made by Caphisodotos, Demiorgos of Cnidus, whose title by an unusual arrangement precedes his name.

From a comparison of this inscription and No. 9, it seems probable that the edifice in which they were found was dedicated to the Pythian Apollo and the Muses.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. T. NEWTON.

Inclosure in No. 14.

Ten Inscriptions discovered at Onidus.

(1)

ΒΑΙΟΝ ΟΔΟΙΠΟΡΙΗΣ Ε . ΙΛΕΙΠΕΤΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΠΡΟΣΑΙΠΟΣ
 ΤΗΝ ΟΛΙΓΗΝ ΑΝΥΣΕΙΣ ΑΤΡΑΠΙΤΟΝ ΔΙΕΠΩΝ
 ΧΕΙΡΟΣ ΑΦΗΜΕΤΕΡΗΣ ΛΑΙΗΣ ΞΕΝΕΚΑΜΕΡΟΣ ΕΙΠΑΣ
 ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΕΙΧΕΙΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΟΥ ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ
 ΗΡΩΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ ΜΟΥΣΑΙ ΔΕ ΣΟΙ ΕΙΤΙΝ ΕΜΟΥΣΙΝ
 ΕΣΘΛΟΝ ΑΠΑΡΧΕΣ ΘΑΙΔΑΙΜΟΣΙΝ ΕΓΜΕΛΕΤΗΣ
 ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΟΙΔΟΙΣΙΝ ΘΥΜΕΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΣΗΚΟΣ ΥΓΑΠΚΕΙ
 ΤΩΙ ΕΠΙΓΟΝΟΤΚΟΥ ΡΩΙΞΤΝΟΣ ΟΜΕΥΝΕΤΙΔΟΣ
 ΚΑΙ ΔΡΟΜΟΣ ΗΪΘΕΟΙΣΙΝ ΙΔΡΥΕΤΑΙ ΑΙΗΔΕ ΠΑΛΑΙΣΤΡΗ
 ΛΟΥΤΡΑ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΡΣΩ ΠΑΝ Ο ΜΕΛΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΣ
 ΑΛΛΑΣΙΝΗΣ ΕΡΧΕΥΚΑΙ ΑΠΑΡΚΑΔΙΗΣ ΤΕΜΕΝΟΥΡΟΝ
 ΕΡΜΗΝ ΟΥ ΜΕΜΨΕΙ . ΡΗΧΕΟΣ ΕΧΦΕΝΕΟΥ

*Βαῖων ὁδοιπορίας ἐτι λείπεται, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αἶπος**Τὴν ὀλίγην ἀνύσεις ἀτραπιτὸν διέπων**Χειρὸς ἀφ' ἡμετέρης λαιῆς, ξένε, κάμῃ προσείπας**Χαίρειν. εἰ στείχεις πρὸς φίλιου τέμενος**Ἡρώων Ἀντιγόνου. Μούσαι δέ σοι εἴ τι νέμουσιν.**Ἐσθλὸν ἀπάρχεσθαι θαιμοσιν ἐγ μελέτης.**Καὶ γὰρ ἀοιδοῖσιν θυμέλη καὶ σηκὸς ὑπ' ἄγκει**Τῷ Ἐπιγόνου κούρῳ ξυνὸς ὁμευνέτιδος,**Καὶ δρόμος ἡΐθέοισιν ἰδρύεται, ἡ δὲ παλαίστρα**Λουτρά τε καὶ ταρσῷ Πάν ὁ μελιζόμενος.**Ἄλλ' ἀσινῆς ἔρχευ, καὶ ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας τεμενουρόν**Ἑρμῆν οὐ μέμψει τρηχέος ἐχ Φενέου.*

(2.)

ΛΑΙΝΑΣΟΙΤΥΜΒΩΙΔΩΜΗΜΑΤΑΘΕΙΟΣΕΤΕΥΞΑ
 ΑΤΘΙΣ ΟΔΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΣΗΣ ΗΛΙΚΙΗΣ ΠΡΟΓΕΡΩΝ
 ΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΧΕΙΡΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΩΝΚΟΝΙΝΑΚΡΙΤΕΔΑΙΜΟΝ
 ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΙΣΗΜΙΝΕΣ ΒΕΣΑΣ ΗΕΛΙΟΝ

ΑΤΘΙΣΕΜΟΙΖΗΣΑΣΑΚΑΙΕΙΣΕΜΕΠΝΕΥΜΑΛΙΠΟΥΣΑ
 ΩΣΠΑΡΟΣΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΣΝΥΝΔΑΚΡΥΩΝΠΡΟΦΑΣΙ
 ΑΓΝΑΠΟΥΛΥΓΟΗΣΕΤΙΠΕΝΘΙΜΟΝΥΠΝΟΝΙΑΥΕΙΣ
 ΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΣΤΕΡΝΩΝ ΟΥΠΟΤΕΘΕΙΣΑΚΑΡΑ
 ΘΕΙΟΝΕΡΗΜΩΣΑΣΑΤΟΝΟΥΚΕΤΙΣΟΙΓΑΡΕΣΑΔΑΝ
 ΗΛΘΟΝΟΜΟΥΖΩΑΣΕΛΠΙΔΕΣΑΜΕΤΕΡΑΣ

ΟΥΚΕΠΙΟΝΛΗΘΗΣΑΙΔΩΝΙΔΟΣΕΣΧΑΤΟΝΥΔΩΡ
 ΩΣΣΕΠΑΡΗΓΟΡΙΗΝΚΑΝΦΘΙΜΕΝΟΙΣΙΝΕΧΩ
 ΘΕΙΕΠΛΕΟΝΔΥΣΤΗΝΕΓΑΜΩΝΟΤΙΤΩΝΑΜΙΑΝ
 ΤΩΝΝΟΣΦΙΣΘΕΙΣΚΛΑΙΕΙΣΧΗΡΟΣΥΝΗΝΘΑΛΑΜΩΝ

ΤΟΥΤΟΣΑΟΦΡΟΣΥΝΑΣΓΕΡΑΣΑΤΘΙΔΙΤΑΠΟΛΥΚΛΑΥΤΩ
 ΟΥΚΙΣΟΝΟΥΔΕΑΡΕΤΑΣΑΞΙΟΝΑΛΛΕΘΕΜΑΝ
 ΜΝΑΜΑΝΕΙΣΑΙΩΝΑΦΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΝΑΥΤΟΣΑΝΑΓΚΑ
 ΘΕΙΟΣΝΗΠΙΑΧΩΓΝΕΥΜΑΧΑΡΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΣ
 ΟΙΣΩΓΑΡΚΑΙΤΟΥΤΟΧΑΡΙΝΣΕΟΚΑΙΤΟΝΑΠΗΝΗ
 ΟΜΜΑΣΙΤΟΙΣΣΤΥΓΝΟΙΣΟΨΟΜΑΙΗΕΛΙΟΝ

Λαίνα σοι τύμβῳ δωμήματα Θεῖος ἔτευξα,
 Ἄτθις, ὃ δις τῆς σῆς ἡλικίης προγέρων,
 Εὐξάμενος χειρῶν ἀπὸ σῶν κόνιν ; ἄκριτε δαῖμον,
 Ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν ἔσβεσας ἥελιον.

Ἄτθις ἐμοὶ ζήσασα καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ πνεῦμα λιπῶνσα,
 Ὡς πάρος εὐφροσύνης, νῦν δακρύων πρόφασι,
 Ἄγνὰ πουλυγόης ἔτι πένθιμον ὕπνον ἰαύεις,
 Ἄνδρος ἀπὸ στέρνων οὐποτε θείσα κάρα,
 Θεῖον ἐρμώσασα τὸν οὐκέτι, σοὶ γὰρ ἐς Ἄδαν
 Ἦλθον ὁμῶς ζωᾶς ἐλπίδες ἀμετέρας.

Οὐκ ἔπιον Λήθης Αἰδωνίδος ἔσχατον ὕδωρ,
 Ὡς σε παρηγορίην κὰν φθιμένοισιν ἔχω,
 Θεῖε πλέον δύστηνε, γάμων ὅτι τῶν ἀμιάντων
 Νοσφισθεὶς κλαίεις χηροσύνην θαλάμων.

Τοῦτο σαοφροσύνης γέρας Ἀτθίδι τῇ πολυκλαύτῳ,
 Οὐκ ἴσον, οὐδὲ ἀρετᾶς ἄξιον· ἀλλ' ἐθέμαν
 Μνάμαν εἰς αἰῶνα φερώνυμον αὐτὸς ἀνάγκη
 Θεῖος νηπιάχῳ πνεῦμα χαριζόμενος.
 Οἶσω γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο χάριν σέο, καὶ τὸν ἀπηνῆ
 Ὅμμασι τοῖς στυγνοῖς ὄψομαι ἥελιον.

(3.)

. . ΔΕΣΥΝ ΞΕΙΝΠΡΟΑΙΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ
 . . ΝΘΙΑΣΟΝΕΠΑΓΓΕΙΛΑ Ν ΤΟΚΑ . . ΕΔΟ . .
 . . . ΑΡΧΟΣΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΥ
 ΥΠΕΡΝΕΑΡΧΟΥΤΟΥ
 ΑΝΑΞΙΚΛΕΥΣ Τ ΘΟΑ . . . ΥΝΔΙΟΣ
 ΣΩΤΗΡΙΧΟΣΛΙΒΥΣ ΕΤ ΥΠΕΡΤΩΝΥΙΩΝΚΑ . .
 ΔΑΜΟΚΛΗΣΑΡΑΔΙΟΥ ΕΤ ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΣ
 ΔΑΜΩΝΣΟΛΕΥΣ ΕΤ ΘΡΑΪΞ ΕΕ
 ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΟΣΜΥΝ ΕΥΗΜΕΡΟΣΚΑΙΥ
 ΔΙΟΣ ΕΝ ΠΕΡΤΑΣΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣΕΙ
 . . . ΚΛΗΣΦΡΥ . . ΚΑΙΥ ΒΟΗΘΟΣ
 ΩΝΤΠΑΙ ΔΙΟΝ ΕΚ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΥΣ Ε
 ΣΕΛΓΕΥΣΕΙ ΑΝΔΡΟΣΘ ΕΝΗΣ
 ΕΤΤΕΝΗΚΑ ΤΑΜΙΟΤ Ι Ι

Οἱδὲ συν[τά]ξιν προαιρούμενοι

τὸν θίασον ἐπαγγείλαντο κα[θώς] ἔδο[ξε]

Νέαρχος Ἡρακλείτου

Ἵπὲρ Νέαρχου τοῦ

Ἀναξικλεῦς

τ

Θόα[ς Μ] ὕνδιος

Σωτήριχος Λίβυς

ετ

Ἵπὲρ τῶν υἱῶν κα[ὶ]

Δαμοκλῆς Ἀραδίου

ετ

Φιλέταιρος

Δάμων Σολεύς

ετ

Θράϊξ

εε

Πάτροκλος Μύν

Εὐήμερος καὶ υἱ

διος

εν

πὲρ τᾶς γυναικὸς

ει

. . . . κλης Φρ[ύξ] καὶ υἱ[ὸς] [πὲρ]

Βόηθος

τ]ων παιδίων

εκ

Σελευκούς

ε

Σελγεύς

ει

Ἀνδροσθένης

. . . . ετ τενη καὶ

Ταμιο

(4.)

ΑΓΙΑΣ ΕΣΤΙΕΙΟ.	Ἀγίας Ἐστιεῖο[υ]
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΩΝ	Γραμματέων
ΒΟΥΛΑΙ	Βουλᾶ
ΑΘΑΝΑΙΝΙΚΑΦΟΡΩΙ	Ἀθάνᾳ Νικαφόρῳ
ΚΑΙΕΣΤΙΑΙ ΒΟΥΛΑΙΑ.	καὶ Ἐστία Βουλαία

Below, in smaller characters—

...ΗΝΟΔΟΤΟ... ΜΕΝΙΠΠΟΥ	[Μ]ηνόδοτο[ς] Μενίππου
ΚΝΙ...ΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ	Κνί[δ]ιος ἐποίησε

(5.)

.....ΝΑ ΤΟΙΣνά τοις
.....ΟΕΝ ΤΑὁ ἐν τᾷ
.....ΔΑΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣΑΡ	[Κνίδῳ δα]μιουργὸς Ἀρ
.....ΚΡΑΖΙΔΡΥΣΑΤΟ	...κρας ἰδρύσατο
ΒΩΜΟΝ	βωμόν

On the return face—

ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕ.
Διος μεγιστον?

(6.)

... Ο Κ Ρ Α Τ Ο Ρ Α Κ Α Ι Σ
 Θ Ε Ο Υ Τ Ρ Α Ι Α Ν Ο Υ Π Α
 Υ Ι Ο Ν Θ Ε Ο Υ Ν Ε Ρ Ο Υ Α Υ Ι Ω Ν . Ν Ι Α
 Ν Ο Ν Α Δ Ρ Ι Α Ν Ο Ν Σ Ε Β Α Ν

*Αὐτ]οκράτορα Καίς[αρα]
 Θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Πα[ρθικοῦ]
 υἱόν, Θεοῦ Νερούα υἱών[δ]ν
 [Τρα]ϊανόν Ἀδριανόν Σεβα[στό]ν.*

(7.)

Ο Ι Ο Υ Λ Ι Ε Ω Ν Τ Ω Ν Κ Α Ι Λ Α Ο Δ Ι Κ Ε . . .
 Τ Ω Ν Π Ρ Ο Σ Θ Α Λ Α Σ Σ Η Ι Τ Η Σ Ι Ε Ρ Α .
 Κ Α Ι Α Σ Υ Λ Ο Υ Κ Α Ι Α Υ Τ Ο Ν Ο Μ Ο Υ Γ Α Ι Ο Ν
 Ι Ο Υ Λ Ι Ο Ν Α Ρ Τ Ε Μ Ι Δ Ω Ρ Ο Υ Υ Ι Ο Ν Θ Ε Υ Π . .
 Π Ο Ν Ε Υ Ν Ο Ι Α Σ Ε Ν Ε Κ Ε Ν

*Ὁ Ἰουλιέων τῶν καὶ Λαοδικέ[ων]
 τῶν πρὸς θαλάσση τῆς ἱερᾶ[s]
 καὶ ἀσύλου καὶ αὐτονόμου Γαίον
 Ἰούλιον, Ἀρτεμιδώρου υἱόν, Θεύπ[ομ]
 -πον εὐνοίας ἔγεκεν*

(8.)

ΟΔ

ΣΕΡΟΥΙΟΝ ΠΙΚΙΟΝ

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟ . ΥΙΟΝ

ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΝΤΟΝΙΑΤΡΟΝ

ΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΝΤΟΥΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ

ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΑ

ΤΑΣΕΙΣΑΥΤΟΝΘΕΟΙΣ

Ο δ[ἄμους]

Σερούϊον [Σουλ]πίκιον

Ἀπολλωνίω[ι] υἱὸν

Ἐκαταῖον, τὸν ἱατρὸν

καὶ φίλον τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ

εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν

ταῖς εἰς αὐτὸν Θεοῖς

(9.)

ΓΛΥΚΙΝΝΑΝΟΠΑΤΗΡΙΠΠΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ
 ΠΟΛΥΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΑΤΗΡΦΙΛΙΤΙΟΝ
 ΒΟΥΛΑΚΡΑΤΕΥΣΚΑΙΤΟΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ
 ΒΟΥΛΑΚΡΑΤΗΣΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ
 ΜΟΥΣΑΙΣ
 ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΥΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ

*Γλυκίνναν ὁ πατήρ Ἰππόκριτος
 Πολυστράτου, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Φιλίτιον
 Βουλοκράτους, καὶ τῶν ἀδελφοί,
 Βουλοκράτης καὶ Πόλυστρατος.
 Μούσαις
 Ἐπικρατὴς Ἀπολλώνου ἐποίησε*

(10.)

ΔΑΜΙΟΡΓΟΣ
 ΚΑΦΙΣΟΔΩΡΟΣΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ
 ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΠΥΘΙΩΙ

*Δαμιόργος
 Καφισόδωρος Ἐπικράτους
 Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίῳ*

Vice-Consul Newton to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 21.)

My Lord,

Ruins of Cnidus, March 8, 1859.

SINCE the date of my last general report, dated the 20th of January,* our operations have been as follows.

The excavation in the north-west part of the *temenos*, described in my despatch of the 1st of January last,† was continued as far north as the line of the scarp, which, as I have already stated, has been broken away in this place, probably by the shock of an earthquake.

All further progress in this direction was barred by immense masses of rock, which appear to have fallen into the breach formed by the displacement of the scarp, and which at present serve as the support of the sloping mountain-side behind them.

The west side of the *temenos*, and the rude foundations described in my despatch of the 1st of January,‡ continued to run on under the rubble up to the point where the masses of rock arrested our further progress, beyond which there was no trace of remains of any kind.

Within the chambers formed by the rude foundations were lamps and fragments of terra-cotta, similar to those already described; and in the rubble, a little below the surface, was a marble base, 17 inches long by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, by 4 inches in width, with the following inscription:—

ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΛΑΧΑΡΤΟΥ
ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΚΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΝΙΕΠΙΜΑΧΩΝ
ΕΡΜΑΙ.

Σώστρατος Λαχάρτου
Δάματρι, Κούρα, Πλούτωνι Ἐπιμάχῳ,
Ἑρμῇ.

This base is of exceedingly elegant proportions; the material is fine Parian marble. The letters are beautifully cut; in many of them traces of red colour still remained on the first discovery of this marble.

On the top of the base is an oblong hollow, 16 inches long by $1\frac{7}{8}$ ths of an inch wide, and $\frac{1}{16}$ th of an inch deep, at either end of which is a small hole filled with lead.

It is probable, therefore, that some metallic object stood on the base.

This dedication is interesting from the association of Pluto, or Hades, and Hermes, with Demeter and Persephone, as *Θεοὶ σύμβωμοι* in this *temenos*.

These, and the Dioscuri, are doubtless the *Θεοὶ παρὰ Δάματρι καὶ Κούρα*, mentioned in two of the inscriptions previously discovered on this site, as I have remarked in my despatch of the 10th of November last.‡

The epithet *ἐπιμάχος*, applied to Pluto, may possibly refer to some myth similar to that mentioned by Pausanias (vi, 25, 3), according to which the Eleians worshipped this Deity with special honour, in acknowledgment of the aid rendered by him in a certain war.

Near this inscription was found a lamp, ornamented with the head of Pluto, and on a fragment of a terra-cotta relief from the same locality, this Deity appears to be represented seated on his throne.

No more remains of sculpture were discovered in this part of the *temenos*, with the exception of an arm and wrist from a small male figure which was, probably, about 2 feet high, and must have been in the best style, and a singular stand or pedestal, which may have supported a *lavacrum*, or other sacrificial object.

It consists of a block of limestone 18 inches in height. The lower part is cut square like a base or foot, its height being 8 inches by $8\frac{3}{8}$ inches, by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Above this square base the stone is singularly fashioned. On two sides of it is sculptured a mane like that of a lion; on the third a floral ornament.

The upper part of the stone has been broken off; it is possible that a head

* See *an'te*, page 59.

† Ibid., page 55.

‡ Ibid., page 54.

of the triple Cerberus may have issued from the sculptured part, which seems like the representation of the neck of some monstrous animal.

It is difficult to explain the disappearance of the statues which once stood on this site, and of which the extremities only have been discovered.

It is to be observed that most of the hands and feet which have been discovered have been attached to the bodies by a joint. It is possible, therefore, that the statues to which they belonged were acrolithic, that is to say, that their extremities only were of marble, the rest of the statue having been of wood or other perishable material.

Before leaving the *temenos*, I removed all the rubble walls laid down in the plan, as from time to time we have found fragments of sculpture built into them. In one of the walls of the eastern group of chambers I found the bust of a draped figure, under life-size, which has been cut in travertine, and covered with stucco. This was of very inferior workmanship.

I have never seen this material employed in sculpture before, but busts, carved in tufo, covered with stucco, have been found in Italy.

After completely exploring the site of the *temenos* itself, I dug a considerable breadth outside its eastern and western boundaries in order to ascertain whether the remains found in the *peribolus* could be further traced in either direction beyond it.

Nothing whatever was found in the soil outside the *temenos*.

As I have also dug the ground to the south of it, this site may be regarded as completely explored, and its limits clearly ascertained.

Since the date of my despatch of the 1st January, the blasting at the foot of the scarp has been carried to the depth of 55 feet.

The scarp continues to descend at the same angle, 79°.

The entire height, from the top of the scarp to the point reached by blasting, is 127 feet.

When I first examined the scarp, the extreme regularity of its slope, the general smoothness of the surface, and the occurrence of the niches, led me to suppose that the surface of the rock had been wrought by the hand of man; an opinion which the authors of the *Dilettanti* volume, and other travellers, have expressed. As, however, it has been now clearly shown, by blasting, that the rock descends to a great depth, at the same angle and with the same level surface, it cannot be the work of human hands, and must be considered as an upheaved stratum, overlaid at its base by other broken strata, which lean against it in the manner described in a former despatch. The singular configuration of the ground may have been caused by volcanic action, of which the extinct crater in the Island of Nisyros would probably be the centre, as this island is only twelve miles distant from Cnidus.

The dedication of the *temenos* to Hades and Persephone makes it *à priori* probable that this site was thus selected on account of some physical peculiarity which, in the eyes of the Greek, was associated with the worship of the Infernal Deities.

Thus, at Hierapolis, Nysa, and Thymbria, in Asia Minor, were caves exhaling mephitic vapours (Strabo, xiii, p. 934; xiv, p. 943, 960), called Plutonia and Charoneia; and, in like manner, Poseidon and other Cosmic Deities were worshipped in those localities where their supposed influence was directly felt in earthquakes and other phenomena.

In the case of the *temenos*, the singular regularity in the surface of the rock must have struck the Greeks as a phenomenon such as they would connect with supernatural agency, and may have been the original cause why this spot was dedicated to Pluto and Persephone.

If, as there seems some reason for thinking, a chasm in the earth opened here, it is probable that local tradition would claim this spot as the scene of the rape of Persephone.

Such a *temenos*, inclosed by its *peribolus*, Pausanias saw near Lerna, in the Peloponnese.

"Here," he remarks (ii, 36, 7), "it is said that Pluto, on carrying off Persephone, descended into the infernal regions."

Other local traditions placed the scene of this myth in Sicily, Crete, and elsewhere; always, probably, in some spot where the landscape presented some peculiar feature in harmony with the legend.

Since the date of my despatch of the 20th of January last, announcing the

discovery of an edifice probably dedicated to the Pythian Apollo and the Muses, I have completed the excavation of this site.

On clearing away the rubbish, I found that I had been deceived by the appearance of the ground, and that it does not extend nearly so far to the west as I had supposed, judging from measurements taken at the surface.

The tracing which I have the honour to inclose, from Lieutenant Smith's Plan, will show the form of the edifice.

It is a Doric Temple, 49 feet long by $41\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, with four columns in the southern front.

The interior is divided into two equal compartments by a wall running east and west, and the northernmost of these compartments is again subdivided into two chambers. In the centre of the west side is a doorway leading into a passage cut in the rock, which runs north and south.

In front of the colonnade on the south is a small court, bounded by the walls of the *peribolus*. Here is a well, in which was found the torso of Aphrodite described in my above despatch.

The bases of three of the columns being found in position on the stylobate, we thus obtained the dimension of the intercolumniation.

Drums of the columns and pieces of the architrave and frieze, were found inserted in a Byzantine wall, built on the stylobate.

These architectural remains furnished the following measurements:—


Shaft of column, at 4 feet 11 inches above stylobate, $1' 11\frac{1}{4}"$; at $3' 9"$ above stylobate, $1' 1\frac{1}{2}"$; at $4' 6"$ above stylobate, $1' 11"$; at $2' 3"$ below capital $1' 7\frac{5}{8}"$; at $4"$ below capital, $1' 6\frac{1}{2}"$.

Detached drums:

1. Length, $2' \frac{1}{2}"$; diameters, $1' 8\frac{7}{8}"$, $1' 7\frac{1}{2}"$.

2. Length, $2' 6"$; diameters, $1' 10"$, $1' 9\frac{1}{2}"$.

3. One end broken off; diameter, $1' 8\frac{3}{8}"$.

Capital: Depth of *abacus*, $3\frac{1}{2}"$; diameter, $2' 1"$; diameter of capital under *abacus*, $1' 11\frac{4}{5}"$; slope of capital from *abacus* to *echinus* ; depth of *echinus*, $1\frac{5}{8}"$.

Architrave: Upper member, $10\frac{2}{3}"$; lower member, $5"$; projection of upper member, $1\frac{1}{4}"$.

Frieze, with triglyphs: Depth, $1' 4"$; width, $1' 10"$.

No portion of a Doric cornice was discovered. In the tracing which I have the honour to inclose, are sections of the architrave, frieze, and triglyphs.

The whole of the order and the upper part of the walls of the Temple were built of travertine covered with fine stucco, portions of which were still adhering to the shafts and architrave.

The sections which accompany the inclosed plan show the height and structure of the lower wall, which, as I have stated in my previous Report, was built of two finely-tooled limestone slabs placed together, back to back, surmounted by a string-course, and resting on a plinth.

No *lacunaria* were found, but the hollows in the travertine slab, of which a plan and section are given (No. 5 of the Tracing), may have formed part of the ceiling.

Among the ruins was found a large tile, unbroken. Its dimensions are $26\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches, by $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches thickness.

It has the usual flange at the back and sides.

On the surface of the tile is an oval stamp; within which is the monogram B. A floral ornament from the front of an *imbrex*, or joint tile, was also found. In some parts of the building the original travertine walls still remain; in others they have been replaced by Byzantine walls built of rubble.

The sections which accompany the plan show that the Temple was placed in a hollow, cut like a step out of the native rock of the hill-side.

The depth of this cutting, on the north side, is 22 feet. On the west the native rock has been levelled, so as to form an artificial platform, which, however, does not appear to be connected with the Temple.

A deep drain, shown in the Sections, runs along the north and east sides of the building, between its outer wall and the vertical face of the rock. This drain served to carry off the water from the hill around, as well as from the roof of the Temple.

The original height of the edifice can only now be ascertained by a calcu-

lation of the height of the Order based on the measurements which I have here stated; but it is probable that to the north, where the cutting is deepest, the walls did not rise much above the level of the native rock cut at the back. On this side the original travertine wall remained in position at the north-west angle; its highest course here being nearly on a level with the native rock.

The courses of travertine are each 16 inches deep.

It will be seen by the Plan that a passage leads up to the entrance on the west. This passage is cut out of the native rock, and has a coarse but very durable kind of pavement.

Small *tessellæ* of white marble are set in a fine cement, compounded of lime, gravel, and pounded brick.

The *tessellæ* are bonded together by long strips of sheet-lead, which are laid edgewise in the cement at intervals.

The whole is again covered with an upper layer of finer cement. Strips of lead occurred in some specimens of tessellated pavement found in the early part of the expedition in excavations at Budrum.

I see no reason to doubt that the pavement to the west of the Temple of the Muses is that originally laid down. It is distinguished from the usual specimens of mosaic in having an upper layer of cement concealing the *tessellæ*, which seem here to be used not for decoration, but merely for the purpose of binding together the cement.

At the southern extremity of this platform the rock is cut irregularly into steps, which are represented in the plan. The southern wall of the Temple terminates flush with the eastern side of the passage, so as to leave no doubt that the entrance to the passage led up to the west door of the Temple from this place.

On the west side of the passage is a wall in line with the southern *peribolus* wall of the Temple, but of different masonry.

Its commencement to the east appears to be Hellenic, but it is continued to the west as a Byzantine rubble wall.

This may have been the *peribolus* of a distinct building on the rocky platform already noticed west of the scarp.

The beautiful masonry of the southern *peribolus* wall of the Temple has been already noticed.

The same masonry is employed in the external face of the east and north walls.

On the west side the external face of the wall has been removed.

These external courses of limestone correspond in height with the string course on the inside.

To the south of the colonnade, the limestone wall does not appear to have been carried higher than its present level at the south-eastern angle. This level corresponds with that of the string course.

Had it been surmounted by travertine here, the view of the colonnade would have been intercepted from the south.

The wall, therefore, in this part is only a *peribolus*, which, as was usually the case with such boundary walls, is only breast high.

Since the date of my Report on this building, viz., the 20th of January last, the following additional fragments of sculpture have been found on this site:—

1. The lower halves of five draped figures, similar in character to that described as No. 1 of my previous Report.

These severally differ in attitude, and in the arrangement of the drapery, but have a general family likeness.

From the character and motive of these figures there can hardly be a doubt that they represent Muses.

The feet and thigh of a similar figure were discovered in separate fragments. The tallest of these statuettes must have been about 2 feet high.

They present some originality in the treatment of the drapery.

The general style of the sculpture is rather heavy, and probably of the Macedonian period.

2. A female torso from below the waist to the feet, 7 inches high. The upper part of the body is naked.

3. A veiled female head, 4 inches high.

4, 5. Two other female heads, each 5 inches high. These appear to be heads of Muses.

6. Back of a male figure in the round, under life-size, the surface in bad condition. The back of a head, and two fragments of a leg, appear to belong to this figure.

7. A youthful satyr's hand, much mutilated, about half life-size.

8. Heads of a triple female figure, representing Hekate, or, perhaps, the Horæ. The three heads are, each, surmounted by a *polos*, and arranged round a larger *polos*. The figure to which they belonged has been, probably, 15 inches high.

9. Hand, life-size, holding a baton.

10 to 13. Three pairs of votive breasts, and a single votive breast, similar to those found in the *temenos*.

14, 15. Two heads supporting brackets.

One of these represents the youthful Dionysos. The other, a youthful head with long hair, perhaps an aquatic Deity.

They both belong to the latest period of ancient art.

16. The half of a small base, inscribed—

. . . ΘΕΙΔΑΜΟ.
ΕΤΧΑΝ.

Θειδάμο[ν]
εὐχάρ.

Several fragments of a marble *phiale*, nearly 3 feet in diameter, were found in the well, and portions of smaller *phiale* in the ruins.

On the lip of one of these a lyre was engraved. The occurrence of this symbol on the marble vessels of the Temple, confirms my opinion that it was dedicated to Apollo Pythius and the Muses.

It would seem from the fragments discovered on this site, that the sculptures it contained were mostly votive figures, about 2 feet high.

This is confirmed by the discovery of portions of several square and elliptical bases, similar to those found in the *temenos*, and by the occurrence of ledges cut on the top of the limestone string course, which can hardly have been intended for any other purpose than the reception of such small figures.

Of these ledges there are in the larger compartment four.

Two of these are in the western wall, placed, respectively, on either side of the doorway, in the centre of the space between the door-jamb and the angle of the chamber.

These two ledges are each 2 feet 8 inches long, and 5 inches wide; their depth is 1 inch.

Their surface is finally tooled; behind them the stone is roughly cut away.

On the north side of the same chamber are two more ledges. One is placed at the distance of 2 feet 7½ inches west of the doorway leading into the north-east chamber.

This ledge is 2 feet 11½ inches long, and 5½ inches wide.

The other is placed west of the doorway leading into the north-west chamber, and at a distance of 3 feet 1 inch from the south-west angle.

It is not certain whether these two ledges were originally balanced by two others placed on the opposite sides of the respective doorways, as the walls have been partially removed.

The dotted line in the section (fig. 1 of Inclosure No. 2) gives the depth of these ledges, and shows the manner in which the limestone was cut away behind them. They evidently mark the position and diameter of niches in the upper travertine wall, the courses of which must have been cut away so as to form recesses or alcoves over the ledges.

Such niches would be exactly suited for the reception of small votive figures such as have been discovered.

In the walls of the two smaller chambers to the north, ledges of this kind do not occur; but in the north wall of the north-east chamber, at the distance of 3 feet 1 inch from the north-west angle, is a square-headed opening in the travertine wall, 2 feet 10 inches wide, by 4 feet 7 inches high. The limestone slab which forms the sill of this opening, is not wrought like that of the other niches, but in the centre of the slab a hollow is chiselled out, ¾th of an inch deep, and 6½ inches wide.

This hollow is of irregular form ; but seems to indicate the place where a small figure has stood.

The opening over it has, at present, no wall at the back, and therefore cannot be called a niche ; on the other hand, it cannot have been intended for the admission of light or air, because it opens on the vertical face of the rock.

In the masonry no sign of a wall at the back can be traced. Perhaps this opening has been made by the Byzantines in building the church.

Opposite to the western doorway in the larger chamber, is a doorway of the same width, surmounted by a singular arch, a view of which is given in the tracing (Inclosure No. 2, fig. 7).

The voussoirs of this arch are of limestone, resting on courses of travertine, which are so cut as to form the spring of the arch. Such a mode of structure constitutes what is called a false arch.

It seems very unlikely that the Greeks would have imposed upon courses of travertine an arch formed of heavy limestone blocks.

Moreover, the masonry of the travertine wall here is deficient in finish and regularity.

I therefore consider this false arch as a Byzantine insertion ; but, as the cutting of the sill of the doorway appears to be Hellenic, we may suppose a doorway here giving access to the drain, into which at this point a tributary channel, now stopped up, has flowed from the south-east.

To the north of this doorway the travertine is in like manner surmounted by several courses of limestone, rising a little above the present surface of the ground.

These are, also, more probably Byzantine than Hellenic, for the reason which I have stated above in reference to the archway.

Besides the architectural remains already noticed were found two portions of fluted travertine shafts partially engaged in the face of the wall.

One of them had a base attached. At 1 foot 3 inches above the base the diameter was 1 foot 6 inches. The depth of the base was $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The other piece was too much broken to yield a diameter.

These half-columns evidently belonged to the interior of the building.

The capital of a Corinthian pilaster was also found : this was of travertine, covered with stucco, and 1 foot 3 inches high. One side being broken, its diameter could not be ascertained, but it was, probably, not less than 1 foot 6 inches.

The two marble Corinthian capitals described in my Report of the 20th of January, do not appear to have ever formed part of the structure of the building, for all that remains of the order is travertine, the combination of which material with marble capitals would have been an incongruous mixture.

It is, therefore, more probable that these capitals belonged to single columns on which vases, tripods, or small figures are placed : these may have been choragic monuments.

In the Byzantine foundations, in the south part of the site, was found a piece of architrave of the Roman period, 9 feet 3 inches long, and 1 foot 2 inches deep, on the face of which are holes for the insertion of metallic letters.

This inscription appears to be—

. ΤΙΟΣΕΤΧΗΝΕΚΤΩΝΙ

εὐχὴν ἐκ τῶν ἰ[δίων?] ;

A limestone block was also found here, 3 feet by 2 feet 10 inches, by 1 foot 1 inch in dimensions, and inscribed on one of its narrow faces ΕΛΛΗΝΟΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ in letters probably of the Roman period. This appears to have been set edgewise in a wall.

Neither of these stones seems to have formed part of the structure of the Temple.

The drains were filled with rubble to the tops of the walls.

On the north side, and on the east side north of the archway, was a stratum of cinders in this rubble, with many fragments of broken Hellenic pottery.

This stratum was at a height of from 2 to 3 feet above the rock. In this rubble were five small disks of the kind described by Mr. Birch, "History of Ancient Pottery," vol. i, p. 182. Each of these was stamped with a helmeted head.

These disks were, I think, used as weights in the ancient loom.

In the same soil we found the upper half of a small terra cotta figure from a mould, representing a draped female, with long flowing hair, holding in her right hand a *phiale*. Her drapery is thrown over the left shoulder, leaving the right arm and breast exposed. This figure has been about 6 inches high.

In the same rubble were found two small *amphoræ* of pale unvarnished clay about 15 inches high.

While engaged on the Temple of the Muses I detached a small party to examine a site in Compartment I of the Index Chart.

This compartment is bounded on the north by a street running east and west through the ancient city.

On the south side of this street I noticed an Hellenic line of wall rising about one course above the surface, and forming a right angle with another Hellenic foundation, which bounds the western side of the cross street by which Compartment I is bounded on the east.

On digging within the right angle formed by these two lines of Hellenic walls, I found that they were buried in soil to the depth of about 7 feet.

On removing the earth to their foundations, I found that the structure of these walls was exactly similar to that of the Temple of the Muses, namely, a plinth surmounted by a course of broad slabs, set back to back, above which was a string course; the whole of limestone.

Above this limestone base had been a travertine wall covered with painted stucco, which has been removed.

Tracing out the line of the walls by the excavation, I have uncovered an area extending 58 feet from east to west, and 51 feet from north to south.

The interior is divided by three nearly equal compartments, by party walls running from north to south, and these again are subdivided into smaller chambers by cross walls from east to west.

In the south-east angle, I found a Mosaic pavement, composed principally of *tessellæ* of white marble, with a simple pattern worked in them in black.

The plainness of the design leads me to suppose that the pavement is of the same period as that excavated on Spratt's platform, at Budrum, in the early part of the expedition.

Near this pavement I found a limestone base, 20 inches by 16 inches, by 10½ inches, on which was the following inscription:—

ΕΠΙΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΑΝΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΑΝΑΦΙΚΟΜΑΝ
ΕΡΜΑΣΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΑΠΑΡΕΔΡΟΣΑΛΛΑΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ
ΟΙΤΙΝΕΣΔΟΙΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΑΙΓΡΑΦΗΠΑΡΟΥΣΑ
ΣΗΜΑΝΕΙ: ΤΙΜΟΚΛΕΙΔΑΣΚΡΙΤΑΓ' ΟΡΑΣ
ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΑΘΟΣΣΙΛΕΩΝΙΑΣ: ΤΙΜΟΤΕΛΗΣ
ΠΑΝΝΙΚΟΣΕΥΚΛΗΣΚΡΕΟΝΦΙΛΩΝΑΡΧΕΣΤΡΑ
ΤΟΣ: ΑΓΑΘΟΔΩΡΟΣΞΕΝΟΚΡΙΤΟΣΤΕΛΕΣΩΝ
ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΗΣΣΩΣΙΚΛΗΣ.

Ἐπὶ Νεοπολιτῶν προστατῶν ἀφικόμαν
Ἑρμᾶς Ἀφροδίτα παρέδρος, ἀλλὰ χαίρετε.
Οἵτινες δ' οἱ προστατᾶι γραφῇ παρούσα σημανεῖ.
Τιμοκλείδας, Κριταγόρας, Ἀρισταγάθος, Σιλεωνίας,
Τιμοτέλης, Πάννικος, Εὐκλῆς, Κρέων, Φίλων, Ἀρχέστρατος,
Ἀγαθόδωρος, Ξενοκρίτος, Τελέσων, Πολιάνθης, Σωσικλῆς.

This inscription was evidently placed under a terminal statue of Hermes, which was fitted into an oblong socket on the upper surface of the base.

This socket measures 5½", by 4½", by 1½" depth.

The fragment of a draped term found on this site corresponds with the dimensions of the socket.

The change from the Iambic metre to the Trochaic, in the third line of this inscription, is not uncommon in palæography.

The letters appear to be of the Macedonian period.

As the site where this inscription was discovered is so near the Temple supposed, by one of the authors of the *Dilettanti* Volume, to be that of Aphrodite, the expression *Ἀφροδίτα παρέδρος* may be thought to favour this opinion.

It is more probable, however, that it only refers to the association of the statue of Hermes with another term representing Aphrodite.

This base was found close to the piece of tessellated pavement, in the centre

of which was an oblong space corresponding in width with the stone, but exceeding it in length.

The term of Hermes may have stood in this space, and, perhaps, at its side was a female term.

Such pairs of terms occur in Greek terra-cottas.*

The party-walls within the quadrangular area, which I have here described, have been partially re-built by the Byzantines, out of more ancient materials.

In one of these walls I found a moulded base, of the following dimensions : Width, $23\frac{1}{8}$ " ; depth, 8". Present length, one end being broken, 2' 11".

On one of the narrow faces :

. ΤΙΩΝΑΟΠΑΤΗΡΕΥΚΑΤΗΣ
. ΤΙΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΑΤΗΡΧΡΥΣΩ
ΠΕΙΣΙΝΟΤΙ.

. τιωνα ὁ πατήρ Εὐκράτης
. τιωνος καὶ ἡ ματὴρ Χρυσῶ
Πεισινούτι.

This base appears to have been placed under a portrait statue.

The letters seem to be of a rather later period than the other inscription given above. *Πεισινούτις* is probably an epithet of Hermes.

No sculpture was found on this site, except the body of a small naked female figure, 5 inches high, probably Aphrodite, of very inferior sculpture ; a draped female figure, holding a dove, about 2 feet high, and the body of a naked female figure, 6 inches high.

These two are of the latest period of Pagan art, and are executed in the coarsest manner, and with no regard to proportion.

No other object in marble was found, except a cylindrical vessel shaped like an ancient corn-measure. The diameter of this vessel is $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches to the outer edge of the sides, its height 13 inches ; its contents are $567\frac{1}{2}$ cubic inches. It rests on three feet, cut in the form of *astragali*.

At the depth of 4 feet below the surface was a complete layer of potsherds, extending over the greater part of the site.

Most of these fragments consisted of coarse, unvarnished, red vases, but among them were some interesting specimens of lamps unbroken, and a number of figures embossed in relief from cups and small vases.

Among these, the following may be particularly noted :—

1. *Symplegma* of Leda and the Swan. The composition of this group is nearly identical with that of the beautiful relief in marble in the British Museum, which seems to present the characteristics of the school of Leochares.

In the terra-cotta, the figure of Eros is added behind the swan.

2. The infant Dionysos, riding on a sea-monster, and holding up a cup in his right hand.

3. Part of Hermes, holding a purse.

4. Part of Eros, playing on the *syrinx*.

5. Part of veiled female figure, playing on the cymbal.

6. Grotesque group, ape and human figure.

7. Grotesque mask, with wreath round head.

8. Youthful figure, with arm raised over head.

9. *Symplegma* of two naked figures.

10. *Symplegma*—Veiled female figure ; dog.

These last two subjects resemble those on the Roman *spintria*.

11. Lower part of grotesque face.

12. Three fragments, ornamented with bunches of grapes, and vase, in relief.

13. *Symplegma*—Bearded satyr and another figure.

The general execution of these is somewhat coarse and careless ; but some of them are modelled with great spirit. The grotesque predominates in the types.

Many of the terra-cottas are Roman, but some of the best may, I think, be assigned to the Macedonian period, when the shapes and the embossed and chased reliefs of gold and silver vases were imitated in terra-cotta.

* See *ante*, p. 53.

The lamps resemble, generally, the later ones found in the *temenos* of Demeter.

Among them is one 6 inches long, with two mouths. The handle is shaped like an ivy leaf; on each side, between the handle and the mouths, is a horse's head projecting from the vase. This design has evidently been copied from a work in metal. Numbers of these horses' heads from vases, were found in the *temenos*.

Among the potsherds were several pieces of green glazed ware, which, in fabric and colour, resembled the Egyptian ware described in Mr. Birch's "History of Pottery," vol. i, page 66.

The body of this ware is white and friable; the glaze on the surface appears to be metallic.

Its colour is at present a blueish-green; the original tint was, probably, a dark blue, as the surface is much corroded.

This ware is generally considered of Egyptian fabric; but I have occasionally met with it in Hellenic sites, to which it was probably imported.

Throughout the soil were found small fragments of painted stucco, with which the travertine walls were originally lined.

In the south-east angle of the building a portion of this stucco still adheres to a block of travertine, in position above the string course. The colour is the red so much used in the houses at Pompeii, as the ground of the decoration.

I have collected a number of fragments of this stucco in the hope that it may contribute new facts to the history of ancient mural painting.

The colours most frequently employed are red, yellow, and black. On several fragments I noticed foliage painted in umber, and a fruit in crimson. Green occasionally is used.

All the decorative architecture on this site has been executed in fine travertine covered with stucco.

We have dug up some fragments of Ionic capitals and other architectural members, all in this material. The stucco is very well preserved.

In the west part of the inclosure are two wells, which I have cleared out, but which contained nothing but a bronze dish, a saucer of red Samian ware, and part of a small terra-cotta female figure, of the Roman period. One of these wells was 8 fathoms deep; at the bottom is a spring.

From the general plan of the building which occupies this site, I have thought that it may have formed part of a gymnasium; and this conjecture is confirmed by the discovery of the base of the terminal statue of Hermes, the special patron of the *palaestra*, and also by the mention of a gymnasium in the inscription found near this spot, noticed in a previous report.* I should, however, wish to reserve my judgment on this point till the site is more completely explored.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. T. NEWTON.

No. 16.

Vice-Consul Newton to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received July 9.)

My Lord,

Ruins of Cnidus, April 12, 1859.

I HAVE the honour to inclose tracings from three plans of the Mausoleum made by Lieutenant Smith, and a series of photographs in illustration of the plans.

Plan 1 represents the area on which the Mausoleum stood, sections of which are given in Plan 2.

Plan 3 represents the natural features of the ground in and about the Mausoleum *peribolus*.

In illustration of these plans, I have the honour to submit the following remarks.

On a comparison of Plan 1 with the sections, Plan 2, it will be perceived that, within the area of the Mausoleum, the native rock on which it stood has

* See *ante*, p. 28.

been cut to various depths. These cuttings run deepest on the western side, sinking in one place to 15 feet below the surface.

On the eastern side the rock rises within 3 feet of the upper soil.

These cuttings, as will be seen by Plan 1, are irregular, and can hardly have been made in reference to the lines of foundations. They present, on the contrary, the appearance of an ancient quarry, and I have in previous despatches expressed my opinion that the foundations of the Mausoleum were laid in such a quarry, the irregularities in its bed having been filled up by a pavement of slabs of green ragstone till a perfect level was attained.

It will be seen, by reference to Plan 1, that the area which contains the foundations is bounded by a quadrangular cutting in the rock, marked in red on the plan.

The lines, however, which form this quadrangle are, on three sides of the area, discontinuous.

The southern line fails at a short distance from the south-western angle, where the rock has been broken away.

The western line extends from the south-western angle northward about half the length of the side of the quadrangle, being here interrupted by a wide opening leading to a staircase.

In the northern side, at a few feet from the north-west angle, a break occurs, extending in length for 59 feet, where the line of cutting is resumed. In width this gap in the rock extends to the foot of the northern *peribolus* wall.

These interruptions may be easily accounted for, if we suppose the quadrangle of the Mausoleum to have intersected the irregular lines of previous cuttings made for the purpose of quarrying stone.

The stair on the west has been already noticed in my despatches of the 3rd April, 1857, to his Excellency Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, and to the Earl of Clarendon.*

In these reports, I have suggested that this stair led to the sepulchral chamber in which the body of Mausolus was deposited; that the large stone in the western side of the quadrangle had originally closed the entrance to this tomb, and that the alabaster vases and bones found at the foot of the stair were sepulchral offerings deposited at the entrance into the chamber by mourners.

Further consideration has led me to the conclusion that this stair was cut for the express purpose of conveying the body of Mausolus into the tomb, and that it was covered over with soil immediately afterwards, there having been no further occasion for it.

I have been led to adopt this opinion from the following observations:—

1. The steps of the stair are cut out of the native rock, which, being friable and easily wrought, would necessarily have been much worn, had the stair been subjected to weather and thoroughfare for any length of time.

The edges of the steps, however, were sharp, exhibiting no sign of wear or weather, as may be seen by the photograph of this stair, No. 1 of Inclosure No. 4.

2. On the north side the stair is flanked by a wall of isodomous masonry built of blocks of the native rock, shown in the photograph No. 2.

On the south side the boundary of the stair is a cutting in the rock, which, as will be seen by Plan 1, turns below the stair at a right angle to the south, and, after making two more returns, falls in with the west side of the quadrangle.

If this stair had been designed to form a visible feature in so sumptuous an edifice as the Mausoleum, it would not have been finished in so rough a manner, having only a wall of coarse material on one flank, and an irregular and unsightly cutting on the other.

It would more probably have been faced with marble or the ragstone of the basement.

In that case, the holes for the insertion of metal clamps would still be visible on the steps and flanks.

No such marks, however, were discernible, though the surface of the rock and wall were carefully examined.

3. The earth with which this stair was covered was a white soil, full of crumbling fragments of the native rock.

* See Papers presented March 1858, page 11.

This white soil is, as I have stated in previous despatches, the substratum throughout the Mausoleum platform, below the black superficial *humus*.

No fragments of the architecture or sculpture of the building itself are ever found in the lower soil; moreover, it exhibits no trace of vegetable matter either in a decomposed or growing state. I am therefore of opinion that this ground has never been disturbed since the platform was originally formed round the Mausoleum.

4. By reference to the photograph No. 3, it will be seen that the side of the large stone facing the stair is left rough, while its inner or eastern face is wrought to a smooth surface, as shown in photograph No. 4.

If it had been intended that this stone should be seen from the outside, its western or external face would have been tooled in the same manner as its opposite or inner face.

About 2 feet to the east of the lowest step was a wall running from flank to flank, and in a direction nearly parallel to the width of the stair. It was built of massive blocks of native rock, exhibiting a great contrast to the neat work of the isodomous flanking wall, the blocks being squared but not bonded.

This wall was rather more than a yard broad. Its width and the style of the masonry lead me to think that it must have been built as a temporary road across the excavation for the passage of stone used in the building, or for the support of scaffolding.

If we suppose that the stair was cut to admit the sepulchral procession into the tomb, and immediately afterwards covered with earth, we may thus account for the preservation of the alabaster vases which were discovered at the foot of the rough wall.

Two of these were unbroken, and their surface generally was remarkably fresh. If, according to Greek custom, they were placed at the door of the sepulchre at the time of the Royal interment, and if they remained in their original position for any length of time, exposed to weather and accident, as would have been the case had the stair been left open, they would hardly have been preserved in so perfect a condition to the present day.

Supposing the stair to have been filled in flush with the level of the rock behind it, the entrance to the tomb would have been concealed under a depth of 8 feet of soil, and this superincumbent mass of earth would, of course, add greatly to the security of the sepulchre.

To the north of the flank wall of the stair the cutting in the rock turns at a right angle to the west, returning at the same angle, so as to fall in with the west line of the quadrangle at the north-western angle.

Between the north wall of the *peribolus* and the north side of the quadrangle, a breach occurs in the line of cutting, as I have already noticed.

In this break are three square piers, and a fourth pier in the space between the staircase wall and the north-western corner of the quadrangle.

These piers are all built of squared blocks of native rock.

The courses are not properly bonded, and, from the want of solidity in the masonry, it is evident that the piers formed no part of the structure of the Mausoleum.

In photographs Nos. 5, 6, 7, they are shown when partially uncovered.

The three piers on the north range in line with the north side of the *peribolus*.

All the four are carried to the same height, and this level, as will be seen by the sections, is nearly uniform with that of the native rock at the foot of the north wall of the *peribolus*,—at the head of the stair,—and all round the west, south, and east sides, where no break occurs in cutting the lines of the quadrangle.

This level must have nearly corresponded with that of the original surface of the platform, which, for reasons which I shall presently state, must, I think, have been raised a little above the rock.

The irregular excavation in which the north piers were placed was filled up with the same white soil which we found over the stair on the west.

Behind the piers were several drums of circular columns rough hewn out of the native rock, which were rudely piled up as if in a quarry. These drums exceeded 3 feet in diameter.

I have no doubt that all this excavation was filled in to the general level of the platform at the time of the building of the Mausoleum, and that the piers were made at that time for some temporary purpose.

From their position in relation to the lines of the quadrangle, and their correspondence in height with the rocky platform, it is not unlikely that they were used to support scaffolding where the margin of rock failed.

I have already remarked that, on the south side, a break occurs in the line of cutting immediately to the east of the south-western angle. It will be seen by reference to the plans that a stair of fifteen steps is cut in the native rock here, its width lying obliquely to the side of the Mausoleum, and also that a branch of the upper gallery passes along the foot of this stair, crossing the south-western corner of the quadrangle.

As this stair is not cut parallel to the side of the quadrangle, there is no reason to consider it a part of the design of the Mausoleum. It was probably made at an earlier period in connection with the upper gallery, which intersects it here.

This stair is flanked on either side by a vertical cutting of rock. This cutting is continued on the east flank beyond the upper gallery, till it intersects the south side of the quadrangle as is shown in Plan I.

At the point where this vertical cutting intersects the upper gallery, a facing of stucco extends 2 feet 6 inches into the gallery, and along the vertical cutting for a breadth of about 1 foot on each side of the return. The opposite cutting, which flanks the stair on the west, has, in like manner, a stucco facing where it intersects the gallery.

It should be observed that this cutting does not make a return at a right angle with the gallery, but terminates in a notch or groove. Its line may have been prolonged in a direction parallel to the opposite cutting, till it was intersected by the side of the quadrangle. In that case the notch cut at the point where it meets the gallery may mark an elbow in the line of cutting, thus :



From the point where the gallery intersects the eastern vertical cutting, it is continued across the space at the foot of the stair as a built gallery, thus completely cutting off access to the steps and rendering them useless.

From this circumstance it is evident that the gallery originally terminated at the line of its intersection with the vertical cutting, and that its prolongation as a built gallery was subsequent to the cutting of the stair, which it so effectually blocks up. We may thus account for the stucco facing in the return on the eastern flank.

On the face of the western cutting, two holes, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ " square, are cut to a depth of about 5".

One of these holes is 2' 6" above the level of the lowest step, the other 1' 6" above it.

The steps of the stair were much broken, and very irregular.

A rubble wall crossed the lowest step obliquely.

No other break occurs in the south side of the quadrangle; the eastern line of cutting is continuous.

The length of the quadrangle from east to west being 127 feet, and its width 108 feet, its circumference is consequently 470 feet.

By Lieutenant Smith's calculation of the length of the sides of the Mausoleum, deduced from the measurement of the Pyramid, a circumference of 412 feet was obtained for the entire building measured on the stylobate, and this dimension agrees very nearly with that given by Pliny, if we follow the ordinary reading in his text, namely, 411 feet. It may be noted that in the "Codex Bambergensis," a manuscript of Pliny written in the eleventh century, and of high authority, the number assigned for the circumference is not 411, but 440 feet; and this variation of reading has been accounted for by supposing that a transcriber in writing the Roman numerals XL, omitted the lower limb of the L, writing XI, and that this error was repeated in the later manuscripts.

It seems, however, more probable that Pliny wrote CCCCXI, because this number agrees so nearly with Lieutenant Smith's calculation obtained from the measurement of the Pyramidal steps, and also because it may be inferred from the context that Pliny's circumference relates to the *pteron* or edifice itself, not to its basement, which latter feature in the design is not directly mentioned in

his description, though it is doubtless comprehended in the *totum opus* of which he gives 140 feet as the height.

The circumference of the quadrangular cutting being 470 feet, a building of which the circumference was 412 feet would, if inserted in this area, have had round it a margin of rather more than 14 feet on each side.

This space may be easily distributed, if we suppose the basement to have been larger in circumference than the stylobate, and to have stood on a plinth or on steps.

The foundation course again would, according to the usual Greek practice, project a little beyond the plinth of the basement.

No data, as far as I know, exist by which the width of these several margins can be determined.

It may, however, be observed, in reference to the western side of the quadrangle, that the large stone which closed the entrance to the Tomb ranges with the pier in which the flank wall of the stair terminates, as shown in Photograph No. 6.

If, then, we suppose the large stone to have been inserted in the masonry of the basement, the western line of the foundation would include the stair pier.

But this pier is built of the native rock, and both its masonry and material are very inferior to the massive ragstone courses of the masonry. Moreover, if inserted in these courses, it would still have formed a separate mass, affording no bond at the line of junction.

It seems, therefore, more probable that it is an independent wall, and that the line of the basement lies east of it.

In that case the large stone would not have been an integral part of the foundations, as I at first supposed, but must have been placed outside, in front of the doorway.

This stone was fastened down by bronze bolts into bronze sockets in the pavement, and on the south side was wedged in by slabs of ragstone. On the opposite side, as will be seen by reference to Photograph No. 3, a re rebate or groove passes down the stone, which must have served to hold in their place the slabs wedged in on this side.

Under the large stone was a remnant of white marble pavement, in which the bronze sockets for the bolts were inserted.

On the outside these slabs were laid flush with a pavement of green rag, extending to the west as far as the lower gallery, of which, in this part, they formed the roof.

Beyond this gallery the native rock is levelled flush with the rag-stone up to the foot of the stair.

On the inside the marble pavement had evidently been continued eastward at the same level, for, as will be seen by Photograph No. 4, the ends of the slabs under the large stone projected over a lower course of green rag, below which was the native rock.

This marble pavement covered the drain which is laid down in the Plan as "Marble Drain," and which, from the gallery to the large stone, is cut in the rock, and, on passing inside, runs due east between courses of green rag.

It is to be presumed that the three marble slabs found in position would not have escaped the spoilers of the Mausoleum, had it not been for the immense weight of the stone above them, and the difficulty of wrenching it out of its sockets—a difficulty which we only overcame by the application of two screw-jacks.

The position of this remnant of marble pavement leads me to infer that a passage paved with marble led from the great stone into the Royal Sepulchral Chamber, which may have been nearly in the centre of the basement, where the cutting is deepest, and to which part the drain already mentioned, and another similar drain running eastward, both tend.

It may be objected that, if we suppose the large stone to have been outside the western line of foundations, the marble pavement would not have been prolonged westward of this line; but this may have been done to distinguish the entrance from every other part of the margin, and also to ensure greater nicety in fitting the bolts into the sockets than would have been attainable, had a coarser material been used to receive the sockets.

If we suppose the large stone to mark the entrance into the Sepulchral
M

Chamber, a question arises whether the entire height, as given by Pliny, is to be measured from the marble pavement under this stone, or from the general level of the platform outside the quadrangle.

If, as I have suggested, the stair and passage were filled-in after the Royal interment, it does not seem likely that Pliny's measurement of the height includes more than the visible portion of the edifice; in other words, the level of the platform generally is to be taken as the base line of the elevation.

The masonry below this line being all foundation courses, could hardly have been taken into account in speaking of the height.

In regard to the quadrangle itself, I am not aware that any further inferences can be drawn from the facts disclosed by excavation. In reference to the *peribolus* generally and the subterranean galleries, I would submit the following observations:—

First, in regard to the extent and form of the *peribolus*.

In my previous despatches I have frequently referred to the statement of Hyginus, that the entire circumference of the Mausoleum was 1,340 feet. It is evident that this dimension can only apply to the *peribolus*.

After having discovered the portions of the north and east walls of the *peribolus* laid down in the plan, I was under the impression that this precinct was, like the Mausoleum itself, of an oblong form; its greatest length being from east to west.

I therefore supposed that from the point where we lost further trace of the north wall, its further courses to the west had been removed, the soil at this point being shallow; and that the north-western angle of the *peribolus* was at some distance beyond the point of disappearance, in the field planted with figs.

In that case, the shortest side of the *peribolus*, namely, from north to south, would have measured about 300 feet, which corresponds with a ridge on the south, running nearly parallel with the north wall, and marked in Plan 3.

Accordingly I drove several mines through this ridge from the north, as has been already reported in my previous despatches.

Failing, however, to discover the southern *peribolus* wall on this line, I concluded that it had been removed.

It has, however, been recently pointed out to me by Lieutenant Smith, that the entire length of the north wall discovered by excavation is 337 feet, and that the quadrangle of the Mausoleum is nearly in the centre of this length.

Now, the whole circumference given by Hyginus being 1,340 feet, the fourth part of this number is 335 feet.

Supposing that Hyginus used the Greek foot in this measurement, we find that 335 Greek feet equal 338' 9.525" in English feet.

This length so nearly corresponds with the length of wall actually traced, that it is probable that the four sides of the *peribolus* were a perfect square.

If, assuming this to be the case, we measure off with the compass 338 feet on Plan 3 from the north wall southward, the line of the south wall will be found to fall exactly on a ridge marked in the Plan, which runs parallel with the northern wall, at the distance of a few feet south of the furthest point which we reached by mining.

The western *peribolus* wall would, in that case, nearly coincide with the line of a road leading northward, below the house marked in Plan 3 as Ahmet Bey's.

It is observable that, beyond this line of wall on the west, no trace of the Mausoleum is discoverable, either in the walls of the fields or on the surface of the soil.

Such a form of *peribolus* as I have suggested would be the most suitable, if we suppose the principal approach to the Mausoleum to have been from the *Agora*, which, as we know from Vitruvius, was on the shore of the harbour below.

It is probable that the platform of the Mausoleum was connected with the *Agora* by a series of terraces with intervening flights of steps, so disposed as to set off the elevation to the best advantage when viewed from below.

It will be seen by reference to Plan 3, that if we follow the traces of existing ridges, the south-eastern angle of the platform appears to have been broken away.

Perhaps there may have been a flight of steps here balanced by another flight at the south-western angle, or this corner of the platform may have been cut away by the Knights to make a road for the conveyance of stone from the

Mausoleum to the Castle to which this angle is the nearest point in the platform.

I have now to notice the facts brought to light by the excavation of the *peribolus* itself.

I have already in previous despatches stated my opinion that the platform was in part artificial, raised on the bed of an ancient quarry, and that the *upper* subterranean gallery, the sepulchral chambers, and the various cuttings in the native rock, formed no part of the design of the Mausoleum, but must be referred to an earlier period.

The grounds for such an opinion may be best shown by a detailed description of the galleries, cuttings, and walls found in the course of excavation within the *peribolus*, and outside the quadrangle.

With reference to the gallery running round the Mausoleum itself, and which I have always distinguished as the *lower* gallery, there can, I think, be no doubt that it received both the external and internal drainage of the building.

Two small drains flow into it from the interior of the quadrangle, which have already been noticed.

If this gallery was originally cut as part of the Mausoleum, it is difficult to explain the deflections in its lines, and particularly in the southern branch, which makes a bend inward within the line of the quadrangle.

It is possible that parts of this gallery were cut at a previous period for the drainage of the deeper excavations in the quarry, and that the architects of the Mausoleum adapted these earlier passages to the plan of their building, connecting them together so as to form one duct. If this was not the case, we can only account for the deflections by supposing that they were made to avoid faults in the rock. The sides of the galleries, however, exhibited no sign of any such flaws.

The lower gallery is cut throughout through the solid rock, to the height of 5 feet 6 inches, except in the part on the west side, where it passes the front of the stair.

Here it is a trench only 1 foot 10 inches in depth, and covered over, as I have already stated, with slabs of green rag-stone: the drain flowing into it from under the marble pavement was protected between its mouth and the great stone, by a bronze grating let into the covering flag of pavement.

If this branch of the gallery was a work anterior to the Mausoleum, its upper portion would have been cut away in the course of the excavation for the stair.

It will be seen by reference to Plan 1, that the centre pier on the north overhangs the corner of a shaft below it, from which it may be inferred that the pier was built after the shaft.

The external drainage of the building was probably conducted into the shafts. No sign of such drains was observable on the margin of the shafts, but the external drainage may have been conducted through soil laid on the surface of the rock, or all the channels may have converged in that branch of the eastern lower gallery, which, entering the eastern side of the quadrangle, receives the contribution of a small internal drain already noticed.

The shaft where this branch from the quadrangle enters the eastern gallery may be considered as the terminus, or point of junction of all the branches of the lower gallery.

From this shaft a main duct, A, leads in a south-eastern direction to within 40 feet of the eastern *peribolus* wall.

Here all trace of it is lost; but it was probably continued as a built gallery on account of the great depth of the soil over the rock here.

In a field below the platform is a large reservoir, marked *a* in Plan 3, which probably received the water from the lower gallery.

The upper gallery may be regarded as consisting of three branches, B, C, D, which meet in a shaft in the Vakouf field.

One of these branches, C, as will be seen by Plan 1, crosses the south-western corner of the quadrangle, passing at the foot of the southern staircase, and then communicating with two chambers placed side by side.

It is evident that this branch could have had no connection with the plan of the Mausoleum, for, at the point where it opens into the west side of the

quadrangle, its mouth was nearly closed by courses of foundation slabs built up against it, nor was there any trace of its continuation within the area of the basement.

I conceive, therefore, that it was of an earlier date, and that, in preparing the bed of the foundations in this place, the portion of gallery lying within the quadrangle was cut away.

After this break we find the gallery C reappear on the southern margin of the quadrangle, but it is here irregularly built with rubble walls, which run on, as I have already noticed, across the foot of the southern stair.

This part of the gallery C does not exceed 3 feet 9 inches in height, and no portion of it can be considered good masonry.

On the eastern side of the stair the gallery re-enters the rock, and is continued to the south-east, with an opening into the smaller of the two chambers.

Opposite to this opening in the chamber is a short gallery, F, which, passing over the southern lower gallery in a north-east direction, crosses the south line of the quadrangle and falls into a trench running from east to west, which will be noticed presently.

I have already stated my opinion that this chamber has no real connection with the Mausoleum, but that it belongs to an earlier period.

If it had been part of the plan of the Mausoleum, its lines would naturally have run parallel to the south side of the quadrangle; they are, on the contrary, parallel to those of the stair.

From the fact that the branch C of the upper gallery communicates with the sepulchral chamber, it may be inferred that it was not used as an aqueduct unless the water was conducted along it in pipes.

The large oblong cavity, lying to the east of this chamber, has been divided into two compartments, at the point where opposite returns are cut in its eastern and western sides.

The smaller of these two compartments is evidently a monolithic chamber, like the one contiguous to it on the west, as, on three sides, a return in the rock may be traced all round at the same height from the ground, showing where the line of the roof has been broken away.

On the west side of the chamber are two square apertures cut through the rock into the contiguous monolithic chamber on the west. They are large enough to admit a man's body.

These apertures range immediately below the roof of the monolithic western chamber, but above the broken line of roof of the eastern chamber.

It would seem, therefore, that they had been cut after this latter roof had been broken away.

On clearing out the smaller compartment of the eastern chamber, it was found to be partially filled with a rough wall of squared blocks of native rock, similar in appearance to the walls at the foot of the two stairs already described.

The larger of the two compartments in the eastern chamber exhibited no trace of a roof, and may have been hypæthral.

The branch of the upper gallery, C, leading into this compartment from the west, is continued across it in an oblique direction by rubble walls, carelessly built, and re-enters the rock on the opposite side.

It may be presumed that the rubble walls crossing this chamber are more recent than the chamber itself; they may be additions made at the same period as the rubble walls by which the gallery is prolonged across the foot of the south stair, which are similar in masonry.

From this point onward the branch C runs in a south-eastern direction, till it disappears at the same point as the lower gallery, a little to the west of the *peribolus* wall.

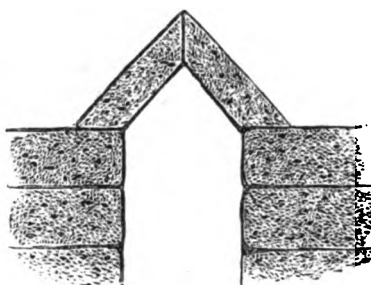
The two other branches of the upper gallery, B, D, have been already described in previous despatches.

In most parts of these galleries a channel is cut at the bottom, evidently designed for water, with a ledge beside it just wide enough to walk on.

In the portion between β and δ , branch D is entirely built of massive blocks, see Plan 3.

The roof is formed of two stones leaning against each other at a right angle.

These stones rest on the horizontal courses of the sides, thus :—



From δ to θ , the branch D runs due east ; at the distance of 80 feet it is closed, as I have already noticed in a previous despatch, by a double partition-wall, consisting of two party-walls pierced with pipes, and separated from one another by an interval of 12 feet.

Beyond the second of these walls the gallery continues to run eastward, disappearing on the line of the eastern *peribolus* wall. From its direction it is probable that it leads to the reservoir, below the eastern side of the platform which I have already mentioned as the probable termination of the lower gallery. The branch B of the upper gallery is, in the part south of the road, roofed with marble slabs.

These slabs have clamp-holes, showing that they have been taken from some other building.

The height of the gallery here is 6 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 6 inches wide.

The part of the gallery to the north of the road is larger than any of the galleries which we have explored.

Its height in places exceeded 8 feet, by a width of 3 feet.

Near the south-eastern corner of the quadrangle is a deep cutting in the rock, marked E in Plan 1, which appears like the side of a sepulchral chamber.

In this cutting, at a depth of 23 feet below the surface, we found a sarcophagus, an iron dagger, and an archaic vase, which have been already described in my despatch of February 10, 1858.

From this spot a gallery, F, cut through the rock, leads to the south-west, and turning at a right angle, passes over the south-eastern shaft of the lower gallery, entering the quadrangle near its south-eastern angle.

From this point it may be traced as an open trench cut in the rock, running parallel to the south side of the quadrangle till it terminates a little to the east of the south stair, to which it may originally have led up.

From the evident connection of this gallery with the cutting containing the sarcophagus I should infer that the trench within the quadrangle was its continuation, and that the roof was cut away in levelling the rock for the foundations of the Mausoleum, so as to leave a trench instead of a covered passage.

The short gallery leading from this trench into the monolithic chamber on the south has already been noticed.

By this passage the cutting where the sarcophagus was found is connected with the upper gallery and all the excavations on the southern side described above.

The archaic character of the vase found with the sarcophagus has been already adduced in my despatch of February 10, 1858,* as a proof of the early date of the excavation where the sarcophagus was found.

Whether all the rock-cut galleries and chambers which communicate with this spot are of the same or of a later period is a question which can hardly be decided without more evidence than has been brought to light by the excavations.

It remains that I should notice three walls which were discovered in digging the platform.

On reference to Plan I it will be seen that, at the distance of 40 feet to the south of the south side of the quadrangle, and parallel to this side, the rock of the platform is cut away vertically, and this cutting is faced with a wall of thin ashlar work.

This wall is more particularly described in my despatch of September 30, 1857.†

It extends for about 50 feet. Its southern extremity crosses the larger of the two chambers, intersecting the rubble wall of the gallery in this chamber.

* See *ante*, page 6.

† See Papers presented March 1858, page 44.

Its courses are toothed into the slabs, covering the gallery here in such a manner as to show that the ashlar work must have been built after these slabs were placed in position.

We were unable to explore the ground to the east; but, if the wall was continued beyond this point, its lowest course must have been about 6 feet higher than in the rest of the wall.

The masonry was very good, and might be of the same period as the Mausoleum.

On the eastern side of the *peribolus*, at the distance of 9 feet from the east side of the quadrangle, is a wall precisely similar in the character of its masonry to the one just described.

This eastern wall has been noticed in my despatch of August 12, 1857.* It runs parallel to the eastern side of the quadrangle, extending from the north *peribolus* wall nearly to the south-east angle of the Mausoleum, beyond which we were unable to trace it.

At the distance of 1 foot to the west of it, the rock of the platform is cut vertically down, forming a step. The wall appears to be the *revêtement* of this vertical cutting. The space between the wall and the rock behind it, I have described as a drain.

On looking at the direction of the eastern and southern walls in Plan 1, it will be seen that, if prolonged, they would meet, forming a right angle, parallel to the south-east angle of the Mausoleum.

I am inclined to think that they did form such an angle; but as the place where the two walls would meet is under a house which is still standing, this point cannot be ascertained.

As the exterior surface of these walls is carefully dressed, it is to be presumed that their upper courses, at least, were intended to be seen; indeed, it is difficult to understand what could be the object of concealing the rock by a *revêtement*, unless this facing of masonry marked a change of level in the platform.

There is, however, this difficulty, that, at the two points to which the southern wall has been traced, and at the southern extremity of the eastern wall, the vertical cutting ceases, and the rock re-appears at the same level, or nearly so, as the margin of the quadrangle.

So that, if we suppose the change of level marked by the *revêtement* wall to have been continuous along the east and south sides, the upper courses of this wall must have been at least 1 foot higher than the level of the rock behind; in other words, the level of the margin of the platform on the east and south sides must have been higher than the surface of the native rock by as many inches as would be required to make a step at the line of *revêtement* wall.

If the two *revêtement* walls really formed part of the design of the *peribolus*, which, from their parallelism with the lines of the quadrangle, as well as from the goodness of the masonry, can hardly be doubted; then, either they were intended to be concealed under the soil, which seems unlikely, or to form a feature in the site as terrace walls.

If we accept this latter alternative, it cannot be supposed that the south wall, and the southern extremity of the eastern wall, would have died away as they do at present, into the higher level of the rock on each side, because such broken lines of *revêtement* would have been most unsightly, and it is difficult to see what purpose they could have served.

There is then but one way of reconciling all these difficulties.

We must suppose that the margin of native rock between the south and east sides of the quadrangle and the respective *revêtement* walls was covered with soil, so as to obtain a perfect level.

It is to be observed that this marginal surface of native rock, though generally uniform in level, presents many inequalities which it may have been thought better to conceal by forming an artificial terrace. The depth of soil thus laid on did not probably exceed 2 feet at the edges of the terraces, because it is evident from the slowness of the masonry, that the *revêtement* walls would not have borne much lateral pressure.

It may be remarked that this change of level in the *peribolus* would occur on the two sides on which the platform would be approached from lower ground, and was, probably, intended to set off the elevation to greater advantage.

* See Papers presented March 1858, page 30.

There would not, therefore, be the same necessity for terraces on the west and north sides, as will be seen by reference to Plan 3.

If, therefore, the levels of the south and east margins were artificially raised, it is probable that the entire platform contained within them as far as the west and north walls, was, in like manner, raised to one level by the addition of more or less soil as it might be required. Indeed, the surface of the rocky platform, to the west of the Mausoleum, was disfigured by so many unsightly cuttings that it is more probable that its surface was thus concealed than that it was left exposed.

Lastly, if surface drains led into any of the shafts in the lower gallery, these drains would have been conducted through the artificial soil, and the stones covering the shafts would thus have been laid flush with this level, and also with the lowest course of the north *peribolus* wall.

At the distance of $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet to the east of the eastern side of the quadrangle, is a second wall, running from the north *peribolus* wall southward, nearly parallel with the *revêtement* wall already noticed.

This second wall has been more particularly described in my despatch of February 10, 1858.

Beyond this line to the east, the stratification of the soil, as I have already remarked in my above despatch, ran in zigzag lines, such as would be formed by carting in rubble and soil from opposite directions.

In these strata were veins of chippings of green ragstone.

The occurrence of these veins proves, I think, that the strata were formed when the platform was artificially prolonged in this direction by the builders of the Mausoleum.

This prolongation must have been accomplished in a very simple and economical manner, by shooting into the deeper parts of the quarry the rubble as it accumulated in levelling the site, and dressing the stone for the Mausoleum.

These strata, in the soil east of the wall, rise fully to the level of the rocky platform behind it on the west, and such a stratification seems to prove that the wall does not mark a second change of level in the platform, as might otherwise have been supposed. Its parallelism, however, to the east side of the quadrangle is certainly remarkable.

I am unable to conjecture what the purpose of this wall was, or at what period it was built.

In masonry and material it is not superior to the pieces on the north side of the quadrangle.

Behind the wall the rock is cut vertically, forming a deep trench commencing at the north *peribolus* wall.

To the south, within a few feet of the point where the wall ceases, this trench suddenly rises to a much higher level, its bed being cut in steps. Such an abrupt change in the depth of the cutting precludes the supposition that the trench was used for drainage, as the water must have flowed to the south, the trench terminating to the north in the rock, under the *peribolus* wall, where no outlet was visible.

The space occupied by the trench may have been filled with a rubble lining, but in that case we must suppose a wall of great thickness.

On the whole, I think that no connection between this wall and the Mausoleum can be satisfactorily made out.

On the platform are several wells out in the rock, all of which we cleared out. Nothing was found in them to show that they were in any way connected with the plan of the Mausoleum.

The views which I have had the honour to submit in this Report are the result of much study of the ground and of the plans, in which I have had the benefit of Lieutenant Smith's judgment on a number of points.

I could have wished to have been able to assert, more positively, conclusions which I have adopted as on the whole most probable; but it appeared both to Lieutenant Smith and myself, that the evidence before us up to this date would not justify a more confident tone. It is to be regretted that, from the delay and difficulty in obtaining the houses, we were compelled to explore the site of the Mausoleum by instalments, and to cover up the excavated parts as we went on, instead of laying bare the whole area continuously, and transporting the dug earth to a convenient distance.

For, though great care has been taken to record by plans, by delineation,

and by photography, every fact which seemed worthy of observation, it is probable that, if the area of the excavation had been presented to the eye as a whole, and not in detached portions, we should have remarked significance and relation in many details, which, viewed in isolation, appeared meaningless or contradictory; and we might thus have been enabled to comprehend more fully the design of that monument which was the marvel of the ancient world, and of which, even after so much discovery, our knowledge is still so imperfect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. T. NEWTON

Inclosure 1 in No. 16.

Plan of the Site of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus.

Inclosure 2 in No. 16.

Sections of the Foundations of the Mausoleum.

Inclosure 3 in No. 16.

Environs of the Site of the Mausoleum.

No. 17.

Consul Newton to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 9.)

My Lord,

London, July 6, 1859.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that Her Majesty's ship "Supply," after completing the embarkation of cases of antiquities and stores at Cnidus, left that station for Malta on the 8th of June last, taking on board all the party employed in the expedition.

At my request Mr. Balliston called at Rhodes in his way to Malta, where I shipped three vases from Telos, purchased for the British Museum, and a most interesting collection of vases and gold ornaments, recently discovered in tombs at Rhodes, by Mr. Vice-Consul Biliotti, and M. Salzmann.

These antiquities seem to belong to a very early period, as some of the gold ornaments are executed in the Egyptian style; others are very Assyrian in character.

Among the vases were some of blue porcelain, inscribed with hieroglyphs.

The site where the tombs were discovered is, probably, that of the ancient Camirus.

The "Supply" was detained in dock at Malta some days, and is reported to have left that place, for England, on the 28th of June last.

I have the honour to inclose six invoices, of the antiquities, drawings, plans, photographic negatives, and photographic materials respectively.

Cases A B C, which are addressed to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, contain the photographic camera and apparatus purchased for the use of the expedition, and the portion of photographic chemicals remaining in store.

Cases F G contain a collection of photographic negatives on glass.

In packing these glasses I have used every precaution to prevent concussion, which might detach the thin film or deposit which constitutes the photographic negatives.

I would, however, respectfully submit to your Lordship that these glasses might suffer from the vibration of a railway train; and that, to ensure their safe transmission from Woolwich to London, it would be desirable that they should be conveyed by water in charge of some person appointed by your Lordship.

I have included in the invoice of antiquities the collection of vases and gold ornaments from Rhodes, which I have already noticed, and which is now sent

Plan of
SITE OF THE
OLEUM.

AD NACCH

SHA

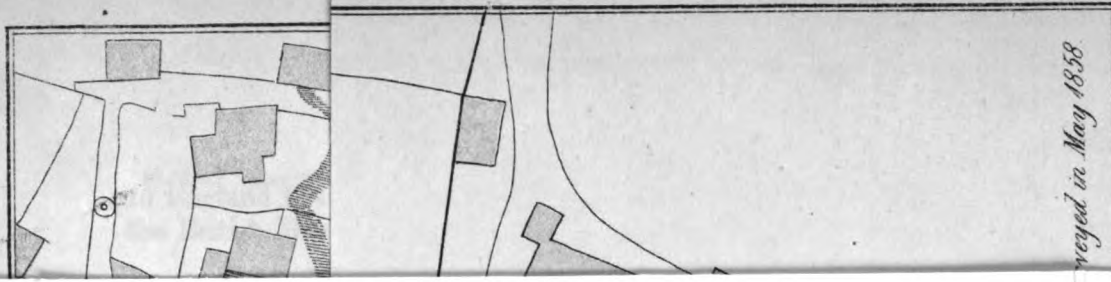
IN

LINE OF MARBLE WALL F

*Russell Smith
Lt R.C.*

Lt R.C.

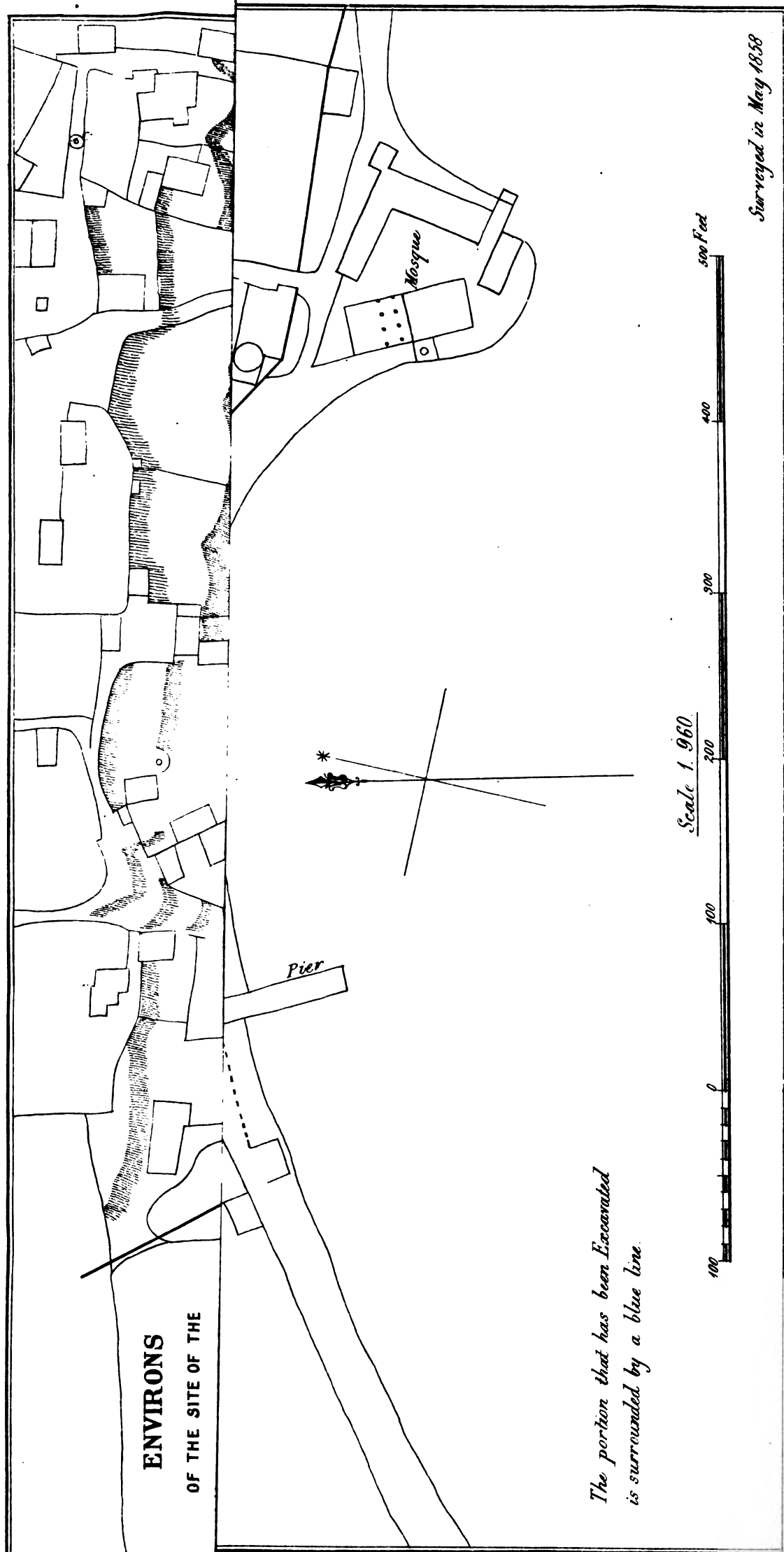
HARRISON & SONS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.



Surveyed in May 1858.

W. L. Smith & Sons, 122 St. Martin's Lane

Dr. K. K.



*The portion that has been Excavated
is surrounded by a blue line.*

Scale 1. 960

Surveyed in May 1858

Harrison & Sons, 88 & 90 Martin's Lane

*Pennington.
L. R. R.*

to England in the "Supply," to be submitted for purchase to the Trustees of the British Museum.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. T. NEWTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 17.

Invoice of Cases of Antiquities shipped on board Her Majesty's ship "Supply,"
June 8, 1859.

[The numbers are continued from the former invoice.]

- (330.) Fragments of sculpture, from Temenos of Demeter, Cnidus.
(331.) Black Lamps, from ditto.
(332.) Idem.
(333.) Cask, idem.
(334.) Sculpture and Inscriptions, as follows:
1. Inscription in elegiac verse, relating to a Palæstra; found near ancient church in Eastern Cemetery.
 2. Hand.
 3. Colossal Hand.
 4. Piece of colossal Foot.
 5. Toe of same Foot.
 6. Foot.
 7. Smaller Foot.
 8. Toe.
 9. Part of Hand, grasping some object; from south-east part of Temenos.
 10. Part of similar Hand. Indid.
 11. Female Head, small.
 - 12-14. Three Hands, life size.
 - 15-16. Two fragments of Hands.
 17. Neck of small Female figure.
 18. Part of upper Female Arm, under life size.
 - 19-50. Various fragments.
 51. Fragment of Hand.
 52. Fragment of Arm.
 53. Part of Head, from statuette.
 54. Part of Foot in sandal.
 55. Part of Foot, coloured red.
 56. Part of Foot, from statuette.
 57. Chin from statue, life size.
 58. Colossal Hand.
 - 59, 60. Two Fingers.
 - 61-64. Four fragments of Fingers.
 65. Colossal Finger.
 66. Pair of votive Breasts.
 67. Back of small Male Figure, from relief.
 68. Elbow from statuette.
 69. Two portions of Hand from colossal figure.
 70. Part of paw (?) of some animal.
 71. Fragment of base, inscribed
OKPATHEMO
 72. Hand of statuette resting on some object.
 73. Two fragments of Calathus.
 74. Part of draped Figure, in relief.
 75. Base of Statuette.
 76. Body of draped Statuette; found outside the western boundary of Temenos of Demeter.
 77. Piece of Lavacrum inscribed.
 78. Fragment of sepulchral Stêlé inscribed,
ΦΙΑ
Ο
 79. Fragment of Hand.
 80. Corner of base inscribed ΣΤΙΦ
ΔΑΜ
- (Nos. 2 to 80 are all from the Temenos of Demeter and from the north-west angle of the Temenos, unless otherwise specified.)
81. Stêlé, from ancient church, Eastern Cemetery, Cnidus, commencing ΓΑΙΟΥΙΟΥΑΙΟΥ. Height 1' 9" by 10".
82. Inscription relating to Thiasos, with names of contributors: ΟΙΔΕΣΥΝ. 12" by 12". Indidem.
83. Inscription commencing
ΕΠΙΚΤΗCΙC ΠΑΝΘΙΑ
16½" by 8½". Indid.
84. Inscription commencing ΙΟΥΑΙΑΣΦΥ, broken, 14" by 11½". Indid.
- 85, 86. Two fragments of a Stêlé. Indid.
87. Fragment, commencing ΟΦΕΑΑΙ. Indid.
88. Stêlé, commencing ΖΩCΙΜΟC 11" by 7½". Indid.
89. Stêlé, commencing ΠΟΛΛΙΟΝ, 14½" by 10". Indid.
90. Fragment, commencing ΕΡΜΑ.
- 91-99. Nine fragments of Inscriptions. Indid.
- (335.) Cask; 126 Byzantine Lamps. Temenos. (336) contains—
1. Torso of Winged Victory; purchased at Budrum.
 2. Draped Female statuette; purchased at Budrum.
 3. Lower half of draped Female figure, Persephone (?) Temenos of Demeter, Cnidus.
 4. Head of youthful Satyr, Cnidus.
 5. Sepulchral inscription, ancient church, Eastern Cemetery, Cnidus.
 6. Part of colossal Foot, Temenos of Demeter.
 7. Fragment of limestone Inscription.
- (337.) Cask. Inscribed handles of Diotæ. Rhodes.
- (338.) Inscription, with dedication to Athene Nikephoros and Hestia Boulæa, and with name of artist; shore of north harbour, Cnidus.
- (339.) Column, inscribed to S. Sulp. Hekataeus, physician; small building above encampment, Cnidus.
- (340.) Base inscribed with dedication to Theopompos, son of Artemidoros, by the city Julia Laodicæa. Indid.
- (341.) Column with inscription relating to a Stoa. Ruins of Byzantine church, Kara Kõi, near Geronta.
- (342.) Column, with two Inscriptions relating to a Gymnasium. Indid.
- (343) contains the following—
1. Stêlé, from Suliman's field, Budrum, found lying over a Byzantine grave, inscribed with name of Theotime of Chalcis, wife of Histiaeos of Sardis.
 2. Stêlé, with inscription containing name of Sopatrimon, length 2' 6". Budrum.
 3. Fragment of Stêlé commencing ΑΟΥΚΙΟΥ length 1' 10". Ancient church, Eastern Cemetery, Cnidus.
 4. Fragment, commencing ΟΔΑΜΟΣ. Indid.
 5. Slab, in two pieces, commencing
ΗΡΩΟC
2' 9" by 14½". Indid.

6. [ΚΑΑ]ΥΔΙΟΥ. Slab, 19½" by 19½". Indid.

7. Slab, commencing

ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΟΣ

29" by 14½".

8. Angle from a cube, on which is inscribed a grant of freedom to slaves. Temple of Apollo, Calymnos.

9. Fragment of slab, [ΤΙ]ΒΕΡΙΟΥ, 14½" by 9½". Ancient church, Eastern Cemetery, Cnidus.

10. Fragment of slab, . . . ΠΗΛΑΥΑ, 16½" by 11½". Indid.

11. Fragment of Inscription, commencing ΟΔΑΜΟC, 9" by 9½". Indid.

12. Fragment, commencing ΟΔΑΜΟC, ending ΠΙΣ, 15" by 8½". Ancient church, Eastern Cemetery, Cnidus.

(344) contains the following—

I. Tin case, Terra-cottas.

1. Female figure.
 2. Lamp, with figure of Somnus in relief.
 3. Pig.
 4. Neurospaston or Puppet.
 - 5-7. Three masks.
 8. Greyhound, in relief.
 9. Two Terms, one Ithyphallic.
 10. Lamp, in form of Hekate.
 11. Female figure holding up her Chiton.
 12. Aphrodite.
 13. Draped Female figure.
 14. Ram's-head Handle.
 - 15-17. Three leaf-shaped Handles of Lamps, one with figure of Eros.
 18. Part of Female figure, draped.
 19. Aged Female Head, wearing Polos.
- Thirteen fragments, various.
All these Terra-cottas are from the Temenos of Demeter.

II. Tin case. Terra-cottas from idem.

1. Phiale in several fragments.
2. Smaller Phialæ.
3. Saucers.
4. Fragments of several figures of Hydrophori.
5. Fragments of embossed cup.
6. Small Terra-cotta Weight, stamped with two heads.
7. Three small Jugs (lamp).

III. Tin case.

Amphora found in tomb, Suliman's field, Eastern Cemetery, Budrum.

IV. Tin case.

Fragment of Terra-cotta figure, gilt and painted; Head of a Trumpeter, Temenos of Demeter, Cnidus.

V. Tin case.

Leaden Vase from tomb, field of Khodja Mahomet, Eastern Cemetery, Budrum.

VI-VIII. Tin cases.

Marble tablets, from elliptical chamber, Temenos of Demeter, Cnidus.

IX. Tin case.

Two Terra-cotta Heads, Temenos of Demeter; leaden Mask, Budrum.

X. Tin case.

Two Heads and an Arm, Terra-cotta, field of Chiaoux, Budrum.

Eleven Terra-cotta figures; one Scarabæus, and one bottom of marble Pyxis, from field of Chiaoux.

Seven bronze objects from diggings, Budrum and Calymnos.

(345.) Marbles—

1. Piece of cornice, inscribed with name of Emperor Hadrian; from small building overlooking encampment, Cnidus.
2. Sepulchral relief, ancient church, Eastern Cemetery, Cnidus.
3. Epitaph on Athis, in elegiac verse. Indid.
4. Part of Decree of Proxenia, from Calymnos, Temple of Apollo.
5. Sepulchral Inscription, commencing ΚΑΑΥΔΙC, 1' 4" by 11", from church, Eastern Cemetery, Cnidus.
6. Inscription, commencing ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ, 11" by 10½". Indid.

(346.) Miscellaneous Antiquities:—

Division 1.

Amphora, with red figures, from tomb, Suliman's field, Eastern Cemetery, Budrum (*infra*, No. 361.)

Division 2.—Case A.

1. Glass Rods, from Elliptical Chamber, Temenos, Cnidus.
2. Idem.
3. Fragments of Glass, indid.
4. Idem.
5. Fragments of Glass, Temenos, Cnidus.
6. Glass Bottle, indid.
7. Fragments of Bone Pins, indid.
8. Terra-cotta Head, indid.
9. Lump of Yellow Colour, south side of Mausoleum.
10. Fragment of Beaten Gold, found with Terra-cotta Figures, field of Chiaoux, Budrum; Fragments of Beaten Gold, Cave tomb, Calymnos.
11. Fragments of Bone, Elliptical Chamber, Temenos, Cnidus.
12. Three Fragments of Glass, indid.

Case B.

1. Oinochoe, with red figures, from Nisyros, purchased at Calymnos.
2. Three Saucers, from supposed Gymnasium, Cnidus.

Case C.—Terra-cottas and Sundries.

1. Terra-cotta Head, from Tomb, Calymnos.
2. Idem.
3. Bottom of Red Vase, with relief of Herakles and the Lion, Ancient Church, Eastern Cemetery, Cnidus.
4. Handle of Lamp, with Head of Hades in relief, Temenos of Demeter.
5. Lamp, indid.
6. Plain black Lekythos, Lion Tomb, Cnidus.
7. Paw (?), Temenos of Demeter.
8. Floral Ornament, indid.
9. Handle of Lamp, with Floral Ornament, indid.
10. Part of Beak, Handle of Lamp, indid.
11. Horse's Head, from Lamp, indid.
12. Fragment of Drapery, indid.
13. Head of Hydrophoros, indid.
14. Fragments of Coloured Bottle, indid.
15. Bones of Pigs and other Animals, Elliptical Chamber, Temenos.
16. Idem.

Case D.

1. Fragment of Ivory, Temple of Apollo, Calymnos.
2. Armlet in form of Hand, indid.
3. Lump of Colour, indid.
4. Silver Clasp, Tomb, Calymnos.
5. Fragments of Silver Rings, Tombs, indid.
6. Beads of Silver Necklace, Tomb in field of Janni Sconi, Calymnos.
7. Three rings found in tombs, indid.

8. Vitreous fragment, field of Janni Sconi, *indid.*
9. Glass Beads, tombs, *indid.*
12. Glass Beads, tomb in Damos, Calymnos.
13. Bronze Nails, Field of Rock Tombs, Damos, *indid.*
14. Glass Bead, Cave Tomb, Calymnos.
15. Bronze Clasp, Tombs, Damos, *indid.*
16. Glass, Tombs, *indid.*
- 17-20. Glass Astragali, and fragment of Opaque Glass, diggings, Calymnos.

Case E.

1. Earring, Tomb, Calymnos.
2. Six fragments of Bone Hair-pins, Excavations, *indid.*
3. One Bone Stud, *indid.*
4. Fourteen Glass Astragali, *indid.*

Case F.

Three Terra-cotta Heads, Calymnos.
 Three Silver Earrings, from Tombs, *indid.*
 Winged Bull, *Intaglio.*
 Head in Relief, Artemis, from Bronze Ring.

Case G.

Portion of Iron Strigil, Tomb, Budrum, Eastern Cemetery.
 Bronze Fish-hook, *indid.*
 Iron Ring, *indid.*
 Fragment of Bronze, *indid.*

Case H.

Packet of Bones, from Elliptical Chamber, Temenos.

Case I.

Marble Tablets, *idem.*

(347.) Amphora, found standing in the earth, outside a grave, Eastern Cemetery. Budrum.
 On the cover of this grave, lay the Bronze Simulium, No. 361.

A number of small Phials of coarse Terra-cotta, found in a grave; field of Khodja Mahomet, Eastern Cemetery, Budrum.

(348.) Square Altar, inscribed with dedication to Demeter, by Agasikleia, found on hill-side, below Temenos of Demeter.

(349.) Case i:—

1. Iron Spear-head, Tomb, Suliman's field, Eastern Cemetery, Budrum.
2. Bronze Nail.
- 3, 4. Fragments of Iron, Tombs, Suliman's field, Budrum.
5. Bronze Hair-pin, *idem.*
6. Part of Bronze Instrument.
7. Circular Bronze Mirror, Tombs, Suliman's field.
- 8-11. Three fragments of Square Mirror, *idem.*
- 12-22. Eleven Bronze objects, diggings, Cnidus.
23. Chain, with Hook, Temple of Muses, Cnidus.
24. Bronze Bodkin, *idem.*
25. Byzantine Bronze Buckle, with figure of Centaur, purchased at Budrum.
26. Bronze Lion, said to be from Gumischlu (Myndus); purchased at Cnidus.
27. Bronze Tragic Mask; purchased at Budrum.
28. Mediæval Ornament, chased and incised for enamel; purchased at Budrum, said to have been found on site of Temple of Mars.
- ii. Black glazed Cup, found in tomb, with Bronze Cup (iii), and Vase, with red Figures, No. 346, Suliman's field, Budrum.

- iii. Bronze Cup found with Vase, No. 346, in tomb, Suliman's field.
- iv. Female hand from statuette.
 Male Hand and Arm, two pieces.
 Male heroic Head.
 Fragments of Sheet Lead.
 Marble Saucer.
 Broken Marble Saucer.
 Fragments of *idem.*

(All the above objects are from the Temenos of Demeter, Cnidus.)

Eight Marble Tablets, Elliptical Chamber, *indid.*

Specimens of Painted Stucco.
 Gymnasium, Cnidus.

v. Terra-cottas from Temenos of Demeter:—

1. Hydrophoros.
- 2-6. Three heads and fragments of same.
7. Female Head.
8. Fragment of Figure draped in Peplos.
9. Part of Seated Figure, Hades (?)
- 10-19. Ten handles and Spouts, fragments of large lamps.
- 20-36. Heads of Horses, Rams, and other animals, from lamps.
- 37-8. Two fragments of Ornamental Pottery.
39. Terra-cotta Figure.
40. Small Leaden Lamp.

Terra-cottas from Gymnasium, Cnidus:—

1. Group of Leda, Swan, and Eros.
2. Infant Dionysos riding on Sea-monster.
3. Symplegma; veiled Female Figure and Dog.
4. Part of Veiled Female Figure playing on the cymbal.
5. Relief on fragment of Cup, Eros playing on syrinx.
6. Part of draped Female Figure.
7. Part of Hermes holding purse, in relief.
8. Part of Symplegma, two draped figures.
9. Grotesque group, Ape and Human Figure.
10. Youthful Head, hand raised.
11. Fragment of Lion's Mane.
12. Grotesque Mask; wreath round neck.
13. Lion's Head.
14. Symplegma; two naked figures.
15. Lion's Face.
16. Hand.
17. Hand holding Cantharos.
18. Veiled Female Head.
19. Boar's Snout.
20. Panther's Head; leg of Table.
21. Lower part of grotesque Face.
22. Lower part of similar Face.
23. Similar Face.
24. Part of small Vase, ornamented with relief of Vase, with grapes.
25. Fragment similarly ornamented.
26. *Idem.*
27. Winged Head in relief, on fragment of pyxis.
28. Votive Foot.
- 29, 30. Horses' Heads from lamps.
- Seventeen fragments, various.
- vi. Seventeen small Vases from Benghazi; purchased at Mytilene.
- vii. Specimens of painted Stucco, and fragments of Green Glazed Ware, Gymnasium, Cnidus.
 Terra-cotta Column in two pieces, Temple of Muses, *idem.*
- viii. Fragment of Blue Glazed Ware.
 Small unvarnished Jug.
 Dog's Head.

Three Lamps.

Hand.

(The above objects from Gymnasium, Cnidus.)

Eight Weights for Looms, stamped with a helmeted head.

One Weight, countermarked.

(Temple of Muses, Cnidus.)

ix. Fragments of Painted Stucco, Gymnasium.

x. Eleven fragments of Bodkins and Bone Pins.

Glass Rod.

Three strips of Marble or Composition.

Handle from Glass Vase.

Stud; fragments of Glass.

(All the above from Elliptical Chamber, Temenos of Demeter.)

Terra-cotta Hand, holding a stick, Temenos of Demeter.

xi. Nine fragments of Ivory, idem.

A number of Black Lamps from Temenos.

(350.) Piece of travertine architrave covered with stucco. Gymnasium, Cnidus.

(351.) Piece of cornice in same material, indid., found with No. 350.

(352.) Column inscribed with a decree relating to a Gymnasiarch. Ruined Church, Kara Kôî, near Geronta.

(353.) Sculpture and inscriptions from Temple of Apollo and the Muses, Cnidus:—

1-6. Six draped Female Torsoes, probably Muses.

7, 8. Fragment of Thigh and fragment with Feet of Muse.

9. Torso of Aphrodite (?), from base of neck to waist, found in a well.

10. Head of a Muse, 5" high.

11. Another, same height.

12. Veiled Female Head, 4" high.

13. Hand, life-size, holding Baton.

14. Back of Male Figure in the round, under life size.

15. Fragment from Abdomen of Male Figure, same scale.

16. Head of youthful Satyr, under life size, 7" high.

17. Female Torso, from below waist to knees, draped below the hips, 7" high.

18-20. Hand of Dionysos from term; two Fragments of Term.

21. Lion's Paw; Leg of Table (?).

22. Two Figures in relief.

23. Fragment, probably from same relief.

24, 25. Two Fragments of Legs, from figure in the round, life size.

26. Drapery, from shoulder of Muse.

27. Back of Head of Muse.

28, 29. Two pair of Marble Votive Breasts.

30. One pair of Breasts.

31. One Breast.

32. Heads of Female, triple figure, Hekate or the Horæ.

33. Head of Young Dionysos; bracket.

34. Youthful Head; bracket.

35. Votive Inscription to Muses, with name of artist—Epikrates.

36. Fragment of Base, with Votive Inscription.

37. Neck of small Figure.

38. Mouth of Marble Phiale, on which is engraved a Lyre.

39. Neck of small Archaic Figure.

40. Small draped Torso, perhaps Artemis.

41, 42. Two portions of a Female Head, about 8" high, bound with Opisthosphendone.

43. Female Head, 2½" high, bound with Sphendone over the forehead; several fragments of Marble Bases.

44. Base dedicated to Pluto Epimachos, Demeter, Persephone, and Hermes. Temenos of Demeter.

(354.) Unpainted Hydria, full of burnt bones, found covered with a flat stone in a small square grave, field of Suliman, Eastern Cemetery, Budrum; Fifteen small Phials, from grave in field of Khodja Mahomet, Eastern Cemetery, Budrum; Three small Jugs, fifteen Lamps, fourteen Saucers, from Temenos of Demeter.

(355.) 1. Roof-tile, from Temple of Muses.

2. Antefixal Floral Ornament, idem.

3, 4. Two packets of Bones, found in Elliptical Chamber, Temenos.

5. Twenty-seven deep Saucers, indid.

6. Six shallow Saucers, indid.

7. Six Lamps, indid.

8. Three Marble Tablets, Elliptical Chamber, indid.; two Fragments of Lamps, indid.

(356.) Inscription from a Hermes, with names of Prostatæ, Gymnasium, Cnidus. Inscription with name of Demiorgos, Cnidus.

(357.) Column inscribed with a Dedication to Demeter, Temenos of Demeter; Decree of Proxenia, Temple of Apollo, Calymnos; inscribed Stelé commencing ΤΙΤΟΥ ΦΑΛΒΙΟΥ, Church, Eastern Cemetery, Cnidus; fragments of large marble Phialæ, Temple of Apollo, Cnidus.

(358.) Altar inscribed with dedication to Apollo, Temple of Apollo, Cnidus.

(359.) Cask, inscribed handles of Diotæ, collected at Rhodes, Budrum, and Cnidus (those found at Cnidus are marked Cnidus); Grotesque Heads from Vases, Budrum; part of ornament of Imbrex, Temple of Apollo and Muses, Cnidus; large open Dish, Temenos of Demeter, Cnidus; two Drain Pipes, Cnidus (the smallest of these from supposed Gymnasium).

(360.) Cask, Lamps from Temenos of Demeter, Saucers, fragments of Pottery, painted Stucco, Glass, Gymnasium, Cnidus.

(361.)—Case 1.

1. Nine small Vases from Benghazi, purchased at Mytilene.

2-5. One Saucer, Samian ware; four Lamps, Gymnasium, Cnidus; fragments of Samian ware.

Case 2.

1. Terra-cotta Calathus, from Temenos.

2. Inscribed lip of large earthen vessel, Gymnasium.

3. Fragments of painted stucco, idem.

4. Fragments of Mosaic with leaden strips, Temple of Muses, Cnidus.

Case 3.

1, 2. Two Amphoriskî found in drain of Temple of Muses.

3. Plain Phiale, Tripod Tomb, Eastern Cemetery, Cnidus.

4. Mouth of Diota inscribed with Magistrate's name, Temple of Muses, Cnidus.

5. Mouth of Diota inscribed on handle.

Handles of inscribed Diotæ, Cnidus.

Case 4. Cask.

Specimens of Painted Stucco, Gymnasium, Cnidus.

Case 5.

1. Handle of Vase found in Suliman's field, No. 346.

2. Bronze Simpulum, indid., ante 347.

3. Bronze Mirror, Grave, indid.

4, 5. Two Bone Handles, Gymnasium, Cnidus.

Case 6.

1. Bronze Lamp, Tomb, Suliman's field, Budrum.

2. Three Bronze Nails, Cnidus.

3. Bronze Saucer, Well in Gymnasium, Cnidus.

4. Two small Bronzes, Gymnasium, Cnidus.

Case 7.

Glass Counters, Astragali, Beads, from Tombs, Calymnos.

Case 8.

1. Fragments of Flageolet, found in Tomb, field of Khodja Mahomet, Eastern Cemetery, Budrum.

3. Glass Counters, Astragali, Tombs, Calymnos.

4. Upper part of Female Figure playing on Tympanum, Terra-cotta; Drain, Temple of Muses, Cnidus.

5. Part of Bone Tessera, indid.

6. Terra-cotta Female Head, bound with Sphendone, Temenos of Demeter.

Part of Terra-cotta Group, Silenus and another figure, Gymnasium, Cnidus.

Glass Rod, Elliptical Chamber, Temenos of Demeter.

5. Fragments of small Oinochoe of Blue Glass. Benghazi, purchased at Mytilene.

Separate Finger from statue, Temenos of Demeter.

Leaden Mask, purchased at Budrum.

Bronze mediæval Seal.

Sundry fragments, Glass, Pottery, Bone, and Metal, from diggings, Calymnos, Budrum, Cnidus.

Cases 9, 10.

Fragments of Flageolet. (See *supra*, Case 7, 1.)

Separate.

Part of a draped Male Figure, in artificial stone.

Two inscribed Handles of Diotæ.

Marble Breast, Gymnasium, Cnidus.

Conical Marble Object, Temple of Muses, indid.

Strips of Marble Inlays, Tomb of Lykæthios, indid.

(362.) Fragment of Stelé, commencing ΓΑΙΟΥ ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ, Church, Eastern Cemetery, Cnidus.

Piece of Doric Cornice, in travertine, covered with Stucco, Temenos.

Breast of a Figure, in the same material, indid.

Part of Fluted Column, same material, indid.

Piece of Doric Cornice, in same material, Gymnasium, Cnidus.

Fragment of Decree, Temple of Apollo, Calymnos.

Slab, with two Figures in relief, from small Temple overlooking encampment, Cnidus.

Stelé, commencing ΟΔΑΜΟΣΕΥΠΟΡΙΑΣ, from Church, Eastern Cemetery.

Two fragments of Inscriptions, idem.

(363.) 1. Limestone Base, sculptured in the form of a Neck, Temenos of Demeter.

2. Stelé, commencing ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΔΟΣ, Budrum.

3. Travertine capital of Pilaster, Temple of Muses, Cnidus.

4. Latin Sepulchral Inscription, Church, Eastern Cemetery, Cnidus.

5. Piece of Doric Cornice, in travertine, covered with stucco, indid.

6. Three fragments of Inscriptions, indid.

(364.) Marble Base, inscribed ΧΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΑ, found near Odeum, Cnidus; three Architectural Fragments, executed in travertine, Gymnasium, Cnidus.

(365.) Inscription with Dedication to Artemis, and name of artist, Zenodotos, son of Menippus, a Cnidian, indid.

(366.) Dedicatory Inscription by Euphranor, son of Thersimachos, shore of North Harbour, indid.

(367.) Three Stone Cists, Tripod Tomb, Eastern Cemetery, Cnidus; Fragments, inscribed ΚΟΥΡΟΤΡΟΦΟΣ, indid; Fragment of an Inscription from Ancient Church, Eastern Cemetery.

(368.) Corinthian Capital, part of another Corinthian Capital, Temple of Muses; Pilaster, Capital. Gymnasium; part of Doric Capital, Temenos; Inscription from Street of Tombs, Eastern Cemetery.

(369.) Stélé, from Ancient Church, Eastern Cemetery; Stélé, indid., commencing ΚΝΙΔΙΑ; Inscription on side of Sarcophagus, indid.

(370.) Piece of Architrave from Ionic portico, Cnidus. (Engraved in "Ionian Antiquities," iii, pl. 16.)

(371.) Base of Inscription No. 365; Inscription dedicated to Peisinous, perhaps an epithet of Hermes, Gymnasium, Cnidus.

(372.) Two fragments, from Inscription No. 325, from Ancient Church near Geronta; Specimen of the rock, Scarp, Temenos; Piece of Mosaic, Gymnasium; Fragment of a cylindrical Marble Vessel, perhaps a Modius or corn measure, from idem; Fragment of Cornice, Ancient Church, Eastern Cemetery.

Part of triple draped Female Figure, Hekate or the Horæ, found near village of Datscha, eight hours to the east of Cnidus.

(373.) Piece of Ionic Cornice, from street above encampment, Cnidus; Piece of Frieze and Architrave, Temple of Muses; two fragments of Inscription, Ancient Church, Eastern Cemetery.

(374.) Statue from Sacred Way, Geronta.

(375.) Statue, indid.

(376.) Impressions from Inscriptions taken at Budrum, Lagina, Eski-Hissar, Mylasa, Geronta, Cos, Calymnos, Cnidus.

(377.) Vase, with red figures on a black ground, late style; found in a tomb, Telos; purchased of Mr. Vice-Consul Biliotti, at Rhodes.

Vases, from the collection of Messrs. Salzmänn and Biliotti, found near Cape Minas, Rhodes, probably in the Cemetery of the ancient Camirus, as follows:—

1. Cylix, Frieze of Stags and Cocks, black with crimson and white, on a red ground; style of Vulci, broken.

2-4. Three glass Phials ribbed with white.

5, 6. Two Aryballi of blue porcelain, ornamented in the Egyptian style.

7. Glass Phial, ribbed with white, in fragments.

8. Lekythos with two Gryphons, between an Assyrian ornament; below, a band of rosettes alternate with the letter Σ.

9-11. Three Aryballi, in the form of a Helmeted Head.

12. One Aryballos, in form of a Bull's head.

13. One Aryballos, in form of a Horse's head.

14. Kneeling Egyptian figure, in porcelain.

15. One deep two-handled Cup, plain black ware.

16, 17. Two black Saucers, marked I.

18. Saucer, red painted ware.

19. Pyxis, with Frieze of Sirens.

20. Lower part of a Pyxis.

21. Two fragments of a Pyxis.

22. Two portions of Vase *à goulot*.

23-32. Nine painted Amphoriskoi.

33. Two pieces of Aryballos, in form of a ram.

34. Alabastron.

35-86. Aryballi, with ornaments painted on a field, semé with flowers.

87-113. Lekythi, similarly painted.

114-117. Three Byzantine Lamps.

(378.) Vase with red figures, from Telos, purchased of Mr. Biliotti.

Vases from the Salzmann Collection :—

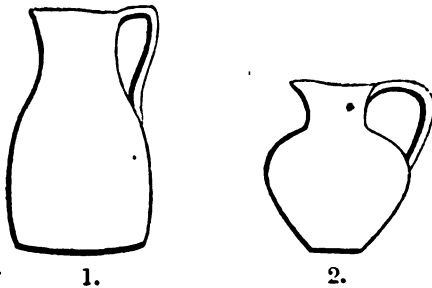
1. Plain black Cylix.
2. Vase with recurved lips, purple bands with flowers.
3. Amphoriskos, with frieze of animals.
4. Pinax in two pieces.
5. Half of Cylix.
6. Lower part of Pyxis.
7. Foot of Vase.
- 8, 9. Two Aryballi.
- 10–13. Four Lekythi.
14. Aryballos.

(379.) Large Vase from Telos, red figures on black ground, late style ; Vases from the Salzmann Collection :—

1. Deep two-handled Cup, plain black ware.
2. Fragments of Cylix, with black figures.
3. Fragment of Pinax.
- 4–6. Three small Cylices.
7. Fragments of Cylix.

(380.) Vases from the Salzmann Collection :—

1. Oinochoe : two Lions confronted ; between, a Serpent ; below, a Frieze of Cocks, Winged Birds, and Lions : field semé with flowers. Inside this Vase are two Fragments.
2. Oinochoe : Goats and Lions, field semé.



3. Pinax : in centre, Star ; around, Mæander squares and volutes.

4. Pinax : in centre, Rose, encircled with Mæander and lotos rings.

5. Pinax, similar to No. 3, in three pieces.

6. Two-handled Vase, painted black ; round the shoulder a yellow band.

7–12. Five small Aryballi.

13. Oinochoe : on the shoulder two Stags ; between, a Lotos Flower ; below, a Frieze of Stags.

14. Oinochoe : shoulder encircled by two brown Rings.

15. Eye, in blue Egyptian porcelain.

16. Aryballos.

17. Vase with recurved lips.

18–21. Four Aryballi.

22. Plain Pinax, broken.

23. Phiale Omphalotos.

24. Fragment from Foot of Pinax.

25. Goose, painted Terra-cotta.

26. Helmeted Head, Aryballos.

27. Rabbit, painted Terra-cotta.

28. Crouching Figure in form of Aryballos.

29. Pinax : Sphinx ; below, floral ornament ; fine condition.

30. Fragments of a Cylix, Black Figures on a red ground, inscribed, ΧΑΙΡΕΚΣΗΜΕΕΥ.

31. Lekythos, in form of a Lion's Head.

32. Small Ithyphallic Terra-cotta Figure, two pieces.

33. Head of Herakles, in Lion's Skin.

34. Archaic Female Head, Lekythos.

35. Lekythos, in form of Siren ; several fragments.

36. Pinax, patterns like those previously described.

37. Pinax, encircled inside and out, with plain red bands.

38. Dish, one Handle broken off, encircled by Frieze of animals.

39. Small two-handled Vase.

40. Plain Cylinder Onyx.

41. Fragments of Glass Alabastron.

42. Deep two-handled Cup ; fine black ware.

43. Lekythos ; base encircled by a Frieze of animals.



44. Seated Female Figure, two pieces, Terra-cotta.

45. Neck of Vase, and various fragments.

(381.) 1. Plain Black Oinochoe : inside this Vase are packed many fragments of Pyxides and Alabastra.

2. Oinochoe : on shoulder, a Sphinx between two Stags ; below, Lotos Flower. Inside this Vase are packed three Arrow-heads, a Pyxis in fragments ; a Head in relief ; several fragments.

3. Small Bronze Oinochoe.

4. Lekythos : five Figures, black and crimson, with incised lines on a red ground.

5. Hydria : Amazon on Horseback, with a Hound black, crimson, and white, with incised lines, on a red ground ; style, imitation of the Archaic. Inside are packed two Alabastra.

6. Oinochoe, with flat bottom ; round shoulder, Band of Egg-Moulding, purple, yellow, black, with incised lines ; body black. Inside, a fragment.

7. Lekythos, in form of a Ram, striped brown on a yellow ground.

8. Small Oinochoe, drab ware, unpainted.


9. Alabastron.

10, 11. Two Phials of Opaque Glass, the lips broken.

12. One similar Phial.

13. Lebes, with re-curved lips : on either side a Ram's Head ; projecting in relief, two Goats ; between, Tree ; reverse, Lion pursuing : fine condition.

14. Byzantine Lamp.

15. Two-handled Cup,  ; zigzag ornaments, red on a drab ground.

16. Lekythos.

18. Aryballos : animals.

19. Pinax.

20. Aryballos.

21. Pinax.

23. Pinax.

24. Cake of blue colour.

25. Cantharos of black ware.

(382.) Stelé, in two pieces, inscribed with Decree by the Lindii and Mastri. found at Malona, on the road from Rhodes to Lindus.

Lower half of Draped Female Figure, Rhodes.

Five Leaden Glands for slingers. Leaden Weight ; two Handles of bronze Oinochoe ; two fragments of Armlets : Salzmann Collection.

(383.) Lebes, with Frieze of Animals, plain Cylix, Salzmann Collection. Neck of Vase, from Benghazi, packed in No. 384. Arm of Terra-cotta Figure, tessera of bone, Temple of Muses, Cnidus. Lower part of Terra-cotta Figure, Gymnasium, Cnidus.

(384.) 1. Pinax, Archaic ornaments, Salzmann Collection.

2. Another, similar, indid.

3. Another, indid.

4. Pinax, plain black ware like the Etruscan, indid.

5. Oinochoe, from Benghazi.

Case A.—Ornaments and Coins.

Ornaments from Salzmänn Collection :—

1. Two silver Armlets.
2. One broken Armlet; one smaller one, silver.
3. Fragments of silver Ornaments.
4. Fragments of silver Armlets.
5. Idem.
6. Idem.
7. Pendant and ear-ring in gold. Silver ear-ring, purchased by Mr. Vice-Consul Biliotti, at Kalovarda.
8. Two porcelain Scarabæi, with hieroglyphic characters, from idem.
9. Small Egyptian Figure, in porcelain, with hieroglyphs at the back, from idem.
10. Two Glass Beads, from idem.
11. Gold Signet-ring; intaglio, Bacchaute, purchased of Mr. Vice-Consul Biliotti.
12. Mediæval Signet, set in steel, intaglio, bird holding branch, from idem.
13. Carnelian Signet-ring, intaglio, two Goats between a tree, Persian style, from Castel Rosso (Megiste), through Mr. Vice-Consul Biliotti.

Coins purchased at Rhodes, Mytilene, and elsewhere in Turkey :—

14. Ialysus, \mathcal{A} , purchased at Rhodes.
15. Pöglä Pamphylia, Philip, \mathcal{A} , from collection of Chevalier Hedenburg, at Rhodes.
16. Rhodes, large, \mathcal{A} .
17. Idem.
18. Seven coins of Mytilene, \mathcal{A} , countermarked with Head of Artemis.
19. Halicarnassus, Trajan, \mathcal{A} , not in Mionnet.
20. Pyrrha Lesbi (?), \mathcal{A} .
21. Antissa Lesbi, \mathcal{A} , not in Mionnet.
22. Nesiope Lesbi, \mathcal{A} , not in Mionnet.
23. Two Coins, type of Pyrrha.
24. Nesiope Lesbi, \mathcal{A} , Mionnet, S. p. 18, No. 153.
25. Four Coins, \mathcal{A} , unascertained, Lesbos.
26. Four Coins, Methymna Lesbi, \mathcal{A} , countermarked with bee.
27. Stratonicæa, Imperial, \mathcal{A} .
28. Mytilene, two Coins, \mathcal{A} .
29. Philip Aridaüs, \mathcal{A} , tetradrachm purchased at Rhodes.
30. Cnidus, \mathcal{A} , purchased at Rhodes.
31. Three Coins, unascertained, \mathcal{A} .

Malta, June 20, 1859.

Case B.

Ornaments in Gold and Silver, from the Salzmänn Collection :—

1. Necklace of hollow Gold Beads, with Bull's Head pendant, Phœnician style.
2. Forty-eight Circular Plates of Bracteate Electrum, embossed with Stars and Flowers.
3. Three Pendants of Earrings, each ornamented with an Androtauric Figure, holding in his right hand a Goat by the throat, embossed in gold in the Egyptian style.
4. One Square Pendant, with Winged Female Figure, holding in either hand part of a Goat (?); three Pendants, with Winged Lion, embossed in Electrum.
5. Three Pendants, in gold, embossed with an Egyptian Figure; on either side a Star.
6. Four similar Pendants.
7. Six small Pendants, same subject, two of them broken.
8. Two Pendants of Earrings, on each a Winged Bull in the Assyrian style, embossed, the details in filagree; from the lower edge hangs a row of Pomegranates.
9. String of hollow Gold Beads.
10. Fragments Beaten Gold.
11. Fragments of Electrum Pendants, like No. 4.
12. Fragments of Electrum Armlets, ornamented with Stars.
13. Seated Egyptian Figure; on the back Phœnician or Archaic Greek characters, in blue Porcelain.
14. Scarabæus, in blue Porcelain, with Hieroglyphic Seal; Phœnician (?) Seal, in Bloodstone, cut in the form of an Armadillo, or Hedge-hog; Intaglio, an Archaic Figure, draped and bearded, rudely cut.
15. Gold Ring, with Medusa's Head in relief, from a Tomb; Nisyros, purchased of Mr. Consul Campbell at Rhodes.

Case C.

Bag, containing a collection of Copper Coins of Mytilene and Methymna, found in the Island of Mytilene.

385. Snakes and Scorpions, collected during the excavations at Budrum and Cnidus; three Bottles.

(Signed)

C. T. NEWTON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 17.

Invoice of Cases addressed to the Earl of Malmesbury, shipped on board Her Majesty's ship "Supply," June 8, 1859.

Cases A, B, C.—Photographic Stores, as per inclosed invoice, No. 3.

Case D.—Drawings and Photographic Positives, as per inclosed invoice, No. 4.

Case E.—Plans and Drawings, by Lieutenant Smith, R.E., as per inclosed invoice, No. 5.

Cases F, G.—Photographic Negatives on Glass, as per inclosed invoice, No. 6.

(Signed)

C. T. NEWTON.

Ruins of Cnidus, June 8, 1859.

Inclosure 3 in No. 17.

*Invoice of Photographic Negatives shipped on board Her Majesty's ship "Supply,"
June 8, 1859 (Cases F, G).**Case 1.*

1. Temple of Mars, Budrum, eastern part of site.
2. Idem, western part.
3. View of Steps of Pyramid, found north of northern Peribolus wall, Mausoleum.
4. Western Staircase, Mausoleum.
5. Western Staircase, Mausoleum, another View.
6. Mausoleum, Lions in Wall of Castle, Budrum.
7. Idem.
8. Idem.
9. Group of fragments of Lions in yard of Konak, Budrum.
10. Idem, another View.
11. Idem, another View.
12. Slab of Frieze, east side of Mausoleum.
13. Another slab, idem.
14. Another slab, idem.
15. Another slab, idem.
16. Statue from Hadji Captan's Field, Budrum.
17. Head of Mausolus, Imaum's Field, Mausoleum.
18. Colossal Female Head, Mahomet's Field, Mausoleum.
19. Colossal Equestrian Figure, Mausoleum.
20. North Wall of Peribolus, Mausoleum.
21. Large stone at foot of Western Staircase, Mausoleum.
22. Idem, another View.
23. View of Piers, north side of Mausoleum.
24. Excavation below Imaum's Field, ibid.

Case 2

1. View of North-West Staircase, Mausoleum.
2. Fragment of Frieze, Mausoleum.
3. Front of Chapel, Castle, Budrum.
4. Excavation, east side of Mausoleum.
5. Excavation, north-west angle, ibid.
6. Excavation, north side, ibid.
7. Budrum Harbour.
8. Caplan Calassy, Budrum, from the Harbour.
9. Budrum Harbour from pier in front of Salik Bey's Konak.
10. Idem, another View.
11. Turkish feast on shore of Budrum Harbour.
12. General view of site of Roman building, Hadji Captan's field, Budrum.
13. General view of Ruins, Temple of Hekate, Lagina.
14. Views, ibid.
15. Idem.
16. Idem.

Ruins of Cnidus, May 18, 1859.

- 17-22. Frieze of Temple of Hekate, ibid.
23. Gateway of Peribolus, ibid.
24. View of Ruins, ibid.

Case 3.

- 1-12. Portions of tessellated Pavement, Hadji Captan's field.

Case 4.

- 1-15. Panoramic view of Budrum, from Castle.
16. Leopard, north side of Mausoleum.
17. Casket, indid.
- 18-24. Five Statues, Lion, Sphinx, Geronta (Branchidæ).

Case 5.

- 1, 2. Statues, Geronta (Branchidæ).
3. Escutcheons, Castle wall, Cos.
4. Frieze, ibid.
5. Great Plane tree, Market-place, Cos.
- 6-10. Panoramic view from Theatre Hill, Budrum.

Case 6.

1. Encampment, Cnidus.
2. Turkish workmen in Lower Theatre, Cnidus.
3. Mole of Southern Harbour, ibid.
- 4, 5. Views, Southern Harbour, ibid.
6. Vestibule of Lower Theatre, ibid.
7. Lower Theatre, ibid.
8. Odeum, Cnidus.
9. North Harbour, ibid.
10. Isthmus, ibid.
11. Encampment, ibid.
12. North side of South Harbour, idem.

Case 7.—All from Cnidus.

1. Embarkation of Colossal Lion.
2. Idem, another View.
3. Colossal Lion.
4. North View of Lion Tomb.
5. South View of idem.
6. Colossal Lion.
7. Idem.

Case 8.—All from Cnidus.

1. Pier, made by Expedition.
2. Embarkation of Lion.
3. Temenos of Demeter.
4. Tomb of Lykæthios.
5. Entrance to North Harbour.
6. Tank made by Expedition.
7. Head of Demeter, from Temenos.
8. Head of Persephone, indid.
9. Idem, another view.
10. Idem.

(Signed)

C. T. NEWTON.

Inclosure 4 in No. 17.

Invoice of Case D, shipped on board Her Majesty's ship "Supply," June 8, 1859.

1. Mr. Pullan's Drawings, as per invoice inclosed in Case D.
2. Fifty-seven sheets: Armorial Bearings and Inscriptions from Budrum Castle, copied by Corporal Spackman, R.E.
3. Fourteen Drawings of Statues from the

Sacred Way, Branchidæ (Geronta), by Corporal Spackman, R.E.

4. Nine Drawings of the Temple of Apollo, Calymnos, by Mr. Wooldridge, R.N., made during the visit of Her Majesty's ship "Medusa," to Calymnos, in 1856.

5. Sixty-six rough Proofs of Negatives erased: Views of Tesselated Pavement, Hadji Captan's field, Budrum.

6. Twelve Negatives on waxed paper, taken at Budrum.

Two ditto taken at Eski Hissar (Stratonicea).

Ten Proofs from waxed paper negatives.

7. Fifty-one Photographic Positives, some from erased plates.

8. One hundred impressions from Negatives, Cases F, G; arranged as per Invoice of Negatives No. 6.

(Signed)

C. T. NEWTON.

Ruins of Cnidus, June 1, 1859.

Inclosure 5 in No. 17.

Invoice of Plans and Drawings by Lieutenant Smith, R.E., (Case E,) shipped on board Her Majesty's ship "Supply," June 8, 1859.

1. Plan of Mausoleum.
2. Sections of idem.
3. Plan of Environs of Mausoleum.
4. Plan of Temple of Hekate, Lagina.
5. Plan of Acropolis, Cnidus.
6. Plan of Temple of Apollo and Muses, ibid.
7. Plan of Temenos of Demeter and Persephone, ibid.
8. Section of idem, ibid.
9. Plan of Temple or Gymnasium, ibid.

10. Tripod Tomb, Eastern Cemetery, ibid.
11. Plan of Gateway in City Wall, Halicarnassus.
12. Tomb at Labranda; Plan.
- 13, 14. Plans and Drawings of Tombs at Assarlik, and near Gül.
15. Moulding from Lion Tomb, Cnidus.
- 16-19. Details of Architecture, Temple of Hekate, Lagina.
20. Plan of ground, Sacred Way, Branchidæ (Geronta), by Corporal Spackman, R.E.

(Signed)

C. T. NEWTON.

Ruins of Cnidus, June 1, 1859.

FURTHER PAPERS respecting the Excavations at Budrum and Cnidus.

(In continuation of Papers presented to Parliament,
March 26, 1858.)

*Presented to the House of Commons by Command
of Her Majesty, in pursuance of their Address
dated August 2, 1859.*

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